THE WORKS OF Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE* Bar^{t}.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME *the* SECOND.

LONDON:

Printed for *J. Round*, *R. Gosling*, *T. Woodward*, *S. Birt*,
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H. Lintot, *J.* and *R. Tonson*, *C. Bathurst* and *M. Mears*.

MDCCXL.

10 FEB 34

TO HIS

MOST SACRED MAJESTY

WILLIAM III.

King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*
and *Ireland*, &c.

THESE

LETTERS

OF

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*

Having been left to my Care, they are
most humbly preſented to YOUR
MAJESTY by

Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful

and Obedient Subject,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

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THE

LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, Bar^{t}.

AND OTHER

MINISTERS *of* STATE,

Both at HOME *and* ABROAD.

CONTAINING AN

ACCOUNT

Of the moſt

IMPORTANT TRANSACTIONS

That paſs'd in *Chriſtendom* from 1665 to 1672.

Review'd by Sir W. TEMPLE *ſome time before his Death*:

And Publiſh'd by JONATHAN SWIFT, Domeſtick Chaplain to his Excellency the Earl of *Berkely*, one of the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland*.

LONDON:
Printed for *J. Round*, *R. Goſling*, *T. Woodward*, *S. Birt*,
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H. Lintot, *J.* and *R. Tonſon*, *C. Bathurſt* and *M. Mears*.

MDCC XL.

BRITISH MUSEUM
10 FEB 39

THE
Publiſher's EPISTLE,
TO THE
READER.

THE Collection of the following Letters is owing to the Diligence of Mr. Thomas Downton, who was one of Sir William Temple's Secretaries during the whole Time wherein they bear Date. And it has ſucceeded very fortunately for the Publick, that there is contained in them an Account of all the chief Tranſactions and Negotiations, which paſſed in Chriſtendom during the ſeven Years, wherein they are dated; as, the War with Holland, which began in 1665: The Treaty between his Majeſty and the Biſhop of Munſter, with the Iſſue of it: The French Invaſion of Flanders in the Year 1667: The Peace concluded between Spain and Portugal, by the King's Mediation: The Treaty at Breda: The Triple Alliance; and the Peace of Aix la Chapelle in the firſt Part. And in the ſecond Part, The Negotiations in Holland in conſequence of thoſe Alliances, with the Steps and Degrees, by which they came to decay: The Journey and Death of Madame: The Seizure of Lorrain, and his Excellency's Recalling; with the firſt Unkindneſs between England and Holland, upon the Yatch's tranſporting his Lady and his Family: And the beginning of the ſecond Dutch War in 1672.

With theſe are intermix'd ſeveral Letters, familiar and pleaſant.

I found the Book among Sir William Temple's Papers with many others, wherewith I had the Opportunity of being long converſant, having paſſed ſeveral Years in his Family.

I pretend no other Part, than the Care that Mr. Downton's Book ſhould be correctly tranſcribed, and the Letters placed, in the Order they were writ. I have alſo made ſome literal Amendments, eſpecially in the Latin, French and Spaniſh: Theſe I have taken Care ſhould be tranſlated and printed in another Column, for the Uſe of ſuch Readers as may be unacquainted with the Originals. Whatever Faults there may be in the Tranſlation, I doubt, I muſt anſwer for the greater part, and muſt leave the reſt to thoſe Friends who were pleas'd to aſſiſt me. I ſpeak only of the French and Latin; for the few Spaniſh Tranſlations, I believe, need no Apology.

It is generally believed, that this Author has advanc'd our Engliſh Tongue to as great a Perfection as it can well bear; and yet, how great a Maſter he was of it, has, I think, never appeared ſo much, as it will in the following Letters; wherein the Style appears ſo very different, according to the difference of the Perſons to whom they were addreſs'd; either Men of Buſineſs, or Idle; of Pleaſure, or Serious; of great or of leſs Parts or Abilities, in their ſeveral Stations.

So that one may diſcover the characters of moſt of thoſe Perſons he writes to, from the Style of his Letters.

At the End of each Volume is added a Collection, copied by the ſame Hand, of ſeveral Letters to this Ambaſſador, from the chief Perſons employ'd, either at Home or Abroad, in theſe Tranſactions, and during ſix Years Courſe of his Negotiations. Among which are many from Penſionary John de Witt, *and all the Writings of this Kind that I know of, which remain of that Miniſter ſo renowned in his Time.*

It has been juſtly complain'd of, as a Defect among us, that the Engliſh *Tongue has produced no Letters of any Value; to ſupply which, it has been the Vein of late Years, to tranſlate ſeveral out of other Languages, tho', I think with little Succeſs. Yet among many Advantages which might recommend this ſort of Writing, it is certain that nothing is ſo capable of giving a true Account of Story as Letters are; which deſcribe Actions, while they are alive and breathing; whereas all other Relations are of Actions paſt and dead. So as it hath been obſerved, that the Epiſtles of* Cicero *to* Atticus, *give a better Account of thoſe Times, than is to be found in any other Writer.*

In the following Letters, the Reader will every where diſcover the Force and Spirit of this Author; but that which will moſt value them to the Publick, both at Home and Abroad, is, Firſt, that the Matters contained in them were the Ground and Foundation whereon all the Wars and Invaſions, as well as all the Negotiations and Treaties of Peace in Chriſtendom, have ſince been raiſed: And next, that they are written by a Perſon, who had ſo great a ſhare in all thoſe Tranſactions and Negotiations.

By reſiding in his Family, I know the Author has had frequent Inſtances from ſeveral great Perſons, both at Home and Abroad, to publiſh ſome Memoirs of thoſe Affairs and Tranſactions, which are the Subject of the following Papers; and particularly of the Treaties of the Triple Alliance, and thoſe of Aix la Chapelle; *But his uſual Anſwer was, That whatever Memoirs he had written of thoſe Times and Negotiations were burnt; however, that perhaps after his Death ſome Papers might come out, wherein there would be ſome Account of them; by which, he has often told me, he meant theſe Letters.*

I had begun to fit them for the Preſs during the Author's Life, but never could prevail for Leave to publiſh them; tho' he was pleas'd to be at the Pains of reviewing, and to give me his Directions for digeſting them into Order. It has ſince pleaſed God to take this great and good Perſon to himſelf; and he having done me the Honour to leave and recommend to me the Care of his Writings, I thought I could not at preſent do a greater Service to my Country, or to the Author's Memory, than by making theſe Papers publick.

By way of Introduction, I need only take notice, that after the Peace of the Pyrenees, *and his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration in* 1660, *there was a general Peace in Chriſtendom (except only the Remainder of a War between* Spain *and* Portugal) *until the Year* 1665, *when that between* England *and* Holland *began, which produced a Treaty between his Majeſty and the Biſhop of* Munſter. *And this commences the following Letters.*

THE

THE

Firſt Dutch War,

Begun *May* 1665.

To Sir John Temple, *Maſter of the* Rolls *of* Ireland.

SIR, *Bruſſels*, *Sept*. 6. 1665.

THOUGH I was forced by the King's Command, not only to leave you and my Family at very ſhort Warning, and in a very melancholy Seaſon, but without ſo much as telling you whither I was ſent, yet I would not fail making you this Amends, by giving you an Account of my Journey and Negotiations thus far, ſo ſoon as I thought it might be fit for me to do it.

When my Lord *Arlington* ſent for me to *Sheen*, it was to let me know that the King had received an Overture from the Biſhop of *Munſter* to enter into an Alliance with his Majeſty againſt the *Dutch*, from whom he pretended many Injuries; to bring an Army into the Field, and fall upon them by Land, while his Majeſty continued the War by Sea: But at the ſame time to demand certain Sums of Money, that would be neceſſary to bring him into the Field, and to continue the War: And that if his Majeſty would either treat with the Baron of *Wreden*, (who was the Miniſter he ſent over in the greateſt Privacy that could be) or ſend a Miniſter of his own to treat with him; he doubted not an eaſy Agreement upon this Matter, but deſired it might be with all the Secret imaginable. My Lord *Arlington* told me, the main Articles were already agreed on here, and the Money adjuſted, but that it was neceſſary for the King to ſend over ſome Perſon privately to finiſh the Treaty at *Munſter*, and to ſee the Payments made at *Antwerp*, where the Biſhop ſeemed to deſire them. That I muſt go (if I undertook it) without Train or Character, and paſs for a *Frenchman* or a *Spaniard* in my Journey, and made me the Complement to ſay, he had been perplexed three or four Days together, to think of a Perſon that was not only capable of the Affair and of the Secret, but that was to be truſted with ſuch a Sum of Money: but that when he had thought of me, and propoſed me to the King and to my Lord Chancellor, they had both approved it, and I muſt ſuddenly reſolve upon my Anſwer to the Propoſal he made me: But whether I accepted it or no, I muſt keep it ſecret from my neareſt Friends.

I told him upon the Place, I would ſerve his Majeſty the beſt I could in it, tho' being a new Man, I could not promiſe much for my ſelf; that there was only one Point I could by no means digeſt, which was the Buſineſs of the Money, having ever been averſe from charging my ſelf with any body's but my own. This made at firſt ſome Difficulty between us, but at laſt his Lordſhip was content to endeavour the engaging Alderman *Backwel* (who furniſhed it) to go over himſelf with it into *Flanders*, and there, by my Order, to make the Payment to the Biſhop's Agent, and ſaid, he believed at ſuch a time of Infection in *London*, the Alderman might eaſily take an Occaſion of ſuch a Journey.

After my Inſtructions diſpatch'd, I came away in haſte, and with the Secret you ſaw; and without more than one Day's ſtop at *Bruſſels*, went ſtrait with the Baron of *Wreden* to *Coeſvelt*, where the Biſhop then was. I ſtay'd there but three Days, was brought to him only by Night, agreed all Points with him, perfected and ſigned the Treaty, and returned to *Antwerp*, where the Alderman performed his part, in making the firſt and great Payment to the Biſhop's Reſident there. All this has been performed on all Sides with ſo great Secrecy, that the Biſhop has not only received his Money, but raiſed his Troops to about eighteen thouſand Men, without the leaſt Umbrage given, that I can *yet* hear of, to the *Dutch*; and by all the Aſſurances I receive from him, I conclude, that before this Letter comes to your Hands he will be in the Field; though ſome unexpected Diſappointments about a General Officer he reckon'd upon, has a little diſcompoſed the Meaſures he had taken, and may (I doubt) not a little maim the Progreſs of them: But that will be govern'd by Time and Accidents; my Buſineſs was to bring him into the Field, and I have had the Fortune to do it ſooner than either they expected at Court, or the Biſhop had promiſed upon our ſigning of the Treaty.

He is a Man of Wit, and, which is more, of Senſe, of great Ambition, and properly, *Un Eſprit remuant*: But the Vigour of his Body does not ſecond that of his Mind, being, as I gueſs, about ſix or ſeven and fifty Years old, and purſued with the Gout, which he is not like to cure by his manner of Life. He was a Soldier in his Youth, and ſeems in his Naturals, rather made for the *Sword* than the *Croſs*: He has a mortal Hatred to the *Dutch* for their ſupporting his City of *Munſter* againſt him, and is bridling thoſe Citizens by a very ſtrong Citadel he is building there. He ſeems bold and reſolute, and like to go through with what he has undertaken, or break his Head in the Attempt, and ſays he will perform all he has engaged, *Fide ſincerâ & Germanicâ*, which is a Word he affects. He ſpeaks the only good *Latin* that I have yet met with in *Germany*, and more like a Man of Court and Buſineſs than a Scholar: He ſays, if he fails in his Enterprize, and ſhould loſe his Country, he ſhall eſteem his Condition not at all the worſe; for in that Caſe he will go into *Italy*, and has Money enough in the Bank of *Venice* to buy a Cardinal's Cap, which may become him better than his General's Staff, though he has a mind to try this firſt, and make ſome Noiſe in the World before he retires.

This is the beſt Character I can give of the Biſhop, and for my ſelf, I can ſay nothing but what you know; finding no Change at all by this Sally into a new Scene of Life and Buſineſs, as well as Climate; my Health, I thank God, the ſame; my Kindneſs ſo too, to my Friends and to Home, only my Concernment for them in this miſerable Time among them, much greater while I am here than when I was with them, which makes me very impatient after every Poſt that comes in, and yet very apprehenſive of every Letter I open. The length of this I doubt is too much for once, and therefore ſhall end with the Aſſurances of my being,

SIR,

Your moſt Obedient Son
and humble Servant,
W. Temple.

To Alderman Backwell.

Mr. Alderman, *Bruſſels, October* 9. 1665.

I AM very much in pain to find at Monſieur *Rhintorf*'s Return, that he has made no Progreſs in his Affairs (which are ours too) during the Stay he has lately made at *Antwerp*. But I am very much ſurprized to hear that I ſhould have had any part in this Delay, and that you ſhould have told him, you had no Orders from me to pay him that Money. However, to take away all Scruple, if any can ſtill remain, after our laſt Conference at *Bruſſels* upon this Subject, I do by theſe Preſents order and appoint you, purſuant to thoſe Powers that have been given me from the King, to pay or cauſe to be paid to Monſieur *Rhintorf*, or his Order, all ſuch Sums of Money as you ſhall any ways be able to raiſe, either by the Sale of ſuch Tin as is already arrived, or ſhall arrive at *Oſtend* upon his Majeſty's Account with all the Diligence and Diſpatch that is poſſible. Or in caſe you do not find any ready Sale for it, that you will at leaſt pay him all ſuch Sums as you ſhall be able to raiſe, by pawning or engaging it to the beſt Advantage you can; after this I need ſay no more, than to conjure you by all the Zeal you have for his Majeſty's Service, and all the Friendſhip you have for me, to employ upon this Occaſion your utmoſt Diligence and Credit; for the Conjuncture is grown ſo extremely preſſing at this time, that I can never ſay enough to recommend this Service to your beſt Endeavours.

I am, SIR,

Your Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, Oct.* 13. S. N. 1665.

UPON Saturday laſt, about nine at Night, the Biſhop's Agent here brought me a Deſire from the * *Marquis* to come privately to him. We ſtay'd long together, and talk'd much. The Subſtance was, that he had laſt Poſt writ to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador to inform the King, that he heard the *French* were ready to march in Aſſiſtance of the *Hollander* againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and had told the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *France*, they ſhould take all Delays here in leave of Paſſage for Denial: That he (the *Marquis*) was reſolved upon Confidence of his Majeſty's late Letter and Aſſiſtance to oppoſe them till he receiv'd Orders from *Spain*, and hopes his Majeſty will not fail of protecting and defending him in this Reſolution: He ſpeaks with much Earneſtneſs and Paſſion for coucluding the League between *England* and *Spain*; and either a Peace or Truce between *Spain* and *Portugal*; in which he very much preſſes his Majeſty's Interpoſition at this Time, becauſe nothing elſe will take away the Diſhonour on the *Spaniſh* ſide, but the Reſpect given to ſo great and powerful a King's Mediation. He aſſures me, he has given an abſolute Denial to the *Hollanders* Demand of buying a great Quantity of Corn in theſe Countries, which now begins to be one, among their other great Wants: That the *French*, upon Jealouſy of the *Swede*, ſent very lately an *Envoy* into *Holland*, to join with them in preſſing the *Dane* to put himſelf into a Poſture of making a Diverſion: That for Security of theſe Countries, ſix thouſand *Spaniards* and *Italians* were in few Days expected here; theſe by Land, thoſe by Sea: And that for raiſing *German* Troops, he had laſt Week ſent five hundred thouſand Gilders into *Germany*, from whence, if they needed, he could have twenty four thouſand Men, ſo as he doubted not to defend theſe Countries, if *France* aſſaults him. The Biaſs of all this Diſcourſe was to ſhew they had no great need of our Aſſiſtance, at the ſame time they preſs ſo much to be aſſured of it; and to repreſent the mutual Neceſſity of a Conjunction between

* Of Caſtel Rodrigo, *Governor of the* Spaniſh Netherlands.

England and *Spain*, with all the Expreſſions of Affection to his Majeſty's Perſon and Service, that a Courtier, or almoſt a Lover could uſe. Upon this laſt Subject I could not let him paſs with the Diſcourſe of the late King's Ruin, and his Majeſty's Danger at Home for want of Friendſhip Abroad; nor could I leave that Point, becauſe he had ſo often harped upon it, till I forced him to confeſs, at leaſt by Silence, that his Majeſty was as ſafe at Home at this time, as either *French* or *Spaniſh* King.

For the reſt, finding him now much warmer than he uſed to ſeem in the Deſires of the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s Succeſs, or at leaſt, Preſervation; and finding from Alderman *Backwell* that he had yet been able to raiſe no more Money upon all our Tin at *Antwerp* for the ſecond Payment, thoſe paltry Merchants combining to ruin him in the Price of it, upon the Belief of his Neceſſity to ſell: I would not omit that Occaſion of deſiring the *Marquis* to find ſome Perſon out that ſhould take it all off our Hands with ready Money, which they might raiſe at their own Leiſure, and, I believed, with much Gains; in which I aſſured him he would give his Majeſty a great Teſtimony of his Affection to his Service, which was ſo much concerned in the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s Fortunes. He told me, he would conſult about it next Morning; and upon Sunday Night ſent one with a Diſpatch of mine to Alderman *Backwell*, to know the whole Quantity, and loweſt Price: So that I am now in great Hopes of ſeeing ſome good Iſſue of that Buſineſs, which I almoſt begun to deſpair of.

An Expreſs from the Biſhop of *Munſter* came to me on Saturday laſt, proteſting he could no longer ſubſiſt unleſs the Money came; and your Lordſhip may eaſily imagine how much Pain I am in upon that Occaſion; eſpecially hearing my ſelf ſo often reproached for having drawn him to ſo deſperate an Adventure, ſo much againſt his own Reſolutions, which were, not to take the Field till the ſecond Payment were received, and the third aſſured on this ſide: It would look like Vanity in me, to tell your Lordſhip more, of what I hear too much, of this kind; but I will ſay, that unleſs you take ſome ſpeedy and effectual Reſolution in this Particular, I ſhall look like the verieſt Rogue in the World, and ſuch, as it will not be much for his Majeſty's Honour to employ. But after all I will tell your Lordſhip freely, that I think all my Trains had not taken Fire without a perfect Accident, which I had the good Fortune to improve ſo upon the ſudden, as to make it the abſolute Occaſion of the Biſhop's taking the Field when he did; which I ſhall ſome time or other, I hope, entertain you with, and will ſerve for a Moral to ſhew how ſmall Shadows and Accidents ſometimes give a Riſe to great Actions among Mankind; for either ſuch, or the Beginning of ſuch, this bold March is like to prove. All I know of its Succeſs you will find in theſe Letters; one from my Lord *Carlingford*, to whom I cannot ſend your Lordſhip's laſt, till I have farther Directions from him for my Addreſs; the other being part of one from a Perſon in the *Holland* Camp belonging to the *Rhingrave*. Twenty Rumours more we have of his Succeſſes, but I will not yet credit them: This much I will, that nothing can probably endanger him beſides want of Money, and that I know him to be a Man too firm to be diverted from his Point, or ſlacken it without ſome ſuch Maim; for he wants neither Prudence, Courage, nor Ambition. For the *Hollanders* they were certainly never worſe at their Eaſe than now, being braved and beaten both at Sea and Land; flay'd with Taxes, diſtracted with Factions, and their laſt Reſourſe, which is the Protection of *France*, poiſon'd with extreme Jealouſies; yet that muſt be their Game, or elſe a perfect truckling Peace with *England*.

I am ever,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful,

and moſt Humble Servant.

To

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, Nov.* 20. *S. N.* 1665.

I AM to acknowledge the Honour I received laſt, by one from your Grace of *October* the 25th, which gives me the Occaſion to beg your Belief, that the frequent Troubles I give your Grace of this kind proceed from a moſt hearty and unintereſted Duty, without the leaſt Thoughts of making any unconſcionable Advantage by ſuch a Commerce, or at leaſt expecting a Return of ſo great Value, as your Lordſhip's Letters to a Venture ſo ſmall as mine. I confeſs I am extremely pleaſed with any Teſtimonies of your Grace's Remembrance and Favour to me, which I muſt eſteem the *beſt*, and ever acknowledge for the *firſt* of my good Fortunes: Nor ſhall I ever be ſo much pleaſed with any lucky Hits that may happen to me in publick Employments from any other Reſpect, as from the Hopes of meeting ſome Occaſion to expreſs the Eſteem and Reſentment of Kindneſs ſhewed me, when I was idle and unknown. But, I beſeech your Grace, never to give your ſelf the leaſt Trouble, or loſe time in writing to me upon the Score of common Civility, but to deal with me perfectly like one of your own; and write only when you have Commands to honour me, or Inclinations to oblige me; for the reſt one Word to my Father or Brother, may at any time give me the Knowledge that mine are received, which is all they pretend, and perhaps more than they deſerve.

Since the Paſſage of the *French* Troops, which thought fit to touch no part of theſe Dominions, we hear little of them: Their Number fell ſomething ſhort of ſix thouſand, their Horſe were brave as they paſſed *Maſtricht*; their Foot raſcally, their Shoes upon their Shoulders, their Feet galled, and their Gallantry ſpent in giving the *Dutch* a thouſand times to the Devil for their kind Invitation: They paid nothing as they paſs'd, or falſe Money; took the beſt Treatment the *Dutch* could make them with Scorn and Inſolence, and drank his Majeſty's and the Prince of *Munſter's* Health openly in the Market-Place at *Maſtricht*; a Strain I ſuppoſe of their Extravagance, rather than good Meaning. So I leave them, as they do their Colours when they can, and return this way by Couples and Leaſhes good ſtore. By the laſt from the Prince of *Munſter* of the 12th inſtant, we had Aſſurance that his Bridge over the Marſh was perfected, his Army joined, and that Colonel or Baron *d'Oſſory* (who is made a Serjeant *Major de Bataglia*) had with a Squadron of Horſe killed nine hundred of the *Dutch* in a late Encounter near *Groning*: Beſides this, and the *French* Envoys, Monſieur *Leſſyn* having been diſmiſs'd with general Terms, I had nothing but deſperate melancholy Complaints of his Diſappointments from his Friends, which I will not trouble your Grace with at this Diſtance.

I had my firſt formal Audience laſt Night from the *Marquis*, and was received with the greateſt Expreſſions of Zeal and Devotion to the King my Maſter's Perſon and Service; of the Reſentment of the Honour done him by this Reſolution of a Reſident here, and wonderful Complement to the perſonal Choice; as I believe your Grace knows, good Words of all ſorts coſt no Man leſs than his Excellency: But I am very confident his Inclinations to *us*, his Averſions to *France*, his Deſires of Truce with *Portugal*, and ſtrict League with *England*, are all very hearty.

I am ever,

Your Grace's moſt Obedient,

and moſt Humble Servant.

To the Baron Wreden.

Bruſſels, Dec.
S I R, 10. 1665.

I Received yours, and am glad of your Arrival at Court, where I never doubted the good Reception ſo honeſt a Gentleman would find, who came from ſo brave a Prince. I am ſorry for your bad Wine and Lodging at *Oxford*; for as to the former I know it is a ſort of Plague you are more afraid of than that at *London*, where in a little time I hope you will have no occaſion to complain either of one or t'other: In the mean while take my Word for the matter, 'tis but half a dozen Glaſſes more, and good or bad comes all to the ſame thing. As for your Lodging, in troth I believe the Crowd is ſo great at preſent in every Houſe, that you will hardly find an Opportunity of making Love to your Landlady: But, Sir, you muſt have a little Patience, and not think of ſucceeding in all Amours at the rate you did with *Madamoiſelle Iſabella*; beſides, if you remember, it coſt you dear enough then, by the Fright you were in of loſing your great Diamond. Love, like other Things, is good for nothing when one makes too much haſte in it; and our *Engliſh* Ladies don't care that Men ſhould be over violent in beginning this Game, for fear they ſhould be ſo in concluding it.

Well, I am heartily ſorry I can give you no good Recommendations where you are, becauſe I am ſure you would be ſo juſt and generous, to pay me by a Bill of Exchange on your little Miſtreſs here. But now I talk of a Miſtreſs, you muſt know *Monſieur le Chevalier* has ordered his Affairs here worſe than at *Paris*: For I believe ſeriouſly he paſs'd through this Place without ſo much as paying one Viſit to his; and that is the Reaſon why he carried ſo much Money to *Munſter*, and rode Poſt with greater Vigour than ever he did from hence to *France*.

And is not this now a very fine Letter for two grave Miniſters of State?

But

Au Baron *Wreden*.

A Bruſſelles, le 10
Monſieur, *Dec. N. S.* 1665.

J'AY reçu la votre, & je me rejouis de votre arrivée à la Cour; je n'ay jamais douté qu'un auſſi honeste homme que vous, & qui a l'honneur d'etre envoyé par un Prince auſſi diſtingué, n'y trouvât toute ſorte de bon accueil; Je prens part au mauvais giſte d'Oxford, & au mechant Vin que vous y avez bû. A l'egard de ce dernier, je ſçay que c'eſt une ſorte de peſte que vous craignez plus que celle de Londres; & au reſte, j'eſpere qu'avant qu'il ſoit peu, vous n'aurez plus ſujet de vous y plaindre ni de l'un ni de l'autre. En attendant, croyez moy, il ne faut que ſix verres de vin de plus, il n'importe qu'il ſoit bon ou mauvais, & tout reviendra à la même choſe. Pour le logement, je m'imagine que la foule eſt ſi grande à cette heure dans toutes les maiſons, que vous ne trouvez pas les moyens de faire commodement l'amour à la fille du logis; Mais, Monſieur, il faut avoir un peu de patience, & ne croire pas reuſſir toujours avec autant de bonheur & de rapidité que vous fites avec Madamoiſelle Iſabelle: Encore, devez vous vous ſouvenir, qu'il vous en couta alors aſſez cher par l'extreme peur que vous eûtes, quand vous vous appercûtes du danger que couroit le gros diamant. L'amour auſſi bien que toutes les autres choſes, ne vaut plus rien dés qu'on le traite trop à la hâte; & nos filles ne veulent point qu'on ſoit ſi precipité à commencer cette ſorte de jeu, de peur que la fin ne reſſemble trop au commencement.

Je ſuis, ma foy, trés marri de ne pouvoir vous adreſſer ſurement dans la ville ou vous êtes; car de l'humeur dont je vous connois, je ſçay que vous ſeriez aſſez genereux, & aſſez equitable, pour me rembourſer par une lettre d'échange ſur vôtre petite maitreſſe Brabançonne. Mais à propos de maitreſſe, Monſieur le Chevalier a plus mal fait ſes affaires icy qu'à Paris; car je croy tout de bon qu'il a paſſé par icy ſans voir ſeulement la ſienne; mais c'eſt par là auſſi qu'il a porté tant d'argent à Munſter, & qu'il a couru la poſte plus courageuſement qu'il n'a fait d'icy en France.

Voici, ma foy, une belle lettre pour deux ſages Miniſtres; tout de bon il faut

un

But come, we muſt talk a little of Buſineſs, if it be only for the good Grace of the Matter: And yet I am confident, if Sir *Bealing* would entertain you at this rate but once a Month, and unbend himſelf a little from his ſerious way, you would reckon him as your only Friend, and think no more of me.

Well; but have you heard what the *Dutch* Reſident tells us, that the Prince of *Munſter* has taken *Reyde*, a ſmall Sea Port, where his Friends may come and give him a Viſit. The News from *Antwerp* ſay farther, that he has got the Fort of *Bourtang*; but they add, how the Biſhop of *Oſnabrug* is reſolv'd to let the World ſee, that a *Lutheran* Prelate is as good as a Catholick; and to that end, is reſolved at the Head of ſome *Lunenbourg* Troops to go knock Mitres with your Maſter: All in good time. And as for Heads, I do not doubt the Prince of *Munſter*'s is much the ſtronger of the two: but for the Mitres I can ſay nothing. I am told beſides, that your Chapter of *Munſter* has ſomewhat embroiled your Maſter's Affairs; if this be ſo, there are more *Diables de Canons* beſide yourſelf. But I believe the Matter is not much; for if it were, I know the Prince would quickly make Monſieur *d'Herbe* and Monſieur *Majette*, a couple of Canons, in Exchange for ſome of thoſe Blockheads: And for *Grand Dean*, I think the Governor of *Pleuren* with the great Belly would make a good Figure enough. *Who knows* but ſuch Revolutions may happen? For, to ſpeak in your own Words, *The World is as round as a*——For my own part, I had rather be one of your Maſter's *Prieſts* than his *Soldiers*; for they ſay here, that he riſes at four a Clock, gives them [his Soldiers] his Benediction, and then ſends them to the D—— over Bogs and Marſhes, where no ſecular Captain durſt ever paſs.

Farewel, Sir; and when you intend to warm your ſelf with Sack, pray remember to order your Servants inſtead of removing your Sword to remove your Purſe, and prevent you from doing (according to your Cuſtom) more Good than you deſign, as they prevent others from doing Miſchief. For it is a Cuſtom in *England*, that whatever a Man gives away over Night, he hears

un peu parler d'affaires, ne fût-ce que pour ſauver les apparences: Mais, avouëz la verité, ſi le Chevalier Bealing vous entretenoit ſeulement une fois le mois, comme je viens de faire, & qu'en vôtre faveur il relachât un peu de ce grand ſerieux, n'eſt il pas vray, qu'il n'y auroit plus que luy qui fût de vos amis, & que je perdrois la place que j'occupe dans vôtre ſouvenir.

Savez vos bien que le Reſident d'Hollande avoue que le Prince de Munſter a pris Reyde, un petit port de mer, ou il peut être viſité de ſes amis; & que les avis d'Anvers nous diſent, qu'il eſt venu à bout du fort de Bourtang. Mais on dit auſſi que l'Evêque d'Oſnabrug eſt fort piqué de la penſée qu'on peut avoir qu'un Evêque Lutherien ne vaut pas un Evêque Catholique; & qu'il eſt tout reſolu de s'avancer à la tête de quelques troupes de Lunebourg, & d'aller heurter ſa Mitre contre celle de vôtre Maître: A la bonne heure; car je ne doute pas que Monſieur le Prince n'ait la tête plus forte & plus dure; à l'egard des Mitres je n'en ſay rien. On m'a dit auſſi, que vôtre Chapitre de Munſter va un peu brouiller les affaires de vôtre Maître; ſi cela eſt, voila may foy des Diables de Canons, *auſſi bien que vous. Mais je croy qu'il n'en eſt rien; car ſi cela étoit, le Prince ne manqueroit pas de faire bientôt deux Chanoines de Meſſieurs d'Herbe & de Majette, & de les echanger pour quelqu'un de ces etourdis: le Governeur de Pleuren ne manqueroit de pretence, ſi le titre de grand Doyen etoit enté ſur ſon gros ventre. On ne ſait point ſi de pareils changemens ne pourroient pas bien arriver; car (ſelon vôtre phraſe Allemande)* Roond is the Werld as een—— *Pour moy, j'aimerois mieux être de ſes Prêtres que de ſes Soldats; car on dit icy qu'il leur donne ſa Benediction, & les envoye au diable, je veux dire, à travers de Marais impracticables, d'où jamais Capitaine ſeculier n'auroit oſé approcher.*

Adieu Monſieur, & ſouvenez vous bien en vous echauffant des fumées du vin des Canaries, qu'on prend ſouvent la precaution d'oter de devant un homme qui a bû, ſon epée, de peur qu'il ne faſſe le Mechant; mais que vos amis en doivent prendre une opposée, qui eſt de vous oter vôtre argent, de peur que ne faſſiez trop le genereux; car en Angleterre, ce qu'on donne le ſoir, ne ſe retrouve plus le matin:

hears no more of it next Morning. At all Hours of both I am,

SIR,

Your moſt Affectionate Servant.

To the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo.

Bruſſels, Dec. 12.
My Lord, *S. N. 1665.*

THE News of your Excellency's Indiſpoſition has very ſenſibly afflicted me; but God Almighty will, I doubt not, quickly reſtore your Health, which is of too great Importance to *Chriſtendom*, to ſink under common Accidents.

I deſire your Pardon for the Liberty I take to let you know, how Monſieur *Rhintorf* complains exceedingly, that he finds yet no advance in the Affair you were pleas'd to undertake for his Maſter's ſake, and indeed for that of the King my Maſter too. I deſire your Excellency once more to give your Hand to it; and that if thoſe Merchants will not buy the Tin, you will give order at leaſt to have it engaged for three Parts of its Value, ſo as ſome preſent Remedy may be found to the Biſhop's Neceſſities, wherewith (by means of this Delay) he is now preſs'd to the laſt Extremities.

I take more part in this Affair, having already writ to the King my Maſter, that you had wholly finiſh'd it in Affection to his Service, for which I do not doubt but you will receive his Majeſty's thanks by the firſt Courier; ſo that I ſhall be in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable if the Buſineſs fails, and his Majeſty cannot chuſe but think me very impertinent.

By my laſt Diſpatch from Court of the 18th inſtant, I am informed that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador did that Evening privately deliver his new Credentials to the King, to whom and his Miniſters he ſtill continued to be very acceptable; and that upon Arrival of theſe Credentials they began to enter in

tin : Quant à moy, & le ſoir & le matin vous me trouverez toujours,

Monſieur,

Votre tres affectionné Serviteur.

Au Marquis *de Caſtel-Rodrigo.*

Bruſſeles, Dec. 12.
Monſieur, *S. N. 1665.*

LA Nouvelle de l'indiſpoſition que vôtre Excellence a reſſentie depuis quelque jours, m'a ſenſiblement touché; mais je ne doute point, que Dieu ne retabliſſe bien-tôt une ſanté qui eſt trop neceſſaire à la Chrétienté pour ſuccomber ſous des accidens vulgaires.

Je vous demande pardon de la liberté que je prens de vous avertir que Monſieur Rhintorf ſe plaint extremement de ce qu'il ne trouve encore rien de fait dans l'affaire qu'il vous a plu de prendre à coeur en faveur de ſon Maître; ainſi que ſur la recommendation du Roy mon Maître: Je ſupplie V. E. d'y mettre encore un fois la main, & de donner ordre que ſi on a reſolu de ne point accepter cette Marchandiſe, du moins on la prenne en gage pour les trois quarts de ſa valeur; à fin de remedier ſur le champ aux neceſſitez dont Monſieur l'Evêque ſe trouva preſſé, qui peut être ſont rendues extremes par ce retardement.

Je me trouve d'autant plus intereſſé dans cette affaire, qu'ayant deja mandé au Roy mon Maître que vous l'aviez tout-a-fait finïe dans la veue de rendre ſervice à ſa Majeſté, ce qui vous ſera ſans doute marqué avec remerciement de ſa part par le premier Courier; je ſerois l'homme du monde le plus confus, & le plus impertinent aux yeux du Roy mon Maître, ſi cette affaire venoit à manquer.

Par la derniere lettre que j'ay receue de la Cour dattée du 18. du courant, ja'y ête averti que Monſieur l' Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne avoit le ſoir de ce jour là preſenté au Roy ſes nouvelles lettres de creance & que ſa perſonne etoit toujours fort agreable, à lui & à ſes Miniſtres: qu'au reſte, ſur l'arrivée de ces nouvelles lettres de in good [illegible]eſt upon adjuſting our common Intereſts.

By a Letter of the 15th inſtant from the Prince of *Munſter*, I am inform'd of the great and happy Progreſs of his Arms; but on t'other ſide, that the *Hollanders* uſed their laſt Endeavours to raiſe againſt him all the Proteſtant Princes of the *Empire*, under Pretext that Religion has Part in the Quarrel, as well as the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: And on both theſe Accounts, as well as from your own Generoſity, your Excellency is engag'd not to diſappoint him in this little Occaſion: Not to alledge the Moral, which tells us, That, *whatever good we can do without Damage to our ſelves, we are obliged to do, even to a Stranger.*

Upon an Anſwer from your Excellency, I am ready to diſpatch an Expreſs to *Antwerp*, and ſhall remain,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt Humble

and Obedient Servant.

de creance on alloit commencer de fort bon coeur à ajuſter nos interets communs.

Par une lettre du Prince de Munſter du 15. du courant, j'ay été averti de ſes grands & heureux progrez; mais que d'un autre coté, les Hollandois faiſoient tous leurs efforts pour ſoulever contre luy tous les Princes Proteſtans de l'Empire; ſous le pretexte que la Religion & la Maiſon d'Autriche y etoient intereſſées. C'eſt par là auſſi bien que par vôtre generoſité que vous êtes engagé à ne luy pas manquer en cette petite occaſion, pour n'alleguer pas la Morale qui nous dit, Quicquid ſine detrimento facere potes, vel ignoto faciendum.

Sur la Reſponſe de V. E. je ſuis tout prêt à depecher un exprez à Anvers; & bien reſolu d'etre toujours,

De V. E.

Le tres humble & tres

obeiſſant Serviteur,

To Sir William Coventry.

SIR, *Bruſſels, Dec.* 15. *S. N.* 1665.

I AM to acknowledge both the Honour and Obligation I received by yours of *November* the 9th, the laſt of which ſeems ſo great in that Light you give it, and by thoſe Circumſtances I now ſee attend it, that had it come from any other Hands, I ſhould have wiſh'd a thouſand times never to have received it: For there are very few I deſire much to be obliged to, having always thought that a ſort of Debt which ought as duly to be paid as that of Money, with more Intereſt, and much greater Difficulty of caſting up. But knowing that all generous Perſons are apt to favour and eſteem their own, rather ſuch whom they oblige, than ſuch as ſerve them: I am extremely glad to have my Name enter into the Knowledge of his *Royal Highneſs*, by his Bounty and Favour in the Grant of thoſe Paſſports, rather than any other way I could have taken; and beg of you, that with my humble Thanks, his *Royal Highneſs* may know I enter into his Service with this Advance of Wages, which it ſhall be always my Endeavour, as it is my Duty, to deſerve. I owe and ſhould ſay a great deal to your ſelf upon this Occaſion, but that with my Thanks for the Thing it ſelf, I am to join my Complaints for the manner of it: I mean that you ſhould trouble your ſelf to reaſon me out of any Cuſtom or Action you would have me leave off, or ſay any thing upon ſuch a Subject, beſides that you wiſh it had been otherwiſe; which I deſire you to believe, ſhall in far greater Matters be from your Hand Perſuaſion and Command enough to me. My Preſumptions may be great with my Friends, but they are the eaſilieſt check'd of any Man's alive; which is all I ſhall ſay upon this Occaſion as to the future: and for the paſt, I will only aſſure you that I ſhould not in the leaſt have offer'd at what I did, had it not been at the earneſt Inſtance of the Prince of *Munſter's* Reſident here: And I am to make it my Buſineſs abroad, to enter as far as I can into the Secrets, and for that end, into the Affections of ſuch Miniſters as I have to deal with: And as ſome Men are to [illegible] gain'd directly by their *Heart*, ſo are others by their *Hands*. But another Fault were eaſier to be born than a long Excuſe; I will not add to it by our News, ſince of all I write I am ſure you know as much as you pleaſe; only in general, our Biſhop loſes not Courage nor ſtrength upon all the great Preparations of Enemies, or Diſappointment of Friends. The *Dutch* ſeem to be plagued by their own God, and to grow unhappy in their own Element, the Sea having done them in the laſt Storms moſt extravagant Harms: Some Letters from *Amſterdam* ſay to the Value of thirty, and others, of ſixty Millions: Their Caſe may grow harder yet, if the Froſts do *ſo* from the *Munſter* Side. Our Court here is paſſionate towards the League between the two Crowns; as I am in the Deſires of growing in your Friendſhip and Favour, and deſerving it by any Teſtimonies I can give of my being,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To Dame Auguſtina Cary.

MADAM, *Bruſſels, Feb.* 16. *S. N.* 1666.

I Know not whether the Shame of having been ſo long in your Debt, be greater than that of paying it ſo ill at laſt; but I am ſure 'tis much harder to be excuſed, and therefore ſhall not attempt it, but leave it to Father *Placid*'s Oratory; though having failed in the *ſubſtantial* Part of your Buſineſs, I have little Reaſon to hope he will ſucceed better in the *ceremonial* Part of mine. The Truth is, there is ſo great a Difference in common Sound between, *It is done*, and, *It will be done*, that I was unwilling to acknowledge the Honour of having received your Ladyſhip's Commands, before I had compaſſed that of obeying them; which the *Marquis* here hath ſo often aſſured me would ſuddenly fall to my Share, that I thought we had both equal Reaſon, *his Excellency* to do it, and I to believe it. This Right I muſt yet do him, that I never preſs'd him in this Concern of your Ladyſhip's, but he told me, all my Arguments were needleſs, for the Thing ſhould be done; and how to force a Man that yields, I never underſtood; but yet I much doubt, that till the Reſult be given upon the Groſs of this Affair, which is and has been ſome time under view, your Part in particular will hardly be thought ripe, for either his Juſtice, or Favour, which will be rather the Style it muſt run in, if it be a Deſire of Exemption from a general Rule given in the Caſe. Whatever Perſon (after the *Father*'s Return) ſhall be appointed to obſerve the Courſe of this Affair, and purſue the Lady's Pretenſions here, will be ſure of all the Aſſiſtance I can at any time give him; though I think it would prove a more publick Service to find ſome way of diſſolving your Society, and by that means diſperſing ſo much worth about the World, than by preſerving you together, confine it to a Corner, and ſuffer it to ſhine ſo much leſs, and go out ſo much ſooner, than otherwiſe it would. The ill Effects of your Retreat appear too much in the ill Succeſs of your Buſineſs; for I cannot think any thing could fail that your Ladyſhip would ſollicit; but, I preſume, nothing in this lower Scene is worthy either that, or ſo much as your *Deſire* or *Care*, which are Words that enter not *your* Grates, to diſturb that perfect Quiet and Indifferency, which I will believe inhabit there, and by your Happineſs decide the long Diſpute, whether the greater lies in wanting nothing, or poſſeſſing much.

I cannot but tell you it was unkindly done to refreſh the Memory of your Brother *Da. Cary*'s Loſs, which was not a more general one to mankind, than it was particular to me: But if I can ſucceed in your Ladyſhip's Service, as well as I had the Honour once to do in his Friendſhip, I ſhall think I have lived to good Purpoſe here, and for hereafter ſhall leave it to Almighty God, with a

Submiſſion as abandon'd, as you can exerciſe in the low common Concernments of this worthleſs Life, which I can hardly imagine was intended us for ſo great a Miſery as it is here commonly made, or to betray ſo large a Part of the World to ſo much greater hereafter as is commonly believed. However, I am obliged to your Ladyſhip for your Prayers, which I am ſure are well intended me, and ſhall return you mine. That no ill Thoughts of my *Faith* may poſſeſs your Ladyſhip with an ill one of my *Works* too, which I am ſure cannot fail of being very *meritorious*, if ever I reach the Intentions I have, of expreſſing my ſelf upon all Occaſions,

MADAM,

Your Ladyſhip's moſt Humble

and moſt Obedient Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, Mar. 1. S. N.* 1666.

I Need ſay nothing to bring your Lordſhip acquainted with Mr. *Sherwood*'s Perſon or Errand; yet becauſe all Men take themſelves to meaſure beſt their own Buſineſs, I would not diſappoint his Deſires of this Addreſs; tho' to add any thing to what I write upon all Occaſions of the Prince of *Munſter*'s Condition, Neceſſities or Complaints, were, as I take it, juſt ſo much of nothing to the Purpoſe. All I will ſay is, that whatever his Majeſty reſolves to do, ought to be ſudden, and in a Lump, to provide for his taking the Field this Spring, with Heart and Strength, which I believe a Sum within the compaſs of a hundred of his Majeſty's Subjects would enable him to do. Nothing will ever hinder me, to give your Lordſhip thoſe Teſtimonies I deſire, of the moſt hearty conſtant Paſſion, wherewith I ſhall ever be,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To the Duke of Albemarle.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, Mar. 1. S. N.* 1666.

UPON Mr. *Sherwood*'s Paſſage this way into *England* from the Biſhop of *Munſter*, I could not refuſe him the Occaſion of waiting upon your Grace, who ſo well knows how far his Majeſty's Honour and Intereſts may be concerned in the Succeſs of his Errand.

Though that Prince's Neceſſities may be grown great, as well as his Complaints and the Arrears of his Payments, yet I am confident five and twenty or thirty thouſand Pounds in a lump, and ſudden, would bring him ſtrong and vigorous into the Field this Spring, which would prove a cheap Advantage to his Majeſty's Arms, and perhaps the greateſt in Sight, next to your Grace's commanding this Summer's Fleet; from which we all here certainly reckon upon a Succeſs, ſuitable to the reſt of your Fortunes and Glories, which I hope to ſee compleated upon the *French* Fleets. Mine will be great, if your Grace pleaſes to eſteem me as you will ever have Reaſon to do,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt Faithful

Humble Servant.

To my Lord Carlingford.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, Mar.* 6. 1666.

I Have this Exception to your Service, that my Faults are taken notice of, and not my Diligence: For in your Lordſhip's of the 21st paſt, I find not the leaſt mention of any Letters received from me, tho' I am confident by other Circumſtances, ſome of them muſt have been come to your Hands. I fear your News at *Vienna* is not ſo good nor true as your Wine; and by the abundance of Reports with ſhallow Grounds, I doubt your Court is rather inclined to *bear* News than to make it. That *Brandenburg* is our Enemy, at leaſt for four Months, is too certain: That *Sweden* is a Friend to *Munſter*, we may gueſs rather from Cauſes, than any Effects that I know of: And ſince neither the Emperor nor *Spain* will contribute any thing towards the *Biſhop*'s Aſſiſtance, nor ſo much as the ſtaving off Enemies, that by *Dutch* and *French* are raiſing up againſt him in the Empire it ſelf, I know no Remedy. But yet in ſpight of all Force and Artifice to diſarm him, I expect for my part to ſee him rather beſieged in *Coeſvelt* or *Munſter*, than make a Peace without our Maſter's Conſent, as is hoped by our Enemies, and perhaps wiſhed by ſome of our Friends, for fear the Continuance of his Muſick ſhould make them dance before they have a mind to it. But I believe all their Coldneſs and ſhrinking will hardly defend them, and may help them rather to loſe their Friends, than gain their Enemies: For we have certain News that the *French* have made a *Place d' Armes* between *la Fere* and *Peronne*, where that King is coming down to the Rendezvouſes of fifteen thouſand Men: And the *Hollanders* on the other ſide are ſo incurably poſſeſs'd with an Opinion of ſome wonderful deep important League between us and *Spain*, that they are upon the very brink of reſolving a War too, and concluding a League offenſive as well as defenſive, with *France*; at leaſt if the Aſcendant of this Year be favourable to *De Witt*'s Party as that of the laſt was, which begins to be a little doubted of late. I will not ſend your Lordſhip any *Engliſh* Letters, nor our Declaration of War againſt the *French*, in Confidence it goes along with your Pacquet; by which you will ſee his Majeſty hath been as generous and civil, as the *French* King was rough in his, to call it no worſe: But he hath begun the War with ſo much Heat, that I am apt to believe he will come to be cool before it ends.

I ſhall ill deſerve your Lordſhip's Leave of writing often, if I do it ſo long, and ſo little to the Purpoſe together. After I have told you my Lord *Oſſory* is come over into *England*, and that my Lord *Arlington* is for certain (as they ſay both in *England* and here) to marry the Lady *Æmilia*, my Lady of *Oſſory*'s Siſter, I will give your Lordſhip the good Night, almoſt as late as I imagine you uſe to go to Bed, and only tell you that I am at all Hours,

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt
Humble Servant.

To Sir Philip Warwick.

SIR, *Bruſſels, Mar.* 12. *N. S.* 1666.

THO' it be more eaſy and more uſual to beg Favours than to acknowledge them, yet I find you are reſolved to force me upon the laſt, without ever giving me Time or Occaſion for the other. How much I am obliged to you in my laſt Diſpatch, I am told enough by Mr. *Godolphin*, but more by my own Heart, which will never ſuffer me to believe, that a Perſon to whom I have been ſo long, and am ſo much a Servant, ſhould be any other than kind to me; for that is my way of judging my abſent Friends, and ſerves, like a Watch in my Pocket, to meaſure the Time, tho' I ſee no Sun. The very Name of Time puts me in mind, that yours is not to be ſpent idly; and that you are more pleaſed to oblige your Friends, than to receive their Thanks. And therefore I will only ſay, that mine are very ſenſible and very hearty, and that no Man is with more Reaſon, and with more Sincereneſs than I am,

SIR,

Your affectionate Humble Servant,

To the Biſhop of Munſter.

Bruſſels, Mar. 12.
SIR, *N. S.* 1666.

YOUR Higneſs's Letter of the 9th inſtant came in due time to my Hands, by which I plainly find with how much Faith and Conſtancy, as well as Wiſdom and Courage, your Highneſs intends to order your Affairs. My utmoſt Endeavours ſhall not be wanting for the advancing of them, as well as for encreaſing and cultivating the Confidence his Majeſty hath in your Highneſs, (on which the common League chiefly relies) eſpecially at this time, when ſo many ill deſigning Men uſe all Endeavours to ſhake or deſtroy it, wherein it is hard to tell whether their Folly or Malice be greater.

I hear every Day in this City, that your Highneſs has made Peace with the *Hollanders*, without any regard to us or our League, or ſo much as conſulting his Majeſty upon it: And I pretend to believe what I am told, tho' I am inwardly aſſured to the contrary. As for Whiſpers and Rumours, it is not my Cuſtom either to amuſe others or perplex my ſelf with them. I confeſs I was ſomewhat moved with a Letter from the Duke of *Brunſwick* to a Man of Underſtanding in this City, which I lately ſaw and read; wherein he ſeems to feed himſelf and his Friend with Hopes of a ſpeedy Peace in all thoſe Parts of *Germany*, and aſſures him from his certain Knowledge that the Prince of *Munſter* will accept it, in caſe it be offer'd to him without the greateſt Ignominy and Loſs; wherein he ſays, the neighbour Princes uſe all Means to engage him.

I am ſorry to find the Marquis of *Caſtel Rodrigo* of the ſame Opinion; becauſe

Epiſcopo Monaſterii.

Bruxellis, Mar. 19.
Celſiſſime Domine, *N. S.* 1666.

R*Ectè & tempeſtivè admodum mihi redditæ ſunt literæ Celſitudinis veſtræ,* 9^{a} *Martii datæ, è quibus planè perſpexi quàm inconcuſſâ fide, & quàm decorâ conſtantiâ C. V. res ſuas ſemper ornatura ſit, dum eaſdem eximiâ prudentiâ & animo molitur interea & gubernat. Mihi certè nihil erit unquam antiquius iſto officio, quod ſemper præſtiti & præſtiturus ſum tam in illis omni modo promovendis, quàm in formandâ, & ſi opus fuerit erigendâ ſacræ ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtatis fiduciâ, quâ præcipuè mihi videtur communis fœderis vinculum & robur, hoc præſertim tempore cùm multi & vaſri & ventoſi homines illam pedibus eant labefactatum, majore levitate neſcio, an malitiâ.*

In hac urbe pacem jam ratam iri inter C. V^{m}*. & Hollandos, poſthabitis omnino rationibus & fœderis & noſtris, nedum conſultâ voluntate, ego utriſque auribus quotidiè accipio; credulitatem ſimulo, toto autem pectore inficias eo. Rumoribus certè & ſuſurris nec mihi alios paſcere aſſuetum, nec meipſum excruciare; commotum me paulò fateor literis Ducis Brunſwicenſis viro ſagaci in hac urbe tranſmiſſis, quas ipſe nuperrimè vidi, legique diligentiùs, in quibus & ſeſe & amicum multâ ſpe lactare videtur pacis in univerſis iſtis Germaniæ partibus breviter reſtituendæ, ſibique pro comperto conſtare aſſerit, Principem Monaſterii eam libentiſſimè accepturum, modò ſine ſummâ ignominiâ & damno eam oblatam iri contingat; in quo vicinos ait Principes oleum & operam ſummo jam ſtudio impendere.*

Marchionem de Caſtel Rodrigo eandem imbibiſſe planè opinionem & ſentio & doleo:

cauſe I know the Event muſt be diſhonourable to your Highneſs, and will be imputed to the King my Maſter perhaps as Imprudence, at leaſt as ill Fortune. Nor do I think the *Spaniards* at this time of day ſo generous as to promote the League (which we hope to ſee confirmed by my Lord *Sandwich*'s Embaſſy into *Spain*) if they once imagine, tho' but falſly, that his Majeſty, among ſuch potent Enemies, is forſaken by his neareſt Confederates.

On the contrary, I am entirely perſuaded, as well from your Highneſs's laſt Letter, as from your Virtue and good Senſe, that you have too great a Regard for your Faith and Honour, to darken the Luſtre of ſo fair a Life, by ſo foul a Stain. This I do not fail continually to inform both his Majeſty and his Miniſters: nor do I doubt, but if Fortune ſhall be wanting to the Juſtice of your Arms, ſo far as that your Highneſs ſhall be in Danger of being brought to the laſt Extremities, you will at leaſt have that Regard to ſo ſacred a League, and to the Honour of ſo great a King, as to give his Majeſty timely Notice; declare the invincible Neceſſities you lay under, and deſire Permiſſion to enter upon new Councils.

As for us, I am ſure your Highneſs is ſufficiently convinced of his Majeſty's Care in performing his Part, and how happily he has overcome the greateſt Difficulties and Straits, wherein by occaſion of the late Peſtilence his Revenues have been involved. About ten Days ago I gave Monſieur *Rhintorf* Letters of Exchange for 77000 Dollars: He is a diligent Perſon, a Friend to the common League, and of equal Probity and Induſtry. I have given him alſo other Letters, wherein a very rich Merchant of *Amſterdam* has undertaken to tranſmit 30000 Dollars more to me with all convenient ſpeed. I have alſo Orders from his Majeſty to advance Money for your Highneſs upon a great Quantity of Tin lately recover'd from Shipwreck at *Oſtend*: And his Majeſty has farther given me in Charge to let your Highneſs know, that whatever remains ſhould be paid without fail.

All

leo: quippe ejuſmodi eventum & C.V. vitio verti neceſſe eſt, & Regi Domino meo, imprudentiæ forſan, aut ſaltem infælicitati. Nec Hiſpanos uſque adeo jam temporis generoſos æſtimo, ut provehendo fœderi (quod jam arctius aſtrictum iri ſperamus nuperrimâ Comitis de Sandwich in Hiſpaniam Legatione) fortiùs impellant remos, ſi Regem Dominum meum inter tantos hoſtes ab intimo fœderato deſertum iri, ſibi vel falsò perſuaſerint.

Ego interea tam ex poſtremis literis, quàm ex ingenti C.V. indole & genio, moribus etiam & ſtudiis, mihi è contra procul omni aleâ perſuaſum habeo, eam virtuti, fidei & gloriæ nimis fæliciter litâſſe, quam ut tot decora tam inſignis vitæ tantâ labe infuſcari ullo modo patiatur. Hoc ſacræ ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtati, hoc Miniſtris regiis inculcare non deſino; nec ullus dubito, ſi tam juſtis armis Fortunâ in tantum defuerit, ut inter tot hoſtes C.V. in extremis ſe laboraturam præſentiat; quin hoc ſaltem tanto fœderi, hoc tanti Regis nomini & auſpiciis tribuendum judicet, ut ſacram ſuam Majeſtatem non inconſultam velit, neceſſitates inſuperabiles exponat, veniamque demum impetret novis & alienis conſiliis ineundis.

Quod ad partes noſtras attinet, ſatis confido C.V. abunde exploratum habere quanto ſtudio & opere ſacra ſua Regia Majeſtas explendis ad amuſſim ſingulis invigilaverit, quantáque demum fælicitate anguſtias & difficultates ſummas eluctata ſit, quibus per nuperam contagionem res ſuas præcipuè pecuniarias involutas ſenſit. Ego jam infra decem elapſos dies literas Cambii uſque ad ſeptuaginta ſeptem Thalerorum millia valituras, Domino de Rhintorf ritè tradidi, viro certè impigro, animique erga res communis fœderis propenſiſſimi, nec minoris ut mihi videtur probitatis quàm induſtriæ. Eidem alias impertii literas, per quas mercator admodum opulentus Amſtelodami in ſe provinciam recepit, triginta adhuc Thalerorum millia mihi quamprimum tranſmittendi. Eodem tempore & magnam ſtanni molem Oſtendæ nuper ex naufragio revulſam, augendis C.V. rationibus impendere, inter regia juſſa habeo; præcipuumque à ſacrâ ſuâ Regiâ Majeſtate mandatum, ut C.V. perſuaſam penitùs & ſecuram velim, quod reliqui eſt ſine ullâ ambage ſolutum iri.

Hæc

All this Matter was finiſhed before Mr. *Sherwood*'s Departure for *England*, whom I have however inſtructed with the beſt Counſel I could, as well as with Letters of Recommendation to the chief Miniſters; tho' I am certain his Majeſty's Juſtice and Truth will be more prevalent in this Matter than the moſt importunate Sollicitations or Complaints.

In the mean while I ſhall uſe my utmoſt Care and Diligence for the Service of your Highneſs, and it will be your Part not to be wanting either to his Majeſty, or your own Honour and Safety, which are all concerned in this Conjuncture. I alſo beg your Highneſs not to be diſcouraged by your Enemies, not to diſtruſt your old Friends, nor deſpair of raiſing new ones.

Time for the better changes many
things.

In the mean time I wiſh your Highneſs Health and Victory, and deſire you will ever eſteem me,

S I R,

Your Highneſs's moſt Obedient Humble Servant.

Hæc omnia excuſſa & abſoluta fuiſſe advertendum eſt ante appulſum Domini Sherwood, quem tamen in tranſitu ſaluberrimis quibus fas erat conſiliis, & commendatoriis apud ſummos Regios Miniſtros literis munitum volui; etiamſi pro comperto habeam, Regis Domini mei juſtitiam inſignem & fidem inviolatam plus querimoniis omnibus vel precibus maximè importunis in hâc re valituras.

Ego interea curâ, opere, ſtudio, & diligentiâ, nec deſum nec defuturus ſum; Celſitudini autem veſtræ curæ erit ne ſacræ ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtati, ne ſibimet ipſi defuerit, ne propriæ denique gloriæ nec ſaluti, quas in hoc cardine rerum verti ſatis perſpectum habere neceſſe eſt. Nec inter inſurgentes hoſtes deſpondeat oro, nec veteribus amicis ad minimum diffidat, nec deſperet de novis excitandis.

Multa Dies variuſque labor mutabilis ævi
Detulit in melius.

Valeat interea C. V. & vincendo pergat; inter autem addictiſſimos ejuſque rerum ſtudioſiſſimos de jure ſemper æſtimet,

C. V.

Obſervantiſſimum.

To Mr. * Godolphin.

S I R,

Bruſſels, Apr. 1. *N. S.* 1666.

AMONG my few Debts, I could not have imagined my ſelf likely to have any in *Spain*, till my late Intelligence from *England* and Obſervation of the Winds perſuaded me to it, as my good Conſcience does to endeavour at the Satisfaction of them before it be called for. After I have welcomed you into the Climate with the ſame Chear and Kindneſs the Sun I know will do, you muſt receive my Acknowledgment of two Letters I had from you before you left *Engliſh* Ground, but withal, ſome Reproach that you could mingle the Expreſſions of your Kindneſs with that idle Buſineſs of Accompts, in which you are too juſt, as thoſe you had to deal with for my † Patent Fees, were I think too merciful, at leaſt much more ſo than I expected. Your Letter from *Sheen* was more obliging, in making me believe you met any thing in that Corner you could be entertained or pleaſed with; but if it were ſo, I fear you had your Revenge: For my Wife tells me to my Face, in her Letter upon that Occaſion, that ſhe ſhall love you whilſt ſhe lives for the Kindneſs of that Viſit. What Effect this might have upon an abſent Man in *Spaniſh* Air, I know not; but from this more temperate Climate I will aſſure you, that I am content to ſhare with you the Kindneſs of my beſt Friends, which is all the Quarrel I will raiſe at this Diſtance, upon this Occaſion.

The laſt Courier from *Spain* renew'd our Mourning at this Court for the News of Sir * Sir *R. F.* and Sir *R. S*'s arrival at *Madrid* without Succeſs in the *Portugal* Truce; which being the Hinge of all Affairs at this time in *Chriſtendom*,

* *Afterwards Sir* William Godolphin.

† *For Baronet.*

* *Sir* Richard Fanſhaw.

dom, is (I hope) reſerved for your more happy and more dexterous Management. I find it agreed from *France* with other Parts, that nothing will have good Iſſue in *Portugal* without the Style of *King*; and methinks the *Spaniards* Height ſhould rather aim at giving him *King* without *Kingdom*, than amuſe about *Kingdom* without *King*. The beſt Swords, and Guns, and Treaſures, will have ever the Power of reviving thoſe Controverſies: In the mean time, pray endeavour to make them ſenſible, that the Poſſeſſion of *Flanders* is worth the Reverſion of *Portugal*; and that they could never have ſuch a Conjuncture to lay by the *Puntiglio* as during their King's Minority, who when grown Major, may avow and diſavow what he pleaſes of his Mother's Regency.

'Tis pleaſant in me to be giving you Arguments; but we are ſo full of it here, as you muſt excuſe all Impertinencies in this Matter. In ſhort, this is a Buſineſs muſt of neceſſity be done, and therefore for God's ſake diſpatch it: And there's an end of my wiſe Counſels.

From the *Marquis* here you muſt look for no great Aſſiſtance in this one Particular; his Birth and Intereſt make it too tickliſh a String for him to touch: In all others aſſure your ſelf I have taken a Care to preſs him, and his Excellency the pains to endeavour all he can poſſibly, for preparing whatever may honour your Reception, or facilitate your Negotiation, and being a Perſon that has run through all the Buſineſs of that Monarchy, and allied to almoſt all the Perſons of the Council, I will be confident his Offices will not be uſeleſs to you, as I hope ſome of our Countrymens will that preceded them. When you farther deſire any from his Excellency here, upon the Notice, I doubt not to furniſh you.

I find by him, the laſt Promotion of Counſellors was not made either by the Duke of *Medina*'s or *Caſtriglio*'s Faction or Authority, but chiefly by the Queen's Confeſſor, and on purpoſe to ſtrengthen a Party dependent wholly upon her Majeſty.

The Duke of *Albuquerque* you will find a Man of more Warmth than Depth, and no great Leader in Council or Buſineſs: *Montalto* is a Man of more Head, has more of the Queen's Ear, and runs the Fortune of growing one Day into the greateſt Miniſtry: He is at preſent embroiled with the Duke of *Medina*, but if my Lord *Sandwich* would reconcile thoſe two Strings, and tune them together, he would find it eaſy to concert his own Muſick there.

D'Ayala is *Herb John*, *Aitona* conſidered; and upon his March, which he may ſucceed well in, if he contents himſelf to make it by ſlow and even Steps. *Pignoranda* would make a third Party, is learned, and called wiſe, but wants Birth and Vigour to ſupport more Greatneſs than he has. The *Confeſſor* is *honneſte Homme*, has lived till now retired from Buſineſs, but made a great Leap into it on the ſudden. *Caſtriglio* and *Caracena* are ſo far known, as I need ſay nothing of what you are to hope or fear from them in your Negotiation. Pray preſent my humble Service to my Lord Ambaſſador, and give him this little Light, if you think 'tis worth it. The *French* Men's Looks towards us are fair, but I doubt their Meaning; at the ſame time they offer at Accommodation, they write into *Holland*, preſſing all that is poſſible, the State's Agreement with *Munſter*, that their Forces may be all free to fall upon *England*, and encourage the ſpeedy ſetting out of their Fleet, with aſſurance of their own being ready to join. They muſter'd fifteen thouſand Men but ten days hence near this Frontier in great Bravery, where King, Queen, and all the Court appeared. The *French* King reſolves to march about the firſt of *May* in the Head of them towards *Sedan*, upon pretence to force the Duke of *Lorrain* to diſarm, or at leaſt, to know the Cauſe of this preſent Arming. In the mean time the *Hugonots* of *Poictou* have put in three Requeſts to the King, demanding Liberty of their Churches, according to the Edicts of *Nantes*, and mingling ſome Strains very bold, with others very humble.

The Prince of *Munſter* hath Envoys from ſix of his neighbour Princes now with him, treating about the Peace and Security of the *Weſtphalian* Circle, and an Accommodation with *Holland*; all which gives Jealouſy of his Honour and Conſtancy.

The Elector of *Brandenburg* hath put in a Memorial to the *States*, recommending paſſionately the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, which hath given ſome Jealouſy both to *Dutch* and *French*.

The Elector of *Collen* hath ſent an Envoy to the *Hague*, who is there arrived to demand the Reſtitution of *Rhinberg*.

The Prince of *Orange*'s Siſter's Marriage is concluded with the Duke of *Simmeren*; for the Conſummation of it the Princeſs Dowager and Prince of *Orange* intend ſuddenly for *Cleve*. Captain *Bennet* and Sir *John Sayers*, with ſeveral others, are arrived at *Oſtend* in the King's Yacht for Madamoiſelle *Bevarwaert*'s Tranſportation. The Captain of the Veſſel approaching the Town, and pretending to take a Ship belonging to that Port, and entering there for a *Hollander*, purſued and fired at her, till a Gunner from the Caſtle, not knowing what Veſſel ours was, gave her one Gun, but ſo unluckily, that it ſtruck thro' the Cabbin, killed the Gunner, and ſhot off the Captain's Leg. I have ſent Letters from the Marquis to the Governor at *Oſtend*, to make all Excuſes and Reparations. I have juſt now diſpatched an Expreſs to the *Hague*, to deſire Madamoiſelle *Bevarwaert*'s Commands where and when I ſhall attend her Paſſage, which my Lord *Arlington* hath adviſed to make by *Antwerp*, and to leave all her Money there in my Hands, which with a hundred and fifty thouſand Dollars I ſhall meet there about the ſame time for *Munſter*, will make me ſo rich, that I think I had beſt take the good time, and run away to you into *Spain*; but I ſhall never reckon upon your Protection, longer than I have ſome Honeſty mingled with my Kindneſs for you; and while I have the leaſt of one, you may reckon upon the moſt of t'other that can be from,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate Friend,

and moſt Faithful Servant.

To the Biſhop of Munſter.

Bruſſels, Apr. 27.
SIR, *N. S.* 1666.

THE Care your Highneſs was pleaſed to expreſs for the Safety of my Journey, makes me believe you will be pleaſed to hear how ſoon and happily I arrived at *Bruſſels*, after many Difficulties.

By a Letter yeſterday, I recommended to his Majeſty the Affairs of your Highneſs, as I promiſed to do, and hope my Care will not be in vain: But ſince I left *Munſter*, I am informed that Monſieur *Colbert* the *French* Miniſter would arrive in a little time to buy the Troops that your Highneſs deſigns to diſmiſs, and to put them into the *French* Service. Now I cannot but inform your Highneſs, how unjuſt, how falſe, and how ungrateful it will appear, for thoſe Troops that were raiſed and armed by the King my Maſter's Money, to enter into the Service of a foreign Prince, now at open Enmity

Epiſcopo Monaſterii.

Bruxellis, Apr. 27.
Celſiſſime Domine, *S. N.* 1666.

S*UMMA iſta ſollicitudo & benevolentia quas C. V. in ſecuritate itineri meo præſtandâ demonſtravit, me perſuaſum habens, non ingratum fore ſi eam certiorem velim quàm brevi & fæliciter inter multa incommoda & difficultates, Bruxellas appulerim.*

Ego jam per heſternas literas operam & ſtudium meum impendi iſtis officiis C. V. erga ſacram ſuam Regiam Majeſtatem exſolvendis, quæ pollicitus ſum, nec vana fore confido. Accepi autem ex quo Monaſterio diſceſſi, Dominum Colbert Miniſtrum Gallicum brevi appulſurum ad mercandas copias quas dimiſſura eſt C. V. eaſque in ſtipendia Regis Gallici attrahendas. Non poſſum C. V. celare quàm iniquum, infidum, & ingratum videbitur, copias pecuniâ Regis Domini mei conflatas & inſtructas, in partes & ſtipendia tranſire Regis alieni, jamque palam nobis inimici, & contra nos armati; nec iſto modo dici poteſt, ut novum

mity with us, by which means they become Rebels rather than Enemies. And indeed I find all the Miniſters of *Munſter* are extremely averſe from this Counſel.

For ſince his Excellency the Marquis of *Caſtel Rodrigo* deſigns to draw into the *Spaniſh* Service, all who are Subjects of his Catholick Majeſty, with two or three Regiments beſides, and for that end deſigns to ſend Monſieur *D——* to *Munſter*: I think it more for the Honour and Advantage of the King my Maſter, that theſe Forces be placed in the Service of a Prince who has been long our Friend and Confederate; and therefore I deſire your Highneſs to give a Hand to this Negotiation, which I promiſe ſhall be neither unknown nor unwelcome to the King my Maſter. I am,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

novum bellum, ſed genus quoddam rebellionis, inſtituant; à quo conſilio ego omnes, quos conveni Monaſterii officiales expertus ſum admodum alienos.

Cùm autem Excellentia ſua Dominus Marchio de Caſtel Rodrigo in votis habeat ſubditos omnes Catholicæ Majeſtatis in ſua ſtipenda retrahere, duaſque inſuper vel tres alteras legiones; & in hunc finem ſtatuerit Dominum D—— Monaſterium uſque ablegare; ego multo magis & honori & utilitati Regis Domini mei conducturnm æſtimo, ſi copiæ iſtæ in auſpicia & ſtipendia Regis nobis jam temporis confœderati & amiciſſimi tranſeant. Ideoque ſupplico C. V. ut huic negotiationi facilitandæ (quicquid in ſe erit) utraſque manus præbeat, idque officium Regi Domino meo nec ignotum nec ingratum fore ſpondeo.

C. V. *&c.*

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, *Bruſſels, May* 10. *N. S.* 1666.

AFTER ſo long and ſo hard a Journey, I thought you would be glad to know I was well again in my former Station, and what was the Occaſion of my leaving it ſo ſuddenly and ſo privately, that I could not acquaint any of my Friends with it before I went, which now I am at liberty to entertain you with.

This Winter has paſſed with much Noiſe, made by the Biſhop of *Munſter* in his Enterprize againſt *Holland* with ſome Attempts, but little Succeſs. The Fault he has laid in ſome degree upon the Marquis here, for refuſing to ſuffer the Duke of *Bornoville* to go and command his Troops, which he durſt not conſent to, for fear of giving too much Offence to the *French* and *Dutch*, at a Time when the *Spaniards* here are in ill Condition for a Quarrel: But the Biſhop's chief Complaints have been, want of thoſe Sums of Money ſtipulated by his Majeſty to be furniſhed him both before and after his taking the Field. Our Excuſes upon the Loſs of the Ships with Tin before *Oſtend*, though they may ſerve to keep us in Countenance, yet they will not pay Forces in the Field, which he has often threaten'd theſe three Months paſt muſt break up, without ſpeedy Supplies. In the mean time his neighbouring Princes of the *Empire*, eſpecially the Electors of *Ments* and *Brandenburg*, with the Duke of *Nieuburg*, ſeeing a Flame broke out, which muſt draw foreign Armies into the *Empire*, both *French* and *Dutch*, have uſed firſt all Offices they could, to prevail with the Biſhop to make his Peace with *Holland*, engaged the *Emperor* himſelf in the ſame Endeavours, and finding him ſteady to his Treaty with the King, at laſt the Duke of *Brandenburg* drew his Forces into the Field, reſolved to compel him by joining with the *Dutch*, if he could not perſuade him to make the Peace; and the Duke of *Nieuburg* prepared to ſecond him in this Deſign. The *French* were not wanting in their Offices to the ſame Ends; ſo that a private Agreement was made about the beginning of this Month, for the *French*, *Dutch* and *Munſter* Envoys to meet at *Cleve*, and there treat the Peace under the Mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

As ſoon as the King received this Alarm, he ſent an Expreſs immediately to command me away the inſtant I received it, with a Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, and with Inſtructions to do all I could poſſibly to hinder the Peace, and with Bills of Exchange to revive his Payments, which had been long intermitted, and Promiſe of more to be remitted every Poſt, which I was to order into his Agent's Hands here in my Abſence.

I went accordingly, acquainting none with my going but the Marquis here, who gave me twenty of his own Guards, with Command to follow abſolutely all Orders I ſhould give them. I was to paſs through a great deal of the *Spaniſh* Country, much infeſted with *Dutch* Parties, more of the Duke of *Nieuburg*'s, and more yet of the *Brandenburgers*, who I know were all Enemies to the Affair I went upon, and therefore thought it beſt to paſs for a *Spaniſh* Envoy ſent from the Marquis *Caſtel Rodrigo* to the *Emperor*, and charged my ſmall Guard, and the *Cornet* that commanded them, to keep true to this Note. And ſome of my Servants, as well as moſt of the Guards ſpeaking *Spaniſh*, I ſpoke nothing elſe, unleſs in private, or when I was forced out of it by ſome Incident.

In this Guiſe I came to *Duſſeldorp* where the Duke of *Nieuburg* happened to be; (contrary to what I had been informed) as ſoon as I was in my Inn, one of his Officers came to know who I was, and whither I was going, and would not be ſatisfied by the common Anſwer from my Servants and Guards, but would receive it from me: When he came up, tho' with much Civility, yet he preſs'd me ſo far, that I found there was no feigning with him, and ſo bid him tell the Duke, that within an Hour I would come and give him an Account both of my ſelf and my Journey. I remember'd the great Kindneſs that had ever interceded between his Majeſty and this Prince; and tho' I went upon an Errand that I knew was diſagreeable to him, yet I thought he would be leſs likely to croſs me if I acquainted him frankly with it, than if I diſguiſed ſcurvily, as I was likely to do, being the thing of the World I could do the moſt uneaſily.

I had a Letter of Credence which I brought out of *England* at my firſt coming over for this Prince; but paſſing another Way to *Munſter* I had not uſed it, and ſo reſolved to do it now. I did ſo, gave it him, told him my Errand; how much his Majeſty reckon'd upon his Friendſhip, and deſired his good Offices to the Biſhop of *Munſter* in the Deſign I went upon, of keeping him firm to his Treaties with the King my Maſter.

This Duke is in my Opinion the fineſt Gentleman of any *German* I have ſeen, and deſerves much better Fortune than he is in; being ſmall, very much broken, and charged with a very numerous Iſſue; he ſeems about fifty Years old, tall, lean, very good Mien, but more like an *Italian* than a *German*: All he ſays is civil, well bred, *honneſte*, plain, eaſy, and has an Air of Truth and Honour. He made great Profeſſions of Kindneſs and Reſpect to the King, was ſorry he could not ſerve him in this Affair; his Engagements were already taken with the *Emperor* and his neighbour Princes for making the *Munſter* Peace, and by that means keeping War out of the *Empire*. He doubted I could not ſerve his Majeſty upon this Errand neither; for he firſt believed I could not get ſafe to *Munſter*, the Ways being all full of *Dutch* and *Brandenburg* Parties, who had Notice of the King's Intention to ſend away to the Biſhop upon this Occaſion; and if I ſhould arrive, he believed however I ſhould find the Peace ſigned before I came.

My Anſwer was ſhort, for I was very weary; that go I would, however I ſucceeded; that for the Danger of the Journey I knew no providing againſt it, but a very good Guide who might lead me through Ways the moſt unfrequented; That I would deſire his Highneſs to give me one of his own Guards to conduct me, becauſe none would expect a Perſon going upon my Deſign, would have one in his Livery for a Guide; and I deſired he would let me paſs, as I had done hitherto in my Journey, for a *Spaniſh* Envoy. The Duke, after ſome Difficulties at firſt (which we turned into Pleaſantries) complied with me in all: I took my leave, and went away early next Morning.

I never travell'd a more ſavage Country, over cruel Hills, through many great and thick Woods, ſtony and rapid Streams, never hardly in any high Way, and very few Villages till I came near *Dortmund* a City of the *Empire*, and within a Day's Journey, or ſomething more, of *Munſter*. The Night I came to *Dortmund* was ſo advanced when I arrived, that the Gates were ſhut, and with all our Eloquence, which was as moving as we could, we were not able to prevail to have them open'd; they adviſed us to go to a Village about a League diſtant, where they ſaid we might have Lodging. When we came there, we found it all taken up with a Troop of *Brandenburg* Horſe, ſo as the poor *Spaniſh* Envoy was fain to eat what he could get in a Barn, and to ſleep upon a Heap of Straw, and lay my Head upon my Page inſtead of a Pillow: The beſt of it was, that he underſtanding *Dutch*, heard one of the *Brandenburg* Soldiers coming into the Barn to examine ſome of my Guards about me and my Journey, which when he was ſatisfied of, he asked if he had heard nothing upon the Way of an *Engliſh* Envoy that was expected; the Fellow ſaid, he was upon the Way, and might be at *Dortmund* within a Day or two, with which he was ſatisfied, and I ſlept as well as I could.

The next Morning I went into *Dortmund*, and hearing there that for five or ſix Leagues round, all was full of *Brandenburg* Troops, I diſpatch'd away a *German* Gentleman I had in my Train with a Letter to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, to let him know the Place and Condition I was in, and deſire he would ſend me Guards immediately, and ſtrong enough to convey me. The Night following my Meſſenger return'd, and brought me Word, that by eight a Clock the Morning after, a Commander of the Biſhop's would come in ſight of the Town at the Head of twelve hundred Horſe, and deſired I would come and join them ſo ſoon as they appeared. I did ſo, and after an eaſy March till four a Clock, I came to a Caſtle of the Biſhop's, where I was received by Lieutenant-General *Gorgas* a *Scotchman* in that Service, who omitted nothing of Honour or Entertainment that could be given me. There was nothing here remarkable, but the moſt epiſcopal way of Drinking that could be invented. As ſoon as we came in the great Hall, where ſtood many Flaggons ready charged, the *General* called for Wine to drink the King's Health; they brought him a formal Bell of Silver gilt, that might hold about two Quarts or more; he took it empty, pulled out the Clapper, and gave it me who he intended to drink to, then had the Bell filled, drunk it off to his Majeſty's Health, then asked me for the Clapper, put it in, turn'd down the Bell, and rung it out, to ſhow he had play'd fair, and left nothing in it; took out the Clapper, deſired me to give it to whom I pleaſed, then gave his Bell to be filled again, and brought it to me; I that never uſed to drink, and ſeldom would try, had commonly ſome Gentlemen with me that ſerved for that Purpoſe when 'twas neceſſary; and ſo I had the Entertainment of ſeeing this Health go current thro' about a dozen Hands, with no more Share in it than juſt what I pleaſed.

The next Day after Noon, about a League from *Munſter*, the Biſhop met me at the Head of four thouſand Horſe, and in Appearance brave Troops. Before his Coach, that drove very faſt, came a Guard of a hundred *Hey Dukes* that he had brought from the laſt Campaign in *Hungary*; they were in ſhort Coats and Caps all of a brown Colour, every Man carrying a *Sabre* by his Side, a ſhort Pole-Ax before him, and a ſkrew'd Gun hanging at his Back by a Leather Belt that went croſs his Shoulder. In this Poſture they run almoſt full ſpeed, and in excellent Order, and were ſaid to ſhoot two hundred Yards with their ſkrew'd Gun, and a Bullet of the Bigneſs of a large Peaſe, into the Breadth of a Dollar or Crown Piece. When the Coach came within forty Yards of me it ſtopp'd, I ſaw the Biſhop and his General the Prince *d'Homberg* come out; upon which I alighted, ſo as to meet him between my Horſes and his Coach; after Complements, he would have me go into his Coach, and ſit alone at the back end, reſerving the t'other to himſelf and his General. I excuſed it, ſaying, I came without Character; but he replied, that his Agent had writ him Word I brought a Commiſſion, which ſtyled me *Oratorem noſtrum*, (as was true) and that he knew what was due to that Style from a great King. I never was nice in taking any Honour that was offer'd to the King's

Character, and ſo eaſily took this: But from it, and a Reception ſo extraordinary, began immediately to make an ill Preſage of my Buſineſs, and to think of the *Spaniſh* Proverb,

> *Quien te baſe mas Carte que no ſuele hazer*
> *Ote ha d'engannar ote ha meneſter.*

And with theſe Thoughts, and in this Poſture, I enter'd *Munſter*, and was conducted by the Biſhop to a Lodging prepared for me in one of the *Canon*'s Houſes.

The Biſhop would have left me immediately after he brought me to my Chamber; but I told him I could not let him go without asking an Hour of Audience that very Evening. He would have excuſed it upon Reſpect and Wearineſs, and much Complement; but I perſiſted in it, unleſs he would chuſe to ſit down where we were, and enter upon Affairs without Ceremony. He was at laſt contented; and I ſaid all I could towards my End of keeping him to the Faith of his Treaty with the King, to the Purſuit of the War till both conſented to the Peace, and to the Expectations of the Money that was due; he anſwered me, with the Neceſſities that had forced him to treat, from the failing of his Payments, the Violences of his neighbour Princes, and the laſt Inſtances of the *Emperor*; but that he would upon my coming diſpatch one immediately to *Cleve*, to command his Miniſters to make a ſtop in their Treaty till they received farther Orders, which I ſhould be Maſter of.

I went to Supper after he left me, but was told enough privately to ſpoil it before I ſate down, which was, that the Treaty was ſigned at *Cleve*; though I took no Notice of it, becauſe I knew if it were ſo, being angry would hurt no body but my Maſter or my ſelf.

Next Day the Biſhop made me a mighty Feaſt among all his chief Officers, where we ſate for four Hours, and in Bravery I drank fair like all the reſt; and obſerved that my *Spaniſh* Cornet and I that never uſed it, yet came off in better Order than any of the Company. I was very ſick after I came to my Lodging; but he got a Horſeback on purpoſe to ſhew himſelf about the Town, while the reſt of the Company were out of ſight all the Afternoon. The Day after was agreed to give me an Account of the Affair of *Cleve*; upon the return of the Biſhop's Expreſs after my Arrival, and at an Audience in the Evening, with great Pretence of Trouble and Grief, he confeſs'd the Treaty was ſigned, and ſo paſt Remedy, and that it had been ſo before his Expreſs arrived, tho' much againſt his Expectation, as he profeſs'd, I am ſure 'twas not againſt mine; for I left *Bruſſels* in the Belief that I ſhould certainly find all concluded, which made my Journey much harder than it could have been with any Hopes of ſucceeding.

I told him, when I found all ended, and no Hopes of retrieving it, that I would be gone within a Day or two, and would take my Leave of him that Night, being not well, and needing ſome Reſt before I began my Journey. He ſaid and did all that could be to perſuade my Stay till I had repreſented his Reaſons to the King, and received an Anſwer: And I found his Deſign was to keep me as long as he could, while his Agent at *Bruſſels* received Bills of Exchange from *England* that were ordered him in my Abſence; ſo that I knew not how much every Day's Stay would coſt the King, and that no other Service was to be done his Majeſty in this Affair, beſides ſaving as much of his Money as I could. The Biſhop, finding me immoveable, adviſed me however in pretended Kindneſs to go by *Collen*, which tho' four or five Days about, would be the only Way that was left for me with any Safety, the *Dutch* and *Brandenburgers* having poſted themſelves on purpoſe to attend my Return upon all the other Roads; and he offered me Colonel *Oſſory*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman in his Service, to conduct me: I ſeemed to accept all, and to be obliged by his Care, but wiſhed my ſelf well out of it, and took my Leave, tho' he pretended to ſee me again next Day.

I went home, and inſtead of going to Bed, as I gave out, I laid my Journey ſo as to be on Horſeback next Morning between three and four of Clock upon

Good-Friday, which I thought might help me to make my Journey leſs ſuſpected: I fee'd the Officer that open'd the Gates for me, to keep them ſhut two Hours longer than uſual that Morning, (which I hear was performed) and ſo committed my ſelf to the Conduct of the Duke of *Nieuburg*'s Guide, to lead me the ſhorteſt Way he could into ſome Place belonging to his Maſter. I rode hard, and without any ſtop, to a Village eight Leagues from *Munſter*, and juſt upon the Borders of the *Brandenburg* Country: There I baited, and pretended to go to Bed and ſtay all Night; but in an Hour's time, having got freſh Horſes ready for four Men that I pretended to ſend before me, I put on a Caſſaque of one of the Marquis's Guards, and with my Page, the Duke of *Nieuburg*'s Guard, and Colonel *Majette* a *Flemiſh* Officer in the *Munſter* Service, I took Horſe at the back Door of my Inn, while the reſt of my Company thought me a-Bed, and reſolved to ride as far as I could the reſt of that Day, leaving my Steward to follow me the next, with the reſt of my Train and Guards.

I rode till eight at Night through the wildeſt Country, and moſt unfrequented Ways that ever I ſaw, but being then quite ſpent, and ready to fall from my Horſe, I was forced to ſtop and lay me down upon the Ground till my Guard went to a Peaſant's Houſe in ſight, to find if there were any Lodging for me; he brought me Word there was none, nor any Proviſions in the Houſe, nor could find any thing but a little Bottle of *Juniper* Water, which is the common Cordial in that Country: I drank a good deal, and with it found my Spirits ſo revived, that I reſolved to venture upon the three Leagues that remained of my Journey, ſo as to get into the Territories of *Nieuburg*, having paſſed all the Way ſince I left my Train through thoſe of *Brandenburg*, whoſe Engagements with the *Dutch* left me no Safety while I was there. About Midnight I came to my Lodging, which was ſo miſerable that I lay upon Straw, got on Horſeback by break of Day, and to *Duſſeldorp* by Noon; where being able to ride no farther, I went to Bed for an Hour, ſent to make my Excuſes to the Duke of *Nieuburg* upon my Haſte and Wearineſs, and to borrow his Coach to carry me to *Ruremond*, which was a long Day's Journey. This Prince ſent me his Coach and his Complements, with all the Civility in the World. I went away that Afternoon, got to *Ruremond* the next, and from thence hither, not without great Danger of the *Dutch* Parties, even in the *Spaniſh* Country: And ſo have ended the hardeſt Journey that ever I made in my Life, or ever ſhall; for ſuch another I do not think I could ever bear, with a Body no ſtronger than mine.

At my Return I have had the Fortune to ſtop ſeveral Bills of Exchange that would otherwiſe have fallen into the Hands of the Biſhop's Agent here, and to forbid the Payment of the reſt he received in my Abſence, which tho' accepted by the Merchants at *Antwerp*, yet were not ſatisfied, the Time having not expired at which they were payable. And this Service to the King is all the Satisfaction I have by this Adventure, which has ended the whole Affair of *Munſter* that has of late made ſo much Noiſe, and raiſed ſo much Expectation in the World. I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, May* 14, *N. S.* 1665.

THO' my late *Munſter* Journey has given your Grace ſome Eaſe by my Intermiſſions, and me many Troubles, yet I met none of which I was more ſenſible, than what I received at my Return by the News of your Grace's Indiſpoſition. But I comforted my ſelf firſt, that your Health is too conſiderable to fall, tho' it may ſuffer under common Accidents; and ſince, with the Certainty given me of its Recovery, in which I give your Grace what I receive by it my ſelf, as much Joy, I am ſure, as if I felt never ſo great an Addition to my own, ſince Mankind is eſteemed ſo great a ſelf Lover, that theſe are the higheſt Expreſſions will be allowed us.

I have deſired my Lord *Arlington* to give your Grace, in my own Letters to his Lordſhip, the Account of my whole Tranſaction, which I take no great Pleaſure in repeating, and ſhould very difficultly at once give Relations ſo particular, as what I made whilſt the Objects, their Diſpoſitions and Motions, were in my Eye. The length of them may make them too much Trouble to your Grace, of which my Father or Brother I know would be glad to eaſe you, and give the Minute of a Draught at large.

I ſo concerted with the Biſhop whilſt I was there, and with the Marquis here at my Return, that we expect here between five or ſix thouſand of his beſt Troops, upon his Excellency's paying fifty thouſand Pattacons, and obliging himſelf to reſtore them upon Repayment of the like Sum whenever the Biſhop ſhall have need of them; which is a better Diſpoſal of Forces raiſed by his Majeſty's Money, than if they had been drawn over into the *French* Service, according to their Proſpect, and Monſieur *Colbert*'s Endeavour, who was ſent to *Munſter* on purpoſe to *marchand* them. Whether the Duke of *Nieuburg*, who ſeems wholly *French*, will make any Difficulty in giving them Paſſage through his Country, I know not; nor whether the Light be true which was lately given me of a War like to ſucceed in thoſe Parts between that Duke and the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, which would in this Conjuncture mingle the Cards after the ſtrangeſt manner imaginable.

Tho' we hear much of our Fleet's being at Sea, yet we talk more here of the *Dutch* Slowneſs, who have not yet Men for above fifty Ships, and thoſe ſo diſhearten'd and cold in the Service, that I fear nothing but their eluding our great Preparations by keeping cloſe in their Harbours, till for want of Victuals we may be forced to return to ours.

My Lord *Carlingford* is now at *Prague*, uncertain upon his late Letters from Court, whether he advances this way, or returns to the *Emperor*, whither he hath diſpatch'd his Son, and where we have ſome Ground of Complaint, ſeeing the *Emperor*'s Name among all the other Princes in the Guarranty of the *Munſter* Peace. The Endeavour of that Court had been much better employ'd in compaſſing the Peace with *Portugal*, which hangs yet in great Uncertainties, not to ſay Difficulties: Neither of which there is the leaſt of in my being with moſt hearty and unfeigned Paſſion,

My Lord,

Tour, &c.

To my Lord Liſle.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, Aug.* —— *S. N.* 1666.

I Received lately the Honour of one from your Lordſhip, and by it the Satisfaction of finding your Health and good Humour continue, as well as my ſhare in your Favour and Memory which I am much concerned in. I aſſure your Lordſhip, in the midſt of a Town and Employment entertaining enough, and a Life not uneaſy, my Imaginations run very often over the Pleaſures of the Air, and the Earth, and the Water, but much more of the Converſation at *Sheen*; and make me believe, that if my Life wears not out too ſoon, I may end it in a corner there, tho' your Lordſhip will leave it I know in time for ſome of thoſe greater and nobler Houſes that attend you. I am obliged by the very pleaſing Relations you give from thoſe ſofter Scenes, in return of which, ſuch as I can make you from thoſe of Buſineſs, or War, or Tumult, muſt, I know, yield rougher Entertainment; and therefore I have ſent them in a Paper, which ſhall paſs rather for a Gazette than a Letter; and ſhall content my ſelf only to tell your Lordſhip, that 'tis hardly to be imagined the Change which about three Weeks paſt have made in the Face of *Holland*'s Affairs, which are now eſteemed here to be upon the Point of breaking into much ſuch a Confuſion as we ſaw in *England* about 1659: Nor can any thing almoſt be added in theſe Parts to the Reputation of his Majeſty's Arms and Affairs; ſo far, that it grows a Credit to be an *Engliſh* Man; and not only here, but in *Amſterdam* it ſelf. I am told my Lord *Stafford*, who went lately thither about a Proceſs, has more Hats and Legs than the *Burgomaſter* of the Town. I will not increaſe your Lordſhip's Trouble by any enlarging upon this Subject, having offered you a much longer in the encloſed. I wiſh I could give you ſome of another kind, by ſending you a little *Spaniſh* Miſtreſs from hence, whoſe Eyes might ſpoil your Walks, and burn up all the green Meadows at *Sheen*, and find other Ways of deſtroying that Repoſe your Lordſhip pretends alone to enjoy, in ſpight of the common Fate of Mankind. But however your Friends ſuffer by it, I wiſh it may laſt as long as it pleaſes you; I am ſure the Profeſſions will do ſo of my being,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful

Humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, Aug.* —— *S. N.* 1666.

I AM not to be forgiven, that endeavour by one Trouble to make room for another, and ſolicit your Lordſhip this way, that my Wife may have leave to ſolicit you in a Matter wherein I can never reſolve to do it my ſelf. Your Lordſhip's Friendſhp has left me little to deſire or complain of, unleſs it be when I find my own Fortune ſo diſproportion'd to my Mind, in the Reſolutions I have of doing his Majeſty all the Honour, as well as all the Service I can: But how ill they agree in this Point (tho' I was ever rich while I was private, even beyond my Deſires) is a Story I would rather any body ſhould tell you than I: However, I ſhould not bring my Wife into this Scene, but that I know ſhe will ask nothing but my own, is a Perſon not apt to be troubleſom or importunate, and in all Kinds the beſt part of,

My Lord,

Yours, &c.

Patri Gottenburg.

Domine, *Bruxellis, Dec.* 26. *S. N.* 1666.

R*ECTE & per manus dulciſſimæ tuæ ſororis accepi Chirothecas elegantiſſimè conſutas, & non minus politè contextas Literas; per quas nec me elapſum memoriâ veſtrâ, nec planè exutum Benevolentiâ, & ſentio & gaudeo. Utroque nomine me pulcherrimæ iſtæ Indoli per totam veſtram Familiam diffuſæ, potiùs quam ulli meo merito obligatum æſtimo: Habeo itaque & ago gratias quamplurimas, ut verò acceptiori quodam modo eas referre ſtudeam ſororem optimam exoravi, quæ me (ut ſpero) Officio & Debito perfunctum brevi reddituru eſt. Valeat interim Reverentia veſtra, ſtudiis propoſitis auſpicatiſſimè incumbat, & ex Votis procedat, meque ſemper teneat,*

Amiciſſimum, &c.

To Mr. Thynn.

SIR, *Bruſſels, Feb.* 19. *S. N.* 1667.

ABOUT two Days ſince I received the Favour of yours of the 16th paſt, and am ſorry to be put upon the Defence in an Encounter ſo much to my Advantage: This had not arrived, if I could as eaſily have found the way of conveying my Letters, as the Diſpoſitions of writing: For thoſe I have always had about me ſince I knew your Station and Character, which I thought would help to bear me out in that Attempt. The little Acquaintance you are contented to own, I durſt not reckon upon, becauſe it was ſo much more than I deſerved, and ſo much leſs than I deſired; but am very glad that may be allowed of among the Obligations we have to enter upon this Commerce, tho' we need no other than our Maſter's Service, which may on both Sides be improved by the Communication of what paſſes in our different Scenes. I ſhall not engage in anſwering the Complements of your Letter, tho' I ſhould have much more Juſtice on my ſide; but I am very ill furniſhed with that ſort of Ware, and the Truth is, there is required ſo much Skill in the right Tempering, as well as the Diſtribution of them, that I have always thought a Man runs much hazard of loſing more than he gains by them, which has made me ever averſe, as well as incapable of the Trade. It will be to more Purpoſe to let you know the Confidence we have here of our Treaty with *Spain* being ſigned in all Points to our Satisfaction; but whether *Portugal* has or will accept their Part in it, which is a Truce of forty five Years, I cannot yet reſolve you; only this I am aſſured, that it is feared in the *French* Court, as well as hoped in ours.

The current News at *Antwerp*, as well as here, is of the *Dutch* Merchant Fleet from *Nantes* and *Rochel*, conſiſting of above a hundred Sail under the Convoy of ſix Men of War, being fallen into a Squadron of about twenty of our Frigats, and few are ſaid to have eſcaped: Tho' this be doubted of none here, and the current Letters from *Zealand* as well as *Oſtend* made it probable, yet I ſuſpend my Confidence till the Arrival of my *Engliſh* Letters, which are my *Goſpel* in theſe Caſes. This Coldneſs I know makes me loſe many Pleaſures, but on the other ſide helps me to eſcape many Diſappointments, which light Belief in the midſt of ſo many light Reports is ſubject to. The Counſels or Diſpoſitions of a ſubordinate Government as this is, are not worth troubling you with, but thoſe in the Court here are in ſhort what we wiſh them.

Thoſe of the Scene you are in deſerve much more the Enquiry; and I ſhould be very glad to know them from ſo good a Hand. My Deſires of ſerving you, can I am ſure never be known from a better than my own, which can value it ſelf to you by nothing elſe, but by telling I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient Humble Servant.

To the Earl of Clarendon, *Lord High Chancellor.*

My Lord, *Bruſſels, Mar.* 4. *S. N.* 1667.

UPON the Arrival of the laſt Poſt from *Spain*, which brought us the unwelcome News of our Treaty meeting an unhappy Obſtruction when it was at the very Point of being perfected, Count *Marſyn* came to me, and after a Preface of the great Obligations he had to his Majeſty, and the Part he took in all our Intereſts, as well as thoſe of *Spain*; he fell into large Diſcourſes of the unhappy Influences any Interruption in the preſent Treaty would have upon the Affairs of both Crowns. He inſiſted much upon the Hardſhip we put upon the *Spaniards*, in not conſenting to leave the Aſſiſtance of their Enemies, which was all the Advantage they expected from this Treaty, inſtead of many they gave; that the great Effect of it on both Sides would thereby be loſt, which was a return into mutual Confidence, and at leaſt the Beginnings of a ſincere Friendſhip. That *Spain* having conſented to what Terms his Majeſty thought reaſonable, and *Portugal* not only refuſing them, but entring at the ſame into new Dependencies upon *France*; he could not ſee what could oblige his Majeſty to more than offering *Portugal* an equal Peace, and becoming the Warrant of it. That at his Majeſty's Mediation, *Spain* had given them a Style as uſual and as honourable as what they deſired; and if they could reſolve to give them that of *King* inſtead of *Crown*, they had then no need or uſe of his Majeſty's Mediation.

That whether we thought it our Intereſt to have a Peace or War in *Chriſtendom*, we muſt begin by adjuſting the Buſineſs of *Portugal*; for if we deſired the firſt, nothing could ſo much awe the *French* into quiet Diſpoſitions as that Peace, and ours with *Holland*, to which that would likewiſe be an Ingredient. If the latter, and we had a mind rather to be Seconds in a War of *Spain* with *France*, than Principals in any, (which he thought was our true Intereſt) nothing could make way for it, or enable *Spain* either to begin or ſuſtain a War with *France*, but a Peace with *Portugal*.

That he was confident, his Majeſty's conſenting to abandon them in caſe they refuſed to be included in our Treaty, would force them immediately to accept it; that if not, and his Majeſty ſhould hereafter find it his Intereſt to ſupport them upon any great Succeſſes of *Spain* on that Side, it would be eaſy to do it by Connivance, by voluntary Troops of his own Subjects, or by a third Hand, provided it went no farther than to keep *Spain* in the Temper of yielding to the Peace upon the Terms his Majeſty ſhall have judged reaſonable: But for the preſent, without his Majeſty's Condeſcenſion to *Spain* in this Point, he did not ſee how we could hope to effect our Treaty, or to receive any Fruits of it, where new Occaſions of Diffidence and Diſtaſte would every Day ariſe.

Theſe were the chief of Count *Marſyn*'s Diſcourſes, which he ended in deſiring me that I would repreſent them to his Majeſty's chief Miniſters, and particularly to your Lordſhip from him, as the beſt preſent Teſtimony he could give of his Zeal to his Majeſty's Service and Affairs, and which he would have done himſelf, but for fear it might look like intruding into Matters and Counſels he was not called to.

Beſides this ſingle Point upon which this ſtop of our Treaty is wholly grounded, I could not but repreſent to your Lordſhip ſome other Circumſtances which I imagine may have fallen in and help'd to occaſion it. I hear *France* has declared poſitively to the *Spaniard*, that they will immediately begin the War upon the *Spaniard*'s ſigning the Treaty with us, and concluding the Truce or Peace with *Portugal* upon our Mediation. To this end, and to ſhew the *Spaniards* they are in earneſt, they buſy themſelves in making new Levies, and drawing down many Troops upon theſe Frontiers, as well as all ſorts of Proviſions, either for Sieges or a Camp. Upon this, I know not whether the *Spaniſh* Councils may be ſo faint as not to dare give the *French* any Pretence of a Quarrel, but preſerve their Quiet rather by ſhrinking, than making a bold Peace: Or whether being compoſed of Men that hardly ever look'd out of *Spain*, or conſider any thing but that Continent, they may not upon foreſight of War, either continuing with *Portugal* or beginning in *Flanders*, rather chuſe the firſt, where being Invaders, they may give themſelves what Breath they pleaſe, employ their own Natives in the Charges of Honour and Gain, and keep all the Money ſpent in the War ſtill within their Country; whereas whatever comes into *Flanders* never returns, and is ſwallowed up by ſo many foreign Troops, as the Levies for that Service muſt needs draw together. There may yet another and more prudent Conſideration ariſe with theſe, which may for the preſent delay the Concluſion of our Treaty; and that is, a Deſire to ſign it rather before the Winter than in the Spring, and by that means both gain this Summer to finiſh the Fortification of their Frontiers here, and the next Winter to put their Army in a better Poſture than they now are, or, I doubt, will ſuddenly be for the beginning of a Campaign; and if this Council ſhould be taken by Concert with us, that no Breach of Confidence may grow between us by theſe Delays, but the *French* only flattered by vain Hopes of breaking our Treaty, and thereby induced to let the *Spaniard* grow a Year older in their Peace with them, and ſlacken the War of *Portugal* into as low Expence, and as little Action or Hazard as they can: I know nothing can be ſaid againſt it, and ſhould be apt to believe it, were the Counſels there, in the Breaſt of any one Perſon by laſt reſort; whereas the divided Intereſts and Paſſions of the Counſellors cannot well ſuffer them to fall into ſuch a Reſolution with hope of Conſent, and Secret among them all.

This Reflection puts me upon another I hear from private Hands, which may poſſibly have made ſome Change in the Courſe of our Treaty; which is, that the whole Management of Affairs in the Council of *Spain* ſeems at preſent to be devolved into the Hands of Count *Caſtriglio*; the Confeſſor leaving it to him, and reſerving to himſelf thoſe things only which depend immediately upon the Will of the Queen, and propoſing to himſelf, during his Miniſtry, (which cannot be long in regard of *Caſtriglio*'s great Age) to make way for his own, by growing older and practiſed in Affairs, as well as the Knowledge, Obligations and Dependences of Perſons. Now our Treaty having never paſſed through *Caſtriglio*'s Hands, but conducted by Sir *Richard Fanſhaw* wholly thro' the Duke of *Medina*'s, (his declared Enemy) and ſince by my Lord *Sandwich* chiefly through *Pignaranda*'s, who is a third Party; 'tis not improbable that a new Hand may give it new Form, either to add ſomething of his own, or to ſhew his Authority, or perhaps to purſue his former uſual Diſpoſitions, which have been bent upon the War with *Portugal*, conſidering no part of the Monarchy but *Spain* and the *Indies*, and I doubt, in particular, not very partial to our Alliance or Affairs.

Upon theſe Intimations your Lordſhip will infinitely better judge than I, to what to attribute the preſent ill Poſture of our Affairs in *Spain*, and how to retrieve it. I am ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient

and moſt Humble Servant.

To Don Eſtavan de Gamarra, *the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſador at the* Hague.

Bruſſels, Mar. 29.
S. N. 1667.

My Lord,

I DO not know how to acquit my ſelf of the Obligation my Lord *Stafford* has engaged me in to your Excellency, in begging your Favour to procure a Paſſport from the *States* for my Wife. Your Excellency I am ſure will excuſe the Care of a Mother, in providing all that lay in her Power for the Safety of her Children, and who to eaſe her ſelf in it has (methinks) conſidered ſo little to whom ſhe was troubleſome. If I had been conſulted upon this Occaſion, I ſhould not have ſuffered one I am ſo nearly concerned in, to owe her Safety to thoſe who yet profeſs themſelves Ene-

A Don Eſtavan de Gamarra.

Bruſſeles, 29 di Mar.
S. N. 1667.

Sennor,

Y*O no ſe que modo me he de reſcartar del obligo en que el Sennor Conde de Stafford me ha empennado a V. E. pidiendo ſu favor, en procurar un a Paſſaporte de los Eſtados de Hollanda para mi mujer V. E. ha de perdonar el recato de una ſennora que tenia gana de proveyer todo lo que era poſſible a la ſeguridad de ſus ninnos, y para deſcanſarſe en eſte cuidado no ſe le dava nada (mi parece) a qui en cargava trabajo ni importunidad. Si yo huviera ſido de la junta en eſta occaſion, no huviera permitido que una perſona que me tocava tan cerca pidieſſe ſu ſeguridad de los que hazen haſta aora profeſſion de enemigos al*

mies to the King my Maſter; and much leſs to them that treat the Wife of one of his Miniſters like a Merchant, in demanding an Accompt of her Goods; and therefore am very glad the Paſſport did not come till ſhe was a Shipboard in one of his Majeſty's Yatchs, truſting, next to God Almighty, in the Protection of his Royal Name. And though I have not yet heard how her Journey has ſucceeded, I eſteem my ſelf as much obliged to your Excellency (whatever happens) for your favourable Intentions upon this Occaſion to a Man neither known nor deſerving to be ſo, as if you had delivered me and my Family from the greateſt Dangers.

God Almighty preſerve your Excellency many Years, and give me the Occaſions of ſerving you.

I am,

Yours, &c.

Rey mi Sennor; y mucho menos de los que havian de trattar a la mujer de un Miniſtro como a Mercadera, mandando lo cuenta de ſu bagaje; y por eſto me huelgo mucho de que no ha venido el paſſaporte antes que ſe hay a embarcado la Sennora en un Yacht del Rey my Sennor, confiando ſe (con Dios) en el amparo ſolo de ſu Real Nombre: Aunque no ſe haſta aora en que ha parado ſu viage. Toda via por lo que ay de las intenciones tan favorables de V. E. en eſta occaſion a un hombre ny conocido ny que merece ſerlo, me tengo por obligado ad miſmo punto, como ſe me huviera reſcatado a mi y mi familia, de los mayores Peligros que ſe pueden topar en la mar o la tierra.

Dios guarde a V. E. muchos annos, y a mi me de las occaſiones de hazer las obras como la profeſſion de lo que ſoy.

De V. E.

Muy humilde Servider.

To my Lady Giffard, *written in the Name of* Gabriel Poſſello.

Sennora Mia, *Amberes*, 30 *de Marco S. N.* 1667.

He recebido con mucho guſto y no menorre conocimiento la guarnicion de ſpada que V. S. me ha hecha la merced de enbiarme, la qual me ha ſtado, mucho mas encarecida con le que me ha dicho deſpues el Sennor Reſidente de la parte de V. S. que no era meneſter enternecer me en lagrimas ny oraciones (como eſtoy accoſtumbrado) con el ſentimiento de tal obligo y que V. S. ſe eſtimara muy bien pagada con una carta Eſpagnola; porque a mi es tan facile de mal eſcrivir como a V. S. de bien hazer. Y es verdad que ſe tiendra por pagado con una carta? Voto a tal que no le faltara carta aunque la pidiera en Gallego. Pero digo me di veras, es ſanta V. S. O es hechizera? porque eſte ſe abuen ſeguro que ha hecho milagro y con una guarnicion di plata mi ha herido haſta el coracon y aum mas fuerte que nolo pudiera hazer el mas bravo Cavallero con una oja de Toledo. Pero me dira V. S. que eſtamos en un ſiglo que no es coſa mueva el hazer milagros con la plata y que con eſta ſola ſe cumplen aora hazañas mayores que no con el valor y el acero en los ſiglos paſſados. Por vida mia que tient razon V. S. y por eſte milagro no lo han de cortarla la capa. Pero no ſe como ha de eſcapar quando la dirè que deſpues que he tocado eſta guarnicion encantada, me van amenudo cayendo las canas, y en lugar de un viejo de ſeventa unnos, me hallo moco de quinze, me ſiento calentar la ſangre en las venas, y bolverſe en triumfo el deſterrado amor para aſirſe d'eſte miſerable coracon hazer le pedacos en un punto. Deſdichado de mi que he de tocar otra vez eſtas piſados tan trabajoſas de la ciega mocedad como me haſta una vida a padecer dos martyrios. Es poſſible que yo me ſienta otra vez abraſor de las llammas amorozas, y que de ceniza tan fria ſalga de nuevo tan violento fuego. Que yo me voya otra vez reſfriandomi con ſopiros, y anegandome en las lagrimas y padeciendo las penas y los afanes que no me dexaran la vida ſi no fuera para ſentir cada dia el dolor de la muerte. Ah Sennora de mi alma, quanto mal me ha hecho conhazar me tanto bien, quanto mi ha de coſtar de veras, la burla que me han hecho de ſer enamorado di V. S. en mi vejez paſſada. Pero quan facilemente ſe remedia el mas trabajoſo amor con uno poco d'eſperanca. Yo me voy pienſando que una Sennora tan complida no puede deſviarſe de la razon, y que me haviendo tan faverecido quando eſtava viejo, no puede falltar *d'alguna piedad para mi deſcanſo, eſtandome aora moco y lindo y enamorado. Pero ſi me liſonjea mi deſeo y me enganna mi eſperança lo que ay di bueno en eſta occaſion, es que me haviendo ſu favor rendido en un inſtante de viejo moco, de la miſma manera me parece que ſu crueldad me ha luego de buelver de moco viejo, y entonces me havra a burlar me tanto de ſu hermoſura quanto ſe puede burlaſe aora V. S. de mi paſſion.*

Bive V. S. mille annos, y ſe vea enamorada como yo a ſetenta, que con eſto no ſe ha de olvidar entonces de,

Su mas humilde cryado y Galan.

Gabriel Poſſello.

To Colonel Algernoon Sidney.

S I R, *Bruſſels, Apr. 29. S. N. 1667.*

I Received two Days ſince one from you of the $\frac{10}{20}$th paſt, with two incloſed, which I ſhall not fail to convey by the *Engliſh* Pacquet that parts this Evening, and with the ſame Aſſurance that uſually attends my Letters; ſo that I think you may reckon upon their Safety in thoſe Hands to which they are addreſſed. Your preſent Abode was no Secret to me, before I knew it from your own Hand: That Information having been given me about two or three Months ſince by ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who paſſed from *Italy* through *Germany* and theſe Parts into *England*, where I cannot think they made a greater Secret of it upon Occaſion, than they had done here.

I am ſorry your Diſpoſitions or your Fortunes have drawn you ſo far out of the Reach of your Friends ſervices, and almoſt Correſpondence; in which I doubt the Difficulties may ſhortly increaſe, at leaſt this way: For we are here at preſent in little Hopes to ſee next Month end, without the Advance of a *French* Army into theſe Provinces.

I had Letters very lately from *Petworth*, and my Wife ſome as freſh from *Penſhurſt*, which left Health in both thoſe Places; and will thereby, I ſuppoſe, furniſh you with News not unwelcome from,

S I R,

Your moſt Humble Servant.

To Monſieur Gourville.

Bruſſels, May 2.
S I R, *S. N. 1667.*

YOU ask me whether we have a mind in earneſt for a Peace, and I ask you, whether you have a mind in earneſt for a War: For as yet we are no better informed of the Deſigns and Marches of the *French* Troops, than we were at your Departure from *Bruſſels*. I begin to think that King and his Miniſters are mortal like other People, and that their Affairs are managed with as little Concert as thoſe of their Neighbours. For I believe, as to what concerns this Country, the *critical Minute* is paſt, and that the *French*

A Monſieur *Gourville.*

De Bruſſelles, Apr. 2.
Monſieur, *S. N. 1667.*

VOUS me demandez ſi nous voulons tout-de-bon la paix; & moi, je vous demande ſi vous voulez tout-de bon la guerre; car juſqu'icy nous n'en ſavons pas plus ſur vos deſſeins & la marche des Troupes Françoiſes, que nous en ſavions à votre depart de Bruſſelles. Je commence à croire que ce Roy & ſes Miniſtres ſont mortels comme le reſte des hommes, & que leurs affaires ſont maniées avec auſſi peu de concert que celles de leurs voiſins; car je croy, que pour ce qui eſt de ce pais icy, l'heure de berger eſt paſſée pour eux, & qu'ils y trouveront une

French will find here a braver Defence than they pretend to believe. However it is certain, if they had begun by *marching* rather than *menacing* about three Weeks ago, the Buſineſs on this ſide had been paſt Remedy. In ſhort, I as little comprehend the *French* Proceedings at preſent, as thoſe of the *Spaniards* a while ago, nor where they can find their Account in this Enterprize which begins to awaken and alarm all *Chriſtendom*.

For our ſelves, my real Opinion is that our Intentions for the Peace are very ſincere, and cannot fail, if the other Parties bring along with them the ſame Diſpoſitions; and if I were as much concerned therein, as you perhaps may be, I would regulate my Affairs accordingly for the future.

I thank you for your Account of what paſſes in your Parts; but I am very little ſatisfied with the Queen of *Spain*'s Letter, whereof a Copy has been delivered at the ſame time to the *States* by Monſieur *d'Eſtrades*. I think the Form is faulty, as well as the Subſtance; and that if your *Soldiers* be at preſent no better than your *Secretaries*, Affairs will hardly ſucceed as they imagine.

By the laſt Ordinary from *Spain*, it appears that they dream no more of War there than they do of Fire, at leaſt they conceal from our Ambaſſador any Advices they may have received of it from hence: But our Treaty of Commerce was yet once again upon the Point of being ſigned. The *Spaniards* make no Preparations againſt *Portugal* this Campaign, and therefore ſeem to think of being on that ſide upon the Defenſive, or elſe of an Accommodation; tho' they are well enough informed of the Particulars of an Accord concluded between *France* and *Portugal*.

Nothing perplexes me more than to find a way of writing often to *Breda*, and you will not ſend me your Addreſs. I reſign up this to my Fortune, but ſince yours is always better than mine, it may happen upon that Account that you may never receive it. As happy as you are, I adviſe you to look to your Affairs at *Breda*; for in a few Days I reſolve to go and plunder your Houſe at *Bruſſels*, and get ſatiſfaction

une reſiſtance plus opiniatre, & plus rebutante qu'ils ne s'imaginent: Mais il eſt conſtant, que ſi au lieu de menacer, ils euſſent commencé à marcher il y a trois ſemaines, l'affaire etoit ſans reſſource de ce coté icy. Enfin je les comprens auſſi peu dans leur conduite d'à preſent, que je comprenois autrefois les Eſpagnols dans la leur; & je ne prevois pas comment ils pourront trouver leur conte dans la pourſuite d'une enterpriſe, qui va reveiller & même choquer toute la Chrétienté.

A nôtre egard, mon ſentiment, que je croy veritable, & que je vous communique ſans deguiſement, eſt, que nos intentions pour la paix ſont fort ſinceres, & qu'elle ne ſcauroit manquer de ſe faire, ſi les autres parties y apportent les mêmes diſpoſitions; j'ajoute, que ſi j'y etois intereſsè autant que j'entrevois que vous pouvez l'être, je reglerois mes affaires conformement aux conjonctures.

Je vous rends graces de ce que vous me mandez ce qui ſe paſſe en vos quartiers; mais je ſuis fort peu ſatisfait de la lettre ecrite à la Reyne d'Eſpagne, dont la copie a été donnée en même tems aux Eſtats par Monſieur d'Eſtrades. Il me ſemble qu'il y a du defaut dans la maniere auſſi bien que dans le fond de la choſe même; & que ſi pour cette fois vos Capitaines n'en ſavent plus que vos Secretaires, les affaires n'iront pas le train qu'on a penſé.

Par ce dernier ordinaire d'Eſpagne, ils ne paroiſſent non plus ſonger à la guerre qu'au feu; ou bien ils taiſent à notre Ambaſſadeur les avis qu'ils peuvent avoir reçus de deça; mais notre traitté de commerce etoit encore une fois ſur le point d'etre ſigné. Ils ne font point de preparatifs contre le Portugal pour cette campagne; & par là ils ſemblent ſonger ſeulement ou à ſe tenir de ce coté là ſur la defenſive, ou bien à entendre à un accommodement; quoyqu'ils ſachent bien le detail de l'accord conclu entre la France & le Portugal.

Il n'y a rien qui m'embaraſſe plus que de trouver les moyens d'ecrire ſouvent à Breda; & vous ne m'envoyez point auſſi votre adreſſe. J'abandonne celle-cy à mon etoile; mais comme la votre l'emporte toujours ſur la mienne, il pourra bien arriver qu'elle manquera ſa route. Quelque heureux que vous ſoyez, je vous conſeille pourtant de bien faire vos affaires à Breda, car dans peu de jours j'iray piller votre Maiſon à Bruſſelles,

faction for my great Orange-Tree upon your little ones. I do not pretend it ſhall be open War; however the *Hollanders* will tell you that we *Engliſh* are D—— and all at Repriſals. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

ſelles, & vanger mon grand Oranger ſur vos petits. Ce ne ſera pas guerre declarée; mais les Hollandois vous diront que nous faiſons le diable à quatre en matiere de repreſailles.

Je ſuis, *&c.*

To my Lord St. Albans.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, May* 13. *S. N.* 1667.

SINCE my Acknowledgments of the Honour I received ſome time ſince from your Lordſhip, I have had nothing to give me Countenance in offering any new Trouble; and indeed the Party is ſo unequal in regard of our Stations at this time of *Paris* and *Bruſſels*, as well as all other Circumſtances, that no Commerce can paſs without very great Preſumption on my Side, and as great Condeſcenſion on your Lordſhip's: For we are ſo amazed with the Numbers and Bravery of the *French* Preparations to invade this Country, that we can hardly liſt up our Eyes againſt the riſing of this Sun, that is ſaid, intends to burn up all before it: Yet not to flatter you, tho' Mens Eyes are weak at firſt Sight, when they have gazed a while I believe they will find their *Hands*, and try to defend themſelves againſt *Gold*, as well as againſt *Iron*; and perhaps the Stomach they have conceived at being treated with ſo little Ceremony as to be invaded without any Declaration of War, to have the Dutchy of *Brabant* not eſteemed worth the demanding, nor any Colours given to the Juſtice of the Invaſion, will make the Defence ſharper than is expected, as it has done the voluntary Contributions larger than was imagined.

This makes all *Friars* already deſpair of praying away the War, and begin to look like other worldly Men; and the very *Nuns* fear they may be forced to work too, before the Buſineſs ends: In ſhort, all prepare for a warm Summer, only the *Spaniſh Duennaes* cannot think ſo ill of a King that married an *Infanta*, and will never leave wondring that *Un Rey qui tiene que comer en ſu Caſa, y de regalarſe tanbien*, ſhould reſolve to give himſelf and them ſo much Trouble for nothing. Our poor *Nuns* at *Lowvain* have more Faith, and not leſs Fears, and therefore the reverend Mother hath ſent to deſire me to recommend them to your Lordſhip's Favour, and to beg of you to get them a Protection from thence, in caſe the Scholars and *Learned* there ſhould not find Arguments to defend their Town againſt the *French*, who, I can aſſure your Lordſhip, will not loſe much by the Bargain, as far as I ſee of that Nunnery, Nuns and all; for it ſeems by their Faces, as well as their Buildings, to be an ancient Foundation, and gone much to Decay.

Now they have put me upon deſiring Paſſports, my Wife will needs have me recommend her to your Lordſhip for another for her ſelf, and Servants, and Baggage, to go over into *England*; and if ſhe ſhall find it convenient, to paſs as far as *Calais*, and embark there, becauſe ſhe is no lover of the Sea. Upon the firſt of theſe Requeſts your Lordſhip has occaſion to merit very much; but by the ſecond, to deal freely, I know not what you will gain, beſides the Obligations of a Perſon who is already all that can be,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble

and moſt Obedient Servant.

To my Lord Ambaſſador Coventry.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, May* 21. *N. S.* 1667.

I Know not by what Conveyance, nor by what Delays, the Honour your *Excellency* intended me ſo long ſince from aboard the Frigat, came yeſterday to my Hands, and made my Acknowledgements later than they ought to have been. I am ſorry you agreed ſo ill with the Sea, ſince that is the *Dutch* Mens Element, with whom we hope you will agree ſo well; but if you had the Faculty of *uttering* your Heart in the Seamens Senſe, as well as you had of *uttering* your Thoughts; I am to rejoice with you upon the good Health you muſt needs have brought aſhoar, and to believe that the Temper and Conſtitution of your Body, is as ſound and as good as that of your Mind. Since my laſt to my Lord *Holles*, our Ordinary from *Spain* arrived; by which Mr. *Godolphin* aſſures me, that I may expect the News of our Treaty at *Madrid* being ſigned by the next, nothing remaining at the Date of his Letter beſides only the Examination of the Phraſe in *Latin*, which was referred to the *Inquiſidor General* and Count *Pignoranda*; after whoſe Sentence upon it, nothing was in Sight that could ſtop the immediate Signing and Sealing.

Mr. *Godolphin* aſſures me, all Parts of the Treaty of Commerce are ſo much to our Deſire and Advantage, that he hopes to ſee many a rich Man in *England* by it; for the other Part, which concerns the Adjuſtment with *Portugal*, tho' the Terms are likewiſe agreed between us and *Spain*, yet the preſent Effect of it ſeems likely to be avoided by the late Accord between *France* and *Portugal*, of which I ſend the Account incloſed by the Copy of Sir *Robert Southwell*'s Letter to my Lord *Sandwich* upon that Occaſion. I incloſe likewiſe the Copies of the *French* King's laſt Letters to the *States-General*, and at the ſame time to the Queen Regent of *Spain*, declaring his Intentions to invade theſe Countries; which laſt methinks is drawn with ſo ill Colours and ſo ill Grace, that if his *Captains* do no better than his *Secretaries* upon this Occaſion, the Succeſs of his Enterprize may prove no better than the Juſtice of it here appears. If theſe Papers may have arrived already ſome other way, your Excellency will however pardon my Diligence, ſince you receive no other Trouble than that of throwing them away. The Levies here and Muſters go on with all the Care and Speed this Government is capable of. This Evening I am aſſured, the twelve hundred *Italians* ſo long expected, are arrived at *Oſtend*. Laſt Night parted *Don Bernard de Salinas*, diſpatch'd from the Marquiſs here, to beg ſome Aſſiſtance from his Majeſty; the preſent Hopes are only of leave to recruit the old Regiment here to the Number of two thouſand, or elſe to raiſe two new ones, under ſuch Officers as his Majeſty ſhall name. The Cloud threatning theſe Parts from *France* is not yet broken, and the Marches of their Troops to three ſeveral Rendezvouſes make it yet uncertain where it will fall. *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, *Mons* and *St. Omers*, are in very good Condition, and the laſt hath three thouſand Men in Garriſon, beſides the *Burgeoiſie*. The Prince of *Ligni* has now four thouſand Horſe effective at the Head Quarters near *Nivelle*, were there will be five thouſand Foot to join with them, and attend their Enemy's Motion, and cover *Bruſſels* upon occaſion. It is moſt certain, that if the *French* had begun to *march* when they began to *talk*, about three Weeks ſince, this Country had been loſt without Diſpute, or Remedy; the Defence will be now perhaps ſharper than expected. *La Baſſe* and *Armentiers* are already ſlighted, and *Charle-Roy* is all mined within, the Mines filled with Powder; Guns and Magazins drawn off, and ready to fly upon the firſt Approach of the *French*, which is here eſteemed both a generous and prudent Reſolution of the Marquis, ſince he could not finiſh it in time, nor preſerve his Child without the Mother's Danger.

I know nothing elſe to increaſe this Trouble, beſides the Aſſurances of my being,

My Lord,
Your Excellency's moſt Humble
and moſt Obedient Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, May 27. N. S. 1667.*

TWO Days ſince came hither the News of *Armentiers* being ſeized by a Party of the *French* Horſe, about five hundred ſtrong; half of the Fortifications were already ſlighted, and not above an hundred and fifty Soldiers left in the Town. What their next Deſign will be, ſeems not yet reſolved; their Troops marching on all Parts, give the Occaſion I ſuppoſe to the ſeveral Governours of *Mons*, *Cambray*, and *Valenciennes*, to ſignify by Expreſſes hither, the Jealouſy each of them has of the Storm being ready to fall upon their Parts.

At *Cambray* and *Liſle* ſeveral *French* have been taken ſurveying the Works, and diſguiſed; but all thoſe Places are at preſent in ſo good Condition, that the Choice may perhaps make ſome Difficulties in the *French* Counſels, which I believe have been much diſconcerted by the blowing up of *Charle-Roy*, a Reſolution they expected not from the Marquis, and without which theſe Parts of the Country had run inevitable Dangers, and the moſt ſucceſsful Invaſion had been made in thoſe Provinces where the *French* Pretenſions lay.

The Diſcourſes here obſerve, that the firſt Pace of the War being made in *Flanders*, loſes all the good Grace which the *French* endeavour'd to give their Invaſion; that the Town they have taken can import no more than the Advance of their Frontiers; that they ſeem unreſolved whether to keep it or no; how to uſe the Governour and Soldiers whom they took in their Beds, whether as Priſoners or Friends, and more uncertain what to do next; that their Slowneſs in entering the Country, and Loſs of twenty Days time, tho' they were then as ready as now, has certainly ſaved theſe Provinces; for it is conſtant without any Diſpute, that if they had fallen on in the Beginning of this Month, *Charle-Roy*, *Nivelle*, *Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, and *Mechlyn*, would have coſt them neither Time nor Danger. From theſe Circumſtances the Reaſoners here conclude a Weakneſs and Incertitude in the *French* Counſels, and begin to hope they may have taken their Meaſures as ill among their Neighbours, as they have among themſelves; and ſay confidently, that unleſs they are agreed with *England*, their Affairs are in a worſe Poſture than they have been theſe twenty Years. They begin to hope that all our late Practices with the *French* are aimed no farther than to embark them in this Affair, and have our Revenge for the Game they play'd in engaging us in the *Dutch* War: They ſay, that if by Offers and Shews of abandoning *Spain*, we have drawn the *French* into this War, which hath already coſt them all their Confidence with *Holland*, all farther Hopes of amuſing *Spain*, and the Credit of their good Faith and Meaning with the reſt of *Chriſtendom*: That if after our Peace made with *Holland* and *France*, we reſolve to offer our Mediation between *France* and *Spain*, and upon the refuſal or failing of it, join with the *Hollander* in the Protection of theſe Countries, enter vigorouſly into the War, ſhare with the *Spaniard* whatever ſhall be gained from the *French*, and let *Holland* find their Account by deſtroying all the *French* Deſigns of Trade and Plantations Abroad; the Reaſoners here conclude, that if this has been our Deſign for theſe two Months paſt, and be purſu'd with the ſame Succeſs it has begun: It is one of the greateſt Councils that has ever been conceived by any Prince, and which will make the greateſt Change in our own Affairs, and in thoſe of all *Chriſtendom* beſides, and appear the beſt adjuſted Revenge upon the *French* that ever was taken upon an Enemy.

From *Breda* we have got little more than the Entry of our Ambaſſador, which makes us believe ſome Myſtery in the Delays of Peace there, as well as thoſe of War on the other Side.

From *Sweden* I have the laſt Poſt a particular Aſſurance of that Crown's good Intentions towards the Houſe of *Auſtria*, of their diſpatching one Monſieur *Tongel* Envoy into *Spain*, who is to paſs this way, and will be addreſſed to me to introduce him to the Marquis, by whoſe Repreſentations the Court of

Sweden deſires to have their Miniſter's Reception in *Spain* favour'd, and his Negotiation advanced.

I am, as will ever become me to be, with equal Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Holles.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, May 29. N. S.* 1667.

I Know not with what Speed or Succeſs three of mine may have arrived at *Breda*, but am apt to doubt the Certainty of this Commerce, by obſerving that your Excellency's of the 22d came not to my Hands till Yeſterday, and after the Receipt of it I was ſo unlucky, as not to find the *Baron de L'Iſola* till later at Night than would ſuffer this Diſpatch: I now ſend it to Mr. *Shaw* of *Antwerp*, with Orders to convey it by Expreſs from thence, in caſe he meets no other ſudden Occaſion; and whatever Favour or Commands your Excellency may hereafter deſign me, will come ſooner and ſafer, I ſuppoſe, by an Addreſs to the ſame Hand at *Antwerp*.

I acquainted the Baron *de L'Iſola* with the *Dutch* Allegations concerning ſome Advances made by him as from his Majeſty, upon the Point of *Poleroon*. He ſays, however they may ſeem to interpret it, they could not underſtand it by any thing that paſſed from him in that private Communication, which was all he enter'd into upon his ſhort Stay in *Holland*. That upon his firſt Diſcourſe of his Majeſty's Intention to make the Treaty of 1662 the Foundation of this at preſent: The Perſon he diſcourſed with raiſed two Difficulties; the firſt, that of *Poleroon*; and the other, the Continuance of the Pretenſions left on either Side; which as they had given Occaſion, or at leaſt Pretext, for the preſent Quarrel, ſo, if they were left ſtill undecided, they might hereafter have the ſame Effect; whereas their Deſire was by this Peace to cut off the Root of all future Differences. For the firſt Point, he (the Baron) aſked, whether if all other Articles ſhould be agreed, the *States* would be ſo obſtinate upon the Point of *Poleroon*, as to endanger the Peace for that alone: It was anſwered, the *French* had already eſſay'd to do ſome Offices in this Particular, and had brought it to this very Demand; whether the *States* would continue the War rather than yield the Point of *Poleroon*; and that the *States* had anſwered formally, they would.

For the ſecond, concerning the mutual Pretenſions left in the Treaty of 1662. He (the Baron) ſeemed to approve the cutting them all off, but propoſed, that in Conſideration of it, the *States* ſhould give his Majeſty a Sum of Money in ſome ſort proportionable to what his Pretences might amount; and that if the *States* would make any Advance conſiderable in Point of the Sum, he (the Baron) would employ all his own and his Friends Endeavours, to induce his Majeſty to a Condeſcenſion in this Point of *Poleroon*, as well as that of clearing all Pretenſions on either Side.

To this was anſwered, that for *Poleroon* nothing more could be ſaid, nor any Conſideration make the *States* yield it, without the Alternative of reſtoring all on each ſide, which would create Length and Difficulty in the Treaty. That, for a Sum of Money in Satisfaction of his Majeſty's Pretenſions, they could not conſent to any ſuch Propoſal, without a particular Liquidation of what the Pretenſions on each ſide amounted to; ſince they believed in groſs their own upon us, to be higher than ours upon them: And yet at the ſame time it was inſiſted, that no ſuch Examen or Liquidation ſhould be enter'd upon, ſince doing it before the Concluſion would expoſe the Treaty to the Danger of Delays, and conſequently of Accidents; and leaving it to Commiſſioners after the Concluſion, would leave Field for new Diſputes.

This was the Sum of the Baron's Negotiation, in which he made all the Advances as from himſelf; but when he found he was not likely to bring it to any Iſſue, by reaſon of thoſe two Difficulties, that is, *Poleroon*, and the Sum in Conſideration of our clearing all pretenſions; he then told them, as by his Majeſty's Order, that the Point of *Poleroon*, touching our *Eaſt-India* Company, rather than his Majeſty, the King would ſend over ſome Perſons deputed from the ſaid Company, with his Ambaſſadors; and if the *States* would do the ſame, it was likely the Perſons deputed from each Company might find an Expedient in the Buſineſs.

This the Baron gives me for the ſhort and true Relation of all his Diſcourſes in *Holland*, which having been made with one Perſon alone, and very private, I find he expected not they would have been ſo publick, as to be alledged upon any new Negotiations.

Our News from the Frontiers ſince my laſt, is this: About the time of the *French* King's coming down to *Arras*, the Orders were given for ſlighting *Armentiers*, *la Baſſeè*, and *Charle-Roy*, which being publick, and begun to be executed at *Armentiers*; a *Brigetin* Prieſt of that Town went to *Arras*, and upon Complaints of their being left without Defence in the Times of Danger that were approaching, made Application to the Governour of *Arras* for a Protection for their Town: Within a Day or two after, when the Works were about half ſlighted, inſtead of the Protection, came ſeven or eight hundred *French* Horſe, and finding a Guard of about forty Men at the Entrance of the Place, made a Diſcharge upon them, killed one, and wounded two: Upon which, thoſe few Soldiers that were in the Town-Houſe, ſhot and killed three or four of the *French*, who began to pillage ſome of the Burghers Houſes; but this Diſorder was ſoon appeaſed by their Officers, after which they ſummoned the Peaſants in, and began to repair the Fortifications, kept the Governour in Reſtraint, and carried the Matter as if this had been the Declaration of War. This News coming to the Governour of *Liſle*, he ſeized upon ſome *French* Men he found in his Town by way of Repriſal for thoſe taken at *Armentiers*; and the Marquis gave Order to the Prince of *Ligny* who commands the Horſe here, to charge any Party he ſhould find making Courſes into the Frontiers, and to endeavour to bring away ſome Priſoners, both as Repriſals for thoſe of *Armentiers*, and to know ſomething of the *French* Pretenſions.

After they had kept *Armentiers* about five Days, they releaſed the Governour, told the People they came not to begin any War, but only at their Invitation to protect the Town; drew off at firſt one Party of their Men, and laſt *Friday* Morning all the reſt: The Governour of *Liſle* ſet his *French* Men at Liberty, and the Prince of *Ligny*, ſome that he had taken in a Skirmiſh of ſmall Parties upon the Borders of *Hainault*, wherein the Marquis tells me about fifty of the *French* were killed, and near twenty taken. This I am more particular in relating, becauſe it ſeems the firſt Pace of the War, tho' ſince in a manner diſavowed by the *French*, and indeed it is generally cenſured as the Effect of a weak and uncertain Council, to begin without any formed Deſign or Declaration, by ſeizing ſo raſhly a Place of no Moment, and in the Province of *Flanders*, where none of their Pretences lie. Theſe three laſt Days the Motion of their Troops has been through *Philippeville*, and the Frontiers of *Hainault*. The *French* King was expected laſt Night at *Queſnoy*, and to Day at *Philippeville*. They have begun a Bridge upon the *Sambre*, near a Village called *Marſin au Pont*, a League up the River from the Place where *Charle-Roy* ſtood; the Ground being on the one ſide *Pais de Liege*, and on the other, the *Spaniards* Country; ſo we expect here they will enter that Country to Morrow, but which way they intend their firſt Impreſſion is uncertain, the Bridge they make ſerving a Deſign either upon *Namur*, *Mons*, or *Bruſſels*. The *Spaniſh* Forces on this ſide lie between this Place and *Marimount*, and conſiſt of about four thouſand Horſe and as many Foot, have no formed Deſign but to attend the Enemy's Motion, and to retire for the Defence of this Place, in caſe of the Enemy's marching this way.

The general Belief here of the moſt intelligent is, that *France* has had the Skill or good Luck, *de nous endormir*, both us and *Holland* in this great Conjuncture, and by aſſuring us of Peace upon good Terms with the *Dutch*, and at the ſame time the *Dutch* of never according with us, nor breaking with *Spain* to their (the *Hollanders*) Prejudice, will amuſe us both in a ſlow Treaty till they have made ſo great an Impreſſion in theſe Countries, as will give neither of us the Liberty to take thoſe Meaſures upon this Affair, to which either of our Intereſts might lead us; and perhaps find Means to divert the Treaty at laſt, from coming to any Iſſue. They ſay, that delaying our Treaty for the Point of *Poleroon*, is loſing a Dinner for Muſtard; and that every Day it is deferred, endangers an irrecoverable Conjuncture, that Heaven hath given us of making our ſelves conſiderable to whom, which way, and to what Degree we pleaſe. God ſend theſe Reaſoners to be deceived, and that we may not be ſo, at leaſt no more by the ſame Hands. I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Philip Warwick.

SIR, *Bruſſels, June* 21. *N. S.* 1667.

I AM very ſorry that I muſt rejoice with you, and condole with all your Friends at the ſame Time, and upon the ſame Occaſion; for tho' the Retreat I hear you have made from Buſineſs muſt needs be a Trouble and a Loſs to us all, yet I know it is an Eaſe and a Happineſs to your ſelf, or elſe a wiſe Man as you are, ought not to have choſen it. I will not tell you how great a Contentment I had in knowing my Buſineſs lay ſo much in your way, becauſe I never intend to purſue more than what his Majeſty pleaſes to make my Due, and I have ever reckoned both upon your Juſtice and your Kindneſs: But I muſt bear this Diſappointment, ſince you are the Author of it, which is the beſt Conſolation I can think of. In the mean time I hope you do not intend to retire from the Commerce of your Friends, as well as that of Buſineſs; for tho' you ſhould lock your ſelf up within your Walls of *Frog-Pool*, I ſhall ever pretend to have a Share in you, there itſelf, and never omit any Occaſions of aſſuring you that no Change you can make in your Courſe of Life, can ever make any in the Reſolutions I have taken of being always,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, July* 19. *N. S.* 1667.

THE Diligence of the Poſts, or Favour of the Weather, have given me two of your Lordſhip's, to acknowledge ſince my laſt of the 1ſt and 5th current, with the good News of the *Dutch* being beaten off at *Harwich*; for ſince we are in a Diſeaſe, every Fit we paſs well over is ſo much of Good, and gives Hopes of Recovery: I doubt this is not the laſt, for I hear *De Witt* is reſolved that their Fleet ſhall not give over Action till the very Ratifications of the Treaty are exchanged: In which he certainly purſues his Intereſt, that the War may end with ſo much the more Honour Abroad, and Heart at Home; for commonly the ſame Diſpoſitions between the Parties with which one War ends, another begins. And tho' this may end in Peace, yet I doubt it will be with ſo much Unkindneſs between the Nations, that it will be Wiſdom on both Sides to think of another, as well as to avoid it. All Diſcourſe here is of the Peace as a thing undoubted, and every Pacquet I receive from *England* confirms me in the Belief that a War Abroad is not our preſent Buſineſs, till all at Home be in better Order; no more than hard Exerciſe which ſtrengthens healthy Bodies, can be proper for thoſe that have a Fever lurking in the Veins, or a Conſumption in the Fleſh; for which, Reſt, and Order, and Diet, are neceſſary, and perhaps ſome Medicine too, provided it come from a careful and a ſkilful Hand. This is all that I ſhall ſay upon that Subject, which I preſume has before this received ſome Reſolution by my Lord Ambaſſador *Coventry*'s Arrival; for I confeſs my Stomach is come down, and I ſhould be glad to hear the Peace ended, and our Coaſts clear, ſince it will not be better; but all this while, *Multa gemens Ignominiam Plagaſque ſuperbi Hoſtis*, and I am ſure would not deſire to live, unleſs with Hopes of ſeeing our ſelves one Day in another Poſture, which God Almighty has made us capable of, whenever we pleaſe our ſelves.

I am ſorry to find the Commerce between *England* and *Spain* ſo far cut off, as it ſhould ſeem by your Lordſhip's Complaints, of having received none of a Date later than *May* the firſt, for mine holds yet pretty conſtant, tho' I ſuppoſe viſited by the *French* in their Paſſage. On *Sunday* laſt I received one from Mr. *Godolphin* of the firſt current, where he told me, the Treaties were ſent ſigned by ſeveral ways into *England*, and therefore concluded ſome of them arrived. He ſeems to doubt ſtill the *Portugueſe* accepting their Share in it; which is the likelier, becauſe the Marquis tells me, he hears by this Ordinary, that better Terms may be offered them, tho' 'tis pleaſant the *Spaniard* ſhould not have yet reſolved to give them the Title, when for ought I know without it, all their own may be in Danger. His Excellency aſſures me they are reſolved in *Spain* upon declaring a general War both by Sea and Land, and that way make the *French* unmaſk their Deſigns; that they have ſent Order already to ſeize upon all that belongs to the *French* in their *Indies*, who have a great Share in the *Spaniſh* Fleet that is daily expected home; that they have remitted by this Ordinary to his Excellency a hundred and thirty thouſand Crowns, which is the third Remiſe of about that Sum, arrived ſince the War began; and that they have negotiated with the *Fregoni*, or ſome ſuch Name, being the ableſt Merchants at *Amſterdam*, for nine hundred thouſand more; ſo that the Proceſs ſeems well enter'd, and I wiſh them a good Iſſue.

We have here no Certainty of the Progreſs of the *French* Arms, nor can we ſay that *Courtray* is taken, tho' the Report has continued more or leſs theſe four Days; but the Marquis would not own any Advice of it on *Saturday* Night; tho' he ſpoke very deſpairingly of the Town, but confidently of the Cittadel's holding out at leaſt fifteen Days, if thoſe within it did their Duty. His Excellency makes a very different Story of the Baron of *Limbeck*'s Defeat, which was reported here; and aſſures me, that having carried ſome Relief into *Courtray*, he retreated with only two hundred Horſe, and meeting a Party of ſix hundred of the *French*, charged through them, killed the Captain of their Vanguard with ſeveral others, and came off with the Loſs only of fifteen Men.

Yeſterday Morning the Marquis went to *Gant*, with Intentions of returning in three or four Days; and hath left the Town ſo emptied by his Journey, as well as the Camp, that beſides the Governor, I know not of a Gentleman of my Acquaintance in it.

The Baron *de l'Iſola* went this Morning towards *Antwerp*, and from thence paſſes towards *Oſtend* to go over with the Convoy, which I could not perſuade him to loſe, tho' I endeavoured it upon a Hint in your Lordſhip's Letter, and more upon his telling me that you had diſſuaded him from coming till the Ratifications of the Treaty were paſſed; but he ſays, he is confident that will be before he can arrive; that he hath ſent over all his Papers and Bills of Exchange before Hand, and if he loſes this Convoy, knows not when to hope for a ſecure Paſſage. And if his Majeſty thinks fit, will rather make a Stay at *Graveſend*, or any other Place near the Water ſide, till all Jealouſy of his coming be blown over.

I give your Lordſhip humble Thanks for the Letter I received to make uſe of part of the Money in Mr. *Shaw's* Hands, for Supply of what was grown due to me; and am, I am ſure, at all Times, more troubled to aſk it, than pleaſed to receive it. I was much more ſenſibly obliged by the Part you was pleaſed to give me of the good Fortune arrived to your Family, by its Increaſe, and my Lady's Safety; and will aſſure your Lordſhip you do me but Juſtice to believe I am concerned in all that happens to you, and more particularly upon this Occaſion, of which I have made very conſtant Enquiries, tho' without your Lordſhip's Trouble. I gave you *El para bien* with all the Joy that can be, and the Preſages of many more ſuch Adventures; and know my Lady began with her own Sex for no other Reaſon, but becauſe the War was ended. My own particular Satisfaction in it is, that my Family may continue their Services to your Lordſhip's, and that way make up what I ſhall fall ſhort of in the Expreſſions of that Paſſion and Truth, wherewith I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Liſle.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, Aug.* —— 1667.

I Received lately the Honour of one from your Lordſhip, which after all Complaints of Slowneſs and Dulneſs had enough to bear it out, tho' it had been much better addreſs'd, but needed nothing where it was, beſides being yours. In my preſent Station I want no Letters of Buſineſs or News, which makes thoſe that bring me Marks of my Friends Remembrance, or touches at their preſent Thoughts and Entertainments, taſte much better than any thing can do that is common Fare.

I agree very much with your Lordſhip, in being little ſatisfied by the Wits Excuſe, of employing none upon Relations as they do in *France*; and doubt much it is the ſame Temper and courſe of Thoughts among us, that makes us neither act Things worth relating, nor relate Things worth the reading. Whilſt making ſome of the Company laugh and others ridiculous, is the Game in Vogue, I fear we ſhall hardly ſucceed at any other, and am ſorry our Courtiers ſhould content themſelves with ſuch Victories as thoſe. I would have been glad to have ſeen Mr. *Cowley* before he died, celebrated Captain *Douglas* his Death, who ſtood and burnt in one of our Ships at *Chatham* when his Soldiers left him, becauſe it ſhould never be ſaid, a *Douglas* quitted his Poſt without Order; whether it be wiſe in Men to do ſuch Actions or no, I am ſure it is ſo in *States*, to honour them; and if they can, to turn the Vein of Wits, to raiſe up the Eſteem of ſome Qualities above their real Value, rather than bring every thing to Burleſque, which if it be allowed at all, ſhould be ſo only to wiſe Men in their Cloſets, and not to Wits, in their common Mirth and Company. But I leave them to be reformed by great Mens Examples and Humours, and know very well 'tis Folly for a private Man to touch them, which does but bring them like Waſps about one's Ears. However, I cannot but bewail the Tranſitorineſs of their Fame, as well as other Mens, when I hear Mr. *Waller* is turned to Burleſque among them, while he is alive, which never happen'd to old Poets till many Years after their Death; and tho' I never knew him enough to *adore* him, as many have done, and eaſily believe he may be, as your Lordſhip ſays, enough out of Faſhion, yet I am apt to think ſome of the old cut-work Bands were of as fine Thread, and as well wrought, as any of our new Points; and at leaſt, that all the Wit he and his Company ſpent in heightning Love and Friendſhip was better employ'd, than what is laid out ſo prodigally by the modern Wits, in the Mockery of all ſorts of Religion and Government.

I know not how your Lordſhip's Letter has engaged me in this kind of Diſcourſes; but I know very well you will adviſe me after it to keep my Reſidency here as long as I can, foretelling me what Succeſs I am like to have among our Courtiers if I come over. The beſt on't is, my Heart is ſet ſo much upon my little Corner at *Sheen*, that while I keep that, no other Diſappointments will be very ſenſible to me; and becauſe my Wife tells me ſhe is ſo bold as to enter into Talk of enlarging our Dominions there, I am contriving here this Summer, how a Succeſſion of Cherries may be compaſs'd from *May* till *Michaelmas*, and how the Riches of *Sheen* Vines may be improved, by half a dozen Sorts which are not yet known there, and which I think much beyond any that are. I ſhould be very glad to come and plant them my ſelf this next Seaſon, but know not yet how thoſe Thoughts will hit. Tho' I deſign to ſtay but a Month in *England*, yet they are here very unwilling I ſhould ſtir, as all People in Adverſity are jealous of being forſaken; and his Majeſty is not willing to give them any Diſcouragement, whether he gives them any Aſſiſtance or no. But if they end the Campaign with any good Fortune, they will be better humoured in that, as well as all other Points: And it ſeems not a very unlikely thing, the *French* having done nothing in ſix Months paſt but haraſs their Army, and being before *Liſle* engaged in a Siege, which may very well break the Courſe of their Succeſs. They have not yet made the leaſt Advance upon any of their Out-works, but been beaten off with much Loſs in all their Aſſaults: And if that King's Deſign be to bring his Nobility as *low* as he has done his People, he is in a good way, and may very well leave moſt of the brave among them in their Trenches there.

I had not need write often at this Length, nor make your Lordſhip any new Profeſſions of my being,

My Lord,

Yours, &c.

To my Brother Sir John Temple.

Dear Brother, *Bruſſels*, *Octob.* 10. *N. S.* 1667.

HAVING written ſo many and long Letters to my Father, I reſolved this ſhould be to you, tho' upon a Subject wherein he has been very deſirous to be informed; which was more than I could pretend to from any Notices of my own, having been young and very new in Buſineſs, when I was firſt employ'd upon the *Munſter* Treaty. All I knew of the Grounds or Occaſions of our late War with *Holland*, was, that in all common Converſation, I found both the *Court* and the *Parliament* in general, very ſharp upon it; complaining of the *Dutch* Inſolencies, of the great Diſadvantages they had brought upon our Trade in general, and the particular Injuries of their *Eaſt-India* Company towards ours: And it was not eaſy to think any ſhould better underſtand the Honour of the Crown than our *Court*; or the Intereſts of the Nation, than the *Houſe of Commons*. One thing I confeſs gave me ſome Reflections, which was, to obſerve that three of my Father's greateſt Friends, and Perſons that I moſt eſteemed upon many Accounts, were violently againſt the Counſels of this War; which were my Lords of *Northumberland*, of *Leiceſter*, and Sir *Robert Long*; tho' two of them were of the Privy Council, and the third in a great Office, and ever bred up in Court. For my own part, when I enter'd into that Affair, all I knew was, that we were actually in a War, and that the beſt we could do was to get out of it either by Succeſs and Victories, or by a fair and reaſonable Peace, which I believed our Treaty with *Munſter* would make way for: And I found ſome of our Miniſters had no other End by it, having given over the Thoughts of any great Advantages we ſhould find by purſuing the War. How that ſucceeded, and how it ended, you all know there, as well as I do here.

Upon Concluſion of the Peace at *Breda*, my Siſter took a very ſtrong Fancy to a Journey into *Holland*, to ſee a Country ſhe had heard ſo much of; and I was willing to give her that Satisfaction, after the melancholy Scene we have had here ever ſince the *French* Invaſion of this Country. We went *incognito*, with only her Woman, a Valet de Chambre, and a Page out of Livery, who *all* ſpoke *Dutch*. I leave it to her to give you an Account of what Entertainments ſhe met with there, which ſhe was much pleaſed with, eſpecially thoſe of the *Indian* Houſes: For me, who had ſeen enough of it in my younger Travels, I found nothing new but the *Stadt-Houſe* at *Amſterdam*, which tho' a great Fabrick, yet anſwered not the Expectation I had, from ſo much Time, and ſo vaſt Expence, as had been employed to raiſe it: Which put me in mind of what the *Cavaliero Bernini* ſaid of the *Louvre*, when he was ſent for to take a view of it, that it was *Una granpiccola Coſa*. The chief Pleaſure I had in my Journey was, to obſerve the ſtrange Freedom that all Men took in Boats and Inns, and all other common Places, of talking openly whatever they thought upon all the publick Affairs, both of their own State and their Neighbours: And this I had the Advantage of finding more by being *incognito*, and think it the greateſt piece of the Liberty that Country ſo much values; the Government being otherwiſe as ſevere, and the Taxes as hard, as among any of their Neighbours.

At our Return from *Amſterdam* we lay two Nights at the *Hague*, where I made a Viſit to Monſieur *de Witt*: I told him who I was, but that having paſs'd unknown through the Country, to all but himſelf, I deſired I might do ſo ſtill. I told him, my only Buſineſs was, to ſee the Things moſt conſiderable in the Country, and I thought I ſhould loſe my Credit, if I left it without ſeeing him. He took my Complement very well, and return'd it, by ſaying, he had receiv'd a Character of me to my Advantage, both from *Munſter* and *Bruſſels*, and was very glad to be acquainted with me at a Time when both our Nations were grown Friends; and had equal Reaſon to look about us, upon what had lately happened in *Flanders*; he ſeemed much to regret the late unhappy Quarrel between us, which had made way for this new War among our Neighbours. He laid the Fault of ours wholly upon Sir *George Downing*, who having been Envoy from *Cromwel* at a Time when the *States* were forced to obſerve good Meaſures with him; Sir *George* had made uſe of that Diſpoſition, to get a great deal of Money from the *Eaſt-India* Company, who were willing to bribe his good Offices, in ſome Diſputes that remained between the two Companies: That having been continued in the ſame Employment by the King, he thought to drive the ſame Trade; but finding the Company more ſtanch, he had taken upon him to purſue a Diſpute about the old Pretenſions, upon the Loſs of the *Bonadventure*, as an Affair of State between the Nations, whereas it was left by our Treaties to be purſued only as a Proceſs between the Parties. That in their Treaty with *Cromwel*, all Pretenſions on both Sides were cut off, but with this Clauſe; *Liceat autem* (to ſuch as were concerned in that Affair of the *Bonadventure*) *Litem inceptam proſequi*. That this Treaty having been made the Model of that, concluded with his Majeſty ſoon after his Reſtoration, that Clauſe continued ſtill in the new Treaty; and the Proceſs which had been begun long before *Cromwel*'s Treaty, before the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, had ſtill gone on after their Treaty with the King, according to the true Intention of that Clauſe. That Mr. *Cary*, who was employed to purſue it in the Name of *Courtin*'s Executors, had brought it very near a Compoſition, demanding forty thouſand Pounds for all Pretenſions, and the *Dutch* offering thirty. That he, (Monſieur *de Witt*) to end this Affair, had appointed a Meeting with Mr. *Cary*, who had ſince confeſs'd to his Friends, that he was reſolv'd to end it at that Meeting, and rather to take the *Dutch* Offer, than let the Suit run on; but that very Morning Sir *George Downing* ſent for him, told him it was a Matter of State between the two Nations, and not only a Concern of private Men; and therefore abſolutely forbid him to go on with any Treaty about it, otherwiſe than by his Communication and Conſent: That he would put in a Memorial to the *States* upon it, and inſtead of forty thouſand Pounds which he demanded, would undertake to get him fourſcore, and that he was ſure the *Dutch* would give a great deal more, rather than venture a Quarrel with his Majeſty.

This Courſe he purſued, made extravagant Demands, and with great Inſolence; made the ſame Repreſentations to our Court, and poſſeſs'd ſome of the Miniſters that he would get great Sums of Money, both for his Majeſty and them, if they would ſuffer him to treat this Affair after his own Manner; for he was ſure the *Dutch* would go very far in that kind, if they ſaw there was no other way to avoid a War with *England*.

That Monſieur *de Witt* for his part thought they were a free State no longer, if they ſhould yield a Point that they not only knew we had no Ground for, but were ſure we knew it as well as they; and that whatever the *States* ſhould give upon this Occaſion, might be demanded at any time by our Court upon any other, ſince none could have leſs Pretence.

This was all the Account he thought fit at leaſt to give me of this War; but other politick Reaſoners among the *Dutch* pretended to give ſeveral others. Some ſaid, the Duke's military Genius made him deſirous to enter upon ſome Action Abroad, and be at the Head of a great Fleet againſt a *State* he never had been a Friend to: That the Duke of *Albemarle* had long had a Peek to their Country, upon ſome Uſage he reſented during his being an Officer there: That he had a very mean Opinion of their Fleets, as well as their other Forces, ſince the ſucceſſes of the *Engliſh* in the firſt War during the *Uſurper*'s Time: That ſome of the Miniſters were poſſeſs'd with an Opinion of getting Money, by only threatning a War, without Intention of ſeeing it brought to Effect; and had let it run on ſo far, till it was too late to go back. Some others attribute Sir *Thomas Clifford*'s Violence in the Houſe of Commons, and Practices with our *Eaſt-India* Company, to a deeper Deſign; and would have the Matter of *Religion* concerned in the Quarrel, as their Pamphlets ſtill endeavoured during the War: And theſe will not believe, that when all *Chriſtendom* was at Peace, ſuch a War could be begun merely upon a *Chicane*, about the Loſs of Ship or two ſo many Years ſince. There are others that lay the War upon the Conduct of *France*, by which they ſay, we were engaged in it: That the preſent King was reſolved to purſue the old Scheme laid by Cardinal *Richlieu*, of extending the Bounds of *France* to the *Rhine*, for which Ends the Conqueſt of *Lorrain* and *Flanders* was to be firſt atchieved. That the Purchaſe of *Dunkirk* from us was ſo violently purſued for this End, without which they could not well begin a War upon *Flanders*. That after this they had endeavoured to engage the preſent Miniſtry in *Holland*, to renew the Meaſures once taken in Cardinal *Richlieu*'s Time, for dividing *Flanders* between *France* and *Holland*: But not ſucceeding in it, they had turned all their Intrigues to engage us in a War, which might make room for their Invaſion of *Flanders*, whilſt the two Neighbours moſt concerned in its Defence, ſhould be deep in a Quarrel between themſelves: That they made both Parties believe they would aſſiſt them if there were Occaſion, and would certainly have done it: That as they took part with *Holland* upon our firſt Succeſſes at Sea, and the *Biſhop* of *Munſter*'s Treaty; ſo if the Succeſſes had been great on the *Dutch* ſide, they would have aſſiſted us in order to prolong the War.

Theſe are Diſcourſes current in *Holland* upon this Subject; and I had rather give you thoſe of others upon it, than any of my own. The Duke of *Ormond* will be able to judge whether any of theſe *Dutch* Reaſonings are true, or which are moſt probable. For my part I can only ſay, that however the War began, I am very glad 'tis ended; but ſorry it has made way for another, which if it laſts any time, is like to involve us, and perhaps all the reſt of the Neighbours, either in a new War, or in new Dangers. For if the *French* ſhall carry *Flanders*, as they very well may in another Campaign, by the Weakneſs and Diſorders in the Government here; the *Dutch* are ſenſible that they muſt fall to be a maritime Province to *France*, upon the beſt Terms they can. The *Empire* will expect to ſee them ſoon at the *Rhine*, and thereby Maſters of four *Electors*; and what a Condition *England* will be left in by ſuch an Acceſſion of maritime Forces, as well as Provinces, to ſuch a Power as *France* is already, is but too eaſy, and too melancholy a Reflection. The *Dutch* are much exaſperated at this Invaſion of *Flanders*, both as dangerous and as ſcornful to them in particular; for they ſay that *France*, till the very Time of their March, gave conſtant Aſſurances to the *States*, both by the *French* Ambaſſador here, and by their Ambaſſador at *Paris*, that they would not invade *Flanders* without firſt taking their Meaſures upon it, with the *States* themſelves. I find our Court are as much provoked on t'other ſide, not only upon this new Danger, but alſo upon the *French* having declared War againſt *us* in Favour of *Holland*, without the leaſt Pretence of Injury, or other Occaſion; ſo that if we both underſtood or truſted one another, 'tis likely we ſhould be both of a Mind in this Matter; but after ſuch a ſharp War as hath been for two Years between us, and ſuch a ſnarling Peace as that at *Breda*, I do not well ſee how this can happen before it be too late, and ſo muſt leave theſe Contemplations to ſuch as are in the Miniſtry, both in *England* and *Holland*, as well as *Spain* and the *Empire*, to take ſuch Meaſures as are wiſe and neceſſary in ſuch a Conjuncture; which is perhaps the moſt important that has been a great while in *Chriſtendom*, and may have Conſequences that none alive will ſee the End of. 'Tis time I am ſure that you ſhould ſee an End of this long Letter, and come to the Aſſurances of my being ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir George Savil.

SIR, *Bruſſels, Dec.* 9. *N. S.* 1667.

BECAUSE my Wife aſſures me I am not wholly loſt in your Favour and Memory, I will not run any farther Venture of forfeiting my Title for want of laying Claim to it, but make uſe of the ſmalleſt Occaſion rather than none, in a Matter wherein I am ſo much and ſo juſtly concerned.

This Place never was in worſe Poſture to furniſh either a War or a Gazette than at this Time, for the Troops are all mouldring in their Winter Quarters; and as the greateſt Calms ordinarily ſucceed the greateſt Storms, ſo ſince the Heat of News and Occurrences here during the late Campaign, I have hardly known a Place where leſs of both were ſtirring; Action and Invention ſeeming to have ended together. There is indeed a new Difference between the two Crowns ariſen this Winter; which is, that *France* talks of Peace, but prepares for War; and *Spain* talks of War, but prepares hitherto as if they were ſure of Peace: They ſay at preſent they are off that with *Portugal*, which is the only Thing yet in Sight that can make the other neceſſary to them.

Becauſe my Wife tells me you were content with the laſt Papers I ſent of the *Roman* News, I take occaſion to continue it by the incloſed, tho' there be ſeldom any thing in it worth conſidering at this diſtance, unleſs it be the Style, and the Quiet of that Scene, which, like the upper Region, has no ſhare in the Storms of that below. And beſides, as Men have more Curioſity to enquire how a great Man *ſleeps*, than what a mean Man *does* all Day long, ſo the very Reſt and Idleneſs of that *Roman* Court, ſeems among the Diſcourſers more worth knowing, than the buſy Motions of many ſmall ones in this Northern Continent, who yet at this time pretend to be conſidered, and to make a Noiſe.

This is all I can ſay to excuſe my Encloſure of ſuch Papers, unleſs it be that, to tell a plain Truth, I was very glad of the Occaſion to aſſure you that I am ever with very much Paſſion, as well as with much Reaſon,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful,

Humble Servant.

The

The Triple Alliance was made in *Jan.* 1668.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R, *London, Jan.* 2. *N. S.* 1668.

YOU will wonder to ſee a Letter from this Place, my laſt having been from *Bruſſels*, without any Thoughts of ſuch a Journey: And becauſe my Stay here is like to be very ſhort, and my Time extremely filled, I take the firſt Hour I can find, to give you ſome Account of this Adventure.

Soon after my laſt an Expreſs came to me from his Majeſty, commanding me to come immediately into *England*, with all the Speed I could poſſibly make, but to take the *Hague* in my way, and there upon the Credit of a Viſit I made Monſieur *de Witt* laſt *September*, and which paſſed very well between us, to make him another, and let him know, his Majeſty had commanded me to do ſo on purpoſe, to inform my ſelf of the Opinions he had concerning the *French* late Invaſion in *Flanders*, their great Succeſs there, and the Appearances of ſo much greater this enſuing Spring; the Thoughts he had of what was the true Intereſt of his Majeſty, the *States*, and the reſt of *Chriſtendom* upon this Occaſion: That his Majeſty by knowing *his* Mind ſhould believe he knew a great deal of that of the *States*, and thought he might thereby be enabled to take ſuch Meaſures, as might be neceſſary for him in this Conjuncture.

I obey'd this Summons, ſpoke with Monſieur *de Witt*, enter'd into great Confidences with him, made Report of all to his Majeſty at my Arrival here; gave Monſieur *de Witt* the Character I think he deſerves, of a very able and faithful Miniſter to his *State*, and I thought a ſincere Dealer, very different from what Sir *George Downing* had given of him at Court, who would have him paſs for ſuch another as himſelf, but only a craftier Man in the Trade than he.

Upon all this, his Majeſty came laſt Night to a Reſolution of the greateſt Importance which has yet paſſed I think here, in any foreign Affair, and begun the new Year, I hope, with a good Preſage, and in which the new Miniſtry, particularly my Lord Keeper and my Lord *Arlington*, have had a very great Part: Mine will be to return immediately upon it into *Holland*, where if it pleaſe God I arrive and ſucceed, I expect a great deal of Satisfaction by my Errand, and much the greater by knowing that you will have a great deal in it too, as in an Affair I remember to be ſo agreeable with what have been always your Opinions.

The Seaſon of the Year is bad, and the Weather ill, and yet my Siſter has been ſo kind as to come with me hither from *Bruſſels*, and to reſolve to return with me at this ſhort Warning to the *Hague*, which will be a great Eaſe to me as well as Satisfaction; and by freeing me from all domeſtick Cares, leave me the more liberty for thoſe of my Buſineſs, which I foreſee will be enough to take up a better Head than mine. My Wife and Children continue here, till I ſee where my wandring Planet is like to fix; but my Brother *Harry* reſolves to be of the Party, and take this Occaſion of ſeeing *Holland*, and what is like to paſs in the World upon this great Conjuncture. I am called away, and have Time only to add the conſtant Profeſſions of that Duty, wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Jan.* 24. *N. S.* 1668.

UPON laſt *Friday* at Night I gave your Lordſhip the Account of what Advance I had then made in my Negotiation, and of the Point where it was then arreſted, with Deſires of his Majeſty's Pleaſure; whereupon having ſpent that whole Day in Debates, I had little time left for that Letter, but intended to make ſome Amends for the Haſte of it, within two Days by a Diſpatch with the Yatch, and tho' delayed a little longer, will not I hope be more unwelcome by bringing your Lordſhip a fuller and final Account, which may be allowed to ſurprize you a little there, ſince it is look'd upon as a Miracle here, not only by thoſe that hear it, but even by the Commiſſioners themſelves, who have had the whole Tranſaction of it, which I ſhall now acquaint your Lordſhip with.

Upon my two firſt Conferences with Monſieur *de Witt*, which were the *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday*, I found him much ſatisfied with his Majeſty's Reſolution concerning our Neighbours; but of the Opinion, that the Condition of forcing *Spain* was neceſſary to our common End, and to clear the Means towards it from all Accidents that may ariſe. For the defenſive League he was of his former Opinion, that it ſhould be negotiated between us; but upon the Project offered his Majeſty at *Schevelin*, by which all Matter of Commerce might be ſo adjuſted, as to leave no Seeds of any new Quarrels between the Nations.

After two very long Conferences upon theſe Points, we ended with ſome Difference, upon the Neceſſity of concluding both Parts of my Projects at the ſame Time; but for the reſt, with great Confidence and Satisfaction, in one anothers ſincere and frank way of treating, ſince the firſt Overtures between us.

The firſt time I ſaw him, he told me I came upon a Day he ſhould always eſteem very happy, both in reſpect of his Majeſty's Reſolutions which I brought, and of thoſe the *States* had taken, about the Diſpoſal of the chief Commands in their Army, by making Prince *Mauriſe* and Monſieur *Wurtz* Camp Maſters General, and the Prince of *Tarante* and *Rhingrave* Generals of the Horſe, each to command in Abſence of the other. He told me all the Detail of that Diſpoſition, but the reſt I remember not well. I laid hold on this Occaſion (as indeed I thought was neceſſary) to ſay what his Majeſty gave me Order concerning the Prince of *Orange*, which he took very well, and ſaid, was very obliging to the *States*; that for his own part he never failed to ſee the Prince once or twice a Week, and grew to have a particular Affection for him, and would tell me plainly, that the *States* deſigned the Captain-Generalſhip of all the Forces for him, ſo ſoon as by his Age he grew capable of it.

The next Day was my Audience, which paſſed with all the Reſpect that could be given his Majeſty's Character; and the next Morning began my Conference with the eight Commiſſioners of ſecret Affairs: I expoſed my Powers, and ſaw theirs, in purſuit whereof I offered them the Project of the defenſive League, as that which was to be the Foundation of all farther Negotiations, and without which perhaps neither of us ſhould be very forward to ſpeak our Minds with Confidence and Freedom, in what concerned our Neighbours, being likely therein to ſhock ſo great Powers abroad: I told them, for the reſt, his Majeſty having reſolved, as far as he could in Honour, to comply with the Senſe of the *States*, in the Offices of Mediation between the two Crowns; I was firſt to expect from them the Knowledge of the *States* Reſolution, in caſe they were already agreed.

I took this Courſe in my firſt Propoſals, becauſe I found here that the Provinces were not yet reſolved upon theirs, five of them only having fallen upon that of Monſieur *de Witt*; but *Zealand* being of Opinion to agree with *France* for dividing *Flanders*; and *Utrecht*, for ſuffering *France* only to retain the laſt Year's Conqueſt, by way of *Compromis*, till their Pretenſions were adjudged before competent Arbiters, to be agreed by the two Crowns, or by the joint Mediators:

diators: And I was in hopes, that knowing his Majeſty's Reſolutions to join with them, before they were agreed among themſelves, it might produce ſome Counſels among them, a little more favourable to *Flanders*, and conſequently more honourable to his Majeſty.

After my Propoſals, Monſieur *de Witt* was by the reſt of the Commiſſioners deſired to ſpeak for them all in the Conduct of our Conferences, who after a Preamble of the uſual Forms and Complements, upon his Majeſty's happy Diſpoſitions, to enter into a nearer Alliance with the *States* upon the mentioned Points, declared the ſame Reſolution in the *States*, and allowing our Confidence by a defenſive League for the Baſis of the reſt, ſaid, the *States* were very willing *de faire infuſer les Clauſes pour la ſeuretè commune dans les Articles de la Mediation*; and was large upon this Argument, that the laſt being of very preſſing Haſte as well as Neceſſity, and they having already Order from their Provinces to proceed upon it, they could not have the ſame Powers upon the defenſive, being a new Matter, under ſix Weeks or two Months time, but as ſoon as they received them, would proceed to give their Ambaſſador in *England* Powers to fall upon that Treaty, which muſt for a Baſis, have at the ſame time an Adjuſtment of Matters of Commerce for his forementioned Reaſons.

I thought fit to cut this Matter ſhort, and told them directly, I had no Orders to proceed upon any other Points, but in Conſequence or Conjunction of the defenſive League; in which I thought his Majeſty had all the Reaſon that could be, both becauſe he would not venture a War's ending in *Flanders* to begin upon *England*; and on the other ſide knew the *States*, whoſe Danger was nearer, would never be capable of taking any vigorous Reſolutions in their Neighbours Affairs, till they were ſecure at home by his Majeſty's Defence.

That his Majeſty thought the moſt generous and friendly Advance that could be, was made on his Side by his Propoſition, being himſelf ſo much more out of Danger than they were, and ſo much courted to a Conjunction with *France* to their Prejudice, as well as that of *Flanders*; that they had not made a Difficulty of ſuch Alliances with Princes, who had lately *deſmelez* with them as well as his Majeſty; and that, God be thanked, his Majeſty was not in Condition to have ſuch an Offer refuſed by any Prince or State of *Chriſtendom*.

Theſe were the Sum of our Diſcourſes, tho' very long, and ſuch as occaſioned the Commiſſioners to withdraw thrice and conſult together, tho' nothing was reſolved, but that Monſieur *de Witt* and Monſieur *Isbrant* ſhould ſpend the Afternoon with me at my Lodging, to endeavour the adjuſting of Circumſtances between us, ſince we ſeemed to agree in Subſtance.

That Conference ended, as I gave your Lordſhip Notice that Evening, upon the Point, that inſtead of the Project of *Schevelin*, or any new Adjuſtment concerning marine Affairs; the *States* would proceed upon his Majeſty's Project of a defenſive League, provided the proviſional Articles in the *Breda* Treaty might be inſerted and perpetuated in this, and thereupon we ſhould expect his Majeſty's Anſwer to what I ſhould write that Night.

The next being *Saturday* Morning, I deſired another Conference with my two Commiſſioners, but could not have it till the Afternoon, they being to report that Morning to the *States* what had paſſed the Evening before. At our Meeting after Noon, they told me their Communication of all to the *States*, and their Lordſhips Reſolution upon them, that it was neceſſary the Articles proviſional ſhould be inſerted in the Treaty, ſo as I began to doubt a Stop of all till his Majeſty's Anſwer, which ſubjected all to Uncertainties: I knew the *French* Ambaſſador was grown into very ill Humour upon my Arrival and fallen into Complaints and Expoſtulations with ſeveral of the *States*; and the more, becauſe he could not ſee Monſieur *de Witt* from my coming over till that time, tho' he had often preſs'd it, and had an Hour given him the next Day, Monſieur *de Witt* having promiſed to ſee him, as he went to Church after Noon. Upon this I knew likewiſe he had diſpatch'd a Courier to *Paris*, which I thought would make no Delay, and therefore reſolved to fall upon all the Inſtances and Expedients I could, to draw up a ſudden Concluſion. I told them I deſired it extremely, before I could hear again out of *England*, becauſe I had left Monſieur *Ruvigny* very buſy at my coming away, and not unbefriended; that I feared the ſame Artifices of *France* to diſturb us here, and perhaps Monſieur *d'Eſtrades* might at his next Meeting endeavour to infuſe ſome Jealouſies into them, by the Relation of what had paſſed between your Lordſhip and Monſieur *Ruvigny*, three or four Days after the Date of my firſt Inſtructions; upon which I told them frankly (as his Majeſty gave me Leave) what had paſſed in that Affair. Monſieur *de Witt* asked me whether I could ſhew him the Paper drawn up between you; and knowing I had it not, deſired earneſtly I would procure it him, aſſuring me no Uſe ſhould be made of it, but by joint Conſent: But ſaying, nothing would ſerve ſo far to juſtify them, in caſe of a Breach, growing neceſſary between them and *France*, I promiſed to write to your Lordſhip about it, which I deſire you will pleaſe to take Notice of.

I told Monſieur *de Witt* what Confidence I had given his Majeſty of his ſincere Proceedings, and how I had been ſupported by your Lordſhip in thoſe Suggeſtions, againſt the Opinion of ſome other great Men: What Advantage theſe would take, if they ſaw our whole Negotiation was ſtopp'd upon a thing that look'd like a *Chicanerie*; ſince Articles proviſional till new Agreements, were in effect as ſtrong as perpetual, which might it ſelf be changed by new Agreements: That this would be eſteemed an Artifice of his, eſpecially ſince he had declared upon my asking him, that it was his own Opinion, (and that he would tell the *States* ſo if they demanded it) not to conclude without Inſertion of thoſe Articles, which yet he could not deny to be of preſent Force; for that they allowed; but ſeemed to doubt, that referring in the Treaty of *Breda* to a new Treaty, they would be invalidated if a new Treaty ſhould paſs without their Confirmation.

I found Monſieur *Iſbrant* was content with my Reaſons, and ſaid he would undertake his *Province* ſhould be ſo, but Monſieur *de Witt* ſaid, *Holland* and *Zealand* would not. I told them at laſt, that I was ſure the *States* would not think fit to loſe the Effect of the League propoſed upon ſuch a Point as this, and that they intended only to have the Advantage of ſeeing his Majeſty's Reſolution, in Anſwer to my Letter before they concluded, with Reſolutions however that this ſhould not hinder at laſt: that I foreſaw many things might ariſe in ten Days time, to break all our good Intentions, and ſome more than I had told them, or could at preſent; that if they knew me, and how far I was to be truſted where I gave my Word, I would propoſe an Expedient to them; but being ſo new among them, I thought it was to no Purpoſe: There I pauſed. They deſired me I would propoſe however, and ſo I did; which was, that we ſhould proceed to draw up the whole Project, and ſign as ſoon as was poſſible; and that in caſe I afterwards received his Majeſty's Leave, in Anſwer of my *Friday*'s Letter, to inſert thoſe proviſional Articles, I would freely declare it to them, and inſert them in a ſeparate Article, to be a part of the defenſive League. They both looked a while one upon another, and after a Pauſe, Monſieur *de Witt* gave me his Hand, and after a Complement upon the Confidence he had taken in my Face, and in the reſt of my Dealing ſince our firſt Commerce, told me, that if I would promiſe them what I had ſaid, *en Homme de bien*, they would ask no farther Aſſurance of me; and provided the Treaty of *Breda* might be confirmed in the Preamble of this, to take away all Scruples of thoſe Articles being of leſs Force than they were before; for his part, tho' he could promiſe nothing what the *States* would reſolve, yet he would promiſe that he and Monſieur *Iſbrant* would uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, to induce them to proceed upon my Propoſition; and ſo we fell immediately to digeſt our Project of the whole Treaty: For I made no Difficulty of the Confirmation propoſed, knowing that new Treaties uſe to begin by Confirmation of the old.

I am the larger in this Relation, that his Majeſty may know upon what Reaſons I engaged my Word to them in this Point, and thereupon may give me Leave, without more Circumſtances to be true to it, in caſe his Majeſty's Pleaſure in the Point be diſpatch'd away to me, upon the Receipt of my former Letter.

After this Difficulty well evaded, we found none but in this Expreſſion [*In caſe our Perſuaſions to* Spain *ſhould not prevail, and we ſhould come à la Force & à la Contrainte*] which I moderated at firſt by the Words [*aux moyens plus durs*] and afterwards [*aux moyens plus efficaces*] for we drew it up firſt in *French*: The other Additions or Enlargements, I dare preſume, his Majeſty will not be diſpleaſed with, no more than that Article about *Portugal*, though I had no Inſtruction in it. If I have failed in enlarging upon very ſhort and haſty Inſtructions, I moſt humbly beg his Majeſty's Pardon, becauſe I am ſure I kept my ſelf as cloſe as was poſſible, to what I apprehended to be his Majeſty's Senſe upon the whole and every part.

That Evening being *Saturday*, or rather that Night and *Sunday* Morning, we agreed upon the Project in *French*, and gave Order for the tranſlating of it into *Latin*, which was done, and peruſed by me, and agreed to between twelve and one that Night, and engroſſed by eleven next Morning, being *Monday*, and at a Meeting with the Commiſſioners, jointly was ſigned and ſealed, and mutually delivered between two and three that Afternoon; after that, time ſpent in comparing the Inſtruments, and adjuſting the Sums, computed as the Value of the ſeveral Aids.

After Sealing, we all embraced with much Kindneſs and Applauſe of my ſaying upon that Occaſion, *A Breda comme Amis, icy comme Freres:* and Monſieur *de Witt* made me a moſt obliging Complement, of having the Honour which never any other Miniſter had before me, of drawing the *States* to a Reſolution and Concluſion in five Days, upon a Matter of the greateſt Importance, and a *Secours* of the greateſt Expence they had ever engaged in; and all directly againſt the Nature of their Conſtitutions, which enjoined them Recourſe to their *Provinces* upon all ſuch Occaſions, and uſed to draw out all common Deliberations to Months Delays; and added upon it, that now it was done, it look'd like a Miracle.

I muſt add three Words to do him Right in return of his Complement, that I found him as plain, as direct, and ſquare in the courſe of this Buſineſs, as any Man could be; though often ſtiff in Points where he thought any Advantage could accrue to his Country; and have all the Reaſon in the World to be ſatisfied with him, and for his Induſtry no Man had ever more. I am ſure, for theſe five Days at leaſt, neither of us ſpent many idle Hours, neither Day nor Night.

After the Concluſion, I received Yeſterday the Viſits of all the publick Miniſters in Town, except the Ambaſſadors, between whom, and Envoys Extraordinary, ſome Difficulties were ariſen (they ſay, here firſt begun by Sir *George Downing*) which have in a manner ſpoiled all Commerce. None of the other failed to rejoice with me upon the Concluſion of my Buſineſs, and to expreſs their adoring his Majeſty's Reſolutions, which in this Conjuncture, they ſay, have given new Life to all the Courts of *Chriſtendom*, whoſe Councils were before in the greateſt Perplexities and Diſorder that could be. They ſay his Majeſty will have the ſole Honour of giving either Peace to *Chriſtendom*, or a Balance to the Wars; and has ſhewn, that all muſt follow what he gives a Head to. Much more of this kind I hear from all Hands, and have no Reaſon to doubt their Meaning what they ſay.

Thus far I have given your Lordſhip the ſmooth ſide only of this Concluſion, and now you muſt receive the rough; for having concerted with the Commiſſioners, that Monſieur *de Witt* and I ſhould give part of our Treaty (all but the ſeparate Articles) to the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors; the firſt we performed this Afternoon, the laſt we intend to morrow Morning.

The *French* Ambaſſador had been much ſurprized with our Concluſion: For upon our firſt Conference with the Commiſſioners, he had ſaid, *Tout cela s'en ira en Fumée, & que le Roy ſon Maitre s'en mocqueroit.* The Day before our Signing, being told, we advanced very faſt, he replied; *Et bien, d'icy à ſix ſemaines nous en parlerons*, relying upon the Forms of the *State*, to run the Circle of their Towns.

Upon our giving him part of the whole Buſineſs, he replied coldly, that he doubted we had not taken a right way to our End; that the fourth Article of the ſecond Inſtrument was not in Terms very proper to be digeſted by a King of twenty nine Years old, and at the Head of eighty thouſand Men: That if we had joined both to deſire his Maſter to prolong the Offer he had made, of a Ceſſation of Arms till the Time we propoſe, and withal, not to move his Arms farther in *Flanders*, tho' *Spain* ſhould refuſe, we might hope to ſucceed: But if we thought to preſcribe him Laws, and force him to Compliance, by Leagues between our ſelves, or with *Spain*, tho' *Sweden* and the *German* Princes ſhould join with us; he knew his Maſter *ne flecheroit pas*, and that it would come to a War of forty Years. From this he fell a little warmly upon the proceedings of the *States*, ſaying, they knew his Maſter's Reſolutions upon thoſe two Points, neither to prolong the Ceſſation propoſed beyond the End of *March*, nor to deſiſt the Purſuit of his Conqueſts with his own Arms, in caſe *Spain* conſented not to his Demands within that Term. He ſaid, his Majeſty not being their Ally, might treat and conclude what he pleaſed, without their Offence; but for the *States* who were their neareſt Ally, to conclude ſo much to his Maſter's Diſreſpect at leaſt, and without communicating with him the Ambaſſador at all during the whole Treaty, he muſt leave it to his Maſter to interpret as he thought fit. Monſieur *de Witt* deſended their Cauſe, and our common Intentions with great Phlegm, but great Steddineſs, and told me aſter he was gone, that this was the leaſt we could expect at firſt from a *Frenchman*; and that I ſhould do well however to give his Majeſty an Account of it by the firſt, that we put our ſelves early in Poſture, to make good what we have ſaid; and that as to the Time and Degree of our arming, he would conſult with the *States*, and let me know their Thoughts, to be communicated to his Majeſty upon this Occaſion.

I was in hopes to diſpatch this away to morrow Morning, but I ſhall be hinder'd till Night, by the Delay of ſigning a ſeparate Article with the Count *de Dona*, whereby Place is reſerved for *Sweden* to enter as principal into this Treaty: For I have gone along in the whole Buſineſs ſince my coming over, with perfect Confidence and Concert with the Count *de Dona*, upon his aſſuring me, his Orders were to conform himſelf to his Majeſty's Reſolution in what concerns the two Crowns, tho' before he abſolutely engages, he expects from the *Spaniards* by our Interceſſion, ſome Supplies for Payment of his Troops, and ſome other Adjuſtments with the *Emperor*, which will be treated between the ſeveral Miniſters at *London* under his Majeſty's Influence. In what I ſhall ſign upon this Occaſion, together with the *States*, I confeſs to your Lordſhip to go beyond my Inſtructions, but apprehending it to be wholly agreeable to his Majeſty's Intentions, and extremely advantagious to the common Ends and Affairs; I venture upon this Exceſs, and humbly beg his Majeſty's Pardon if I fail. Your Lordſhip will be troubled with ſome Poſtſcript to Morrow, before I diſpatch an Expreſs with the Copies to be ratified by his Majeſty within a Month, tho' I hope a leſs time will be taken, thoſe of *Holland* having undertaken theirs on fifteen Days.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague*, *Jan.* 26. *S. N.* 1668.

SINCE the Cloſe of my long Diſpatch, I have every Hour expected the Copies to be tranſmitted for his Majeſty's Ratification, without being able to procure them. I cannot but imagine ſome Occaſion of the Delay, may have been a Deſire in them here to interpoſe ſome time, between the Receipt of my laſt *Friday*'s Letter and of this Pacquet, to the end his Majeſty may in the mean time have diſpatch'd his Orders to me about the proviſional Articles, tho' I cannot think they ſhould be of ſuch Moment inſerted or omitted to either ſide.

I now diſpatch the incloſed Copies of the Treaty, in order to his Majeſty's Ratification, which is generally deſired may be returned as ſudden as poſſibly; the *States* having undertaken to have theirs ready in fifteen Days after the Signing, and believing it neceſſary to proceed jointly and early, to the mutual Councils of Arming, in caſe *France* continues the Diſpoſitions they ſeem to be in at preſent of purſuing the War.

My Brother, who will deliver this Diſpatch to your Lordſhip, is able to add what particular Circumſtances I may have omitted, or your Lordſhip ſhall think fit to enquire from this Place; and what he fails, Count *Dona* will ſupply, who is a Perſon well worth your Lordſhip's particular Acquaintance and Aſſiſtance in his Negotiations, or at leaſt the Forms and Entrances of them, being in all Points our Friend.

Yeſterday the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador received the Communication of our Treaties from Monſieur *de Witt* and me, with ſome Deſcants upon the Hardſhip of it, but, I believe, Satisfaction at Heart. I have this Day written at large, and with all the Inſtance imaginable to the Marquis *de Caſtel Rodrigo* to induce his Conſent, and immediately upon the Ratifications, ſhall away and purſue that Point at *Bruſſels*.

I cannot but rejoice in particular with your Lordſhip, upon the Succeſs of this Affair, having obſerved in your Lordſhip as well as my *Lord Keeper*, a conſtant ſteddy Bent, in ſupporting his Majeſty's Reſolution, which is here ſo generally applauded as the happieſt and wiſeſt, that any Prince ever took for himſelf or his Neighbours: What in earneſt I hear every Hour, and from all Hands of that kind is endleſs, and even extravagant. God of Heaven ſend his Majeſty's Councils to run on the ſame Courſe; and I have nothing left to wiſh, ſince I know your Lordſhip will continue to eſteem me what I am with ſo great Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, *Lord Keeper.*

My Lord, *Hague, Jan.* 27. *S. N.* 1668.

THO' I know my long Diſpatch by this Expreſs to my Lord *Arlington* will give your Lordſhip your ſhare of Trouble, yet I could not omit the encharging my Brother with a particular Attendance upon your Lordſhip from me, nor accompanying him with theſe Acknowledgments of your Lordſhip's great Favour and good Opinion, even before I had the Honour of being known to you. I will preſume I have done nothing ſince to forfeit them, as I had nothing before to deſerve them; and that my late good Fortunes at the *Hague*, will help to continue what my good Fortunes alone at *Bruſſels* began, and my five Days Stay at *London*, ſerved to improve in ſo great a degree. Yet I will aſſure your Lordſhip, if I can make any farther Advance by the Reſentments of your Favour, by my Deſires to deſerve it in the return of my beſt Services, or by the true Honour and Eſteem of thoſe Qualities, I have diſcovered in your Lordſhip, upon ſo ſhort an Acquaintance; I am very far upon my way already.

But I will leave this Subject in the firſt place, to congratulate with you upon another; which is the Succeſs of a Council, wherein I obſerved your Lordſhip and my Lord *Arlington* to have the moſt ſteddy Bent, in promoting a Reſolution of his Majeſty's, which is on this ſide the Water, eſteemed generally the happieſt and the wiſeſt that could ever have been taken by any Prince in ſuch a Conjuncture, and upon Reſpects not only of his own Affairs, but even thoſe of all *Chriſtendom* beſides. It is not fit for me to tell you much of what I hear of this kind, or the Applauſes given to his Majeſty and his Miniſters upon this Occaſion: To tell you all, I am ſure would be endleſs; but from what I hear, I cannot but raiſe at leaſt a happy Preſage of a new Year, and a new Miniſtry's running on together, with a Succeſſion of the ſame Honour and good Fortunes both to his Majeſty and his Kingdoms.

In the next place, I will, according to your Orders, give your Lordſhip an Account of ſome Particulars that fell into this great Tranſaction, which I thought not fit to trouble my Lord *Arlington* with, as not perhaps proper, or of weight enough, for the View of his Majeſty or the foreign Committee, and yet worth the Knowledge or Reflection of ſome of his Miniſters, in order to the Conduct of his Majeſty's Councils hereafter, both in this and other of his Affairs.

I muſt tell your Lordſhip, that in my firſt Conference with Monſieur *de Witt* ſince my return; I begun with telling him, that he could not but remember, when I paſſed this way laſt into *England*, I told him, upon what Points his Majeſty deſired with the greateſt Secrecy that could be, to know his Opinion, and by that to gueſs at what might be the *States*, upon the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs in *Flanders*; to the end his Majeſty might accordingly take his own Meaſures. That his Majeſty gueſs'd by the general Carriage and Diſcourſes of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *London*, the *States* were not willing to ſee *Flanders* over-run by *France*, but could not find they had any thing poſitive to ſay to him upon that Subject: That he had therefore ſent me privately and plainly to tell him his Mind upon it, as to a Man of Honour, and who he believed would make no ill uſe of it, and (if he thought fit) to know his Sentiments upon that Affair. That for his Majeſty, he neither thought it for his own Intereſt nor Safety, nor for that of the *States*, or of *Chriſtendom* in general, that *Flanders* ſhould be loſt; and therefore was reſolved to do his utmoſt to preſerve it, provided the *States* were of the ſame Mind, and that it might be done in Conjunction between them; and to that end deſired to know, whether the *States* would be content to enter into an Alliance with him, both defenſive between themſelves, and offenſive againſt *France*, for the Preſervation of *Flanders*. That he (Monſieur *de Witt*) might remember, his Anſwer to me was; firſt, much Applauſe of his Majeſty's Reſolution, great Acknowledgment of his Confidence towards him by that Communication, much Aſſurance that the *States* would be of the ſame Mind, as to the Preſervation of *Flanders*, which was their neareſt Intereſt next their own: That he found both his Majeſty and the *States* had the ſame Mind as well as Intereſt in this Matter, but that the Diſtruſts remaining upon the late Quarrel between them, had kept either of them from beginning to enter frankly upon it. But ſince his Majeſty had pleaſed to break it to him in a manner ſo obliging, tho' he could not pretend to tell me his Maſter's Mind, yet he would his own: Which was, that the Defence of *Flanders* was abſolutely neceſſary, but that it ought to be tryed firſt, rather by a joint Mediation of a Peace between the two Crowns, than by a Declaration of War; but that if the firſt would not ſerve, it ought to come to the other. That I knew *France* had already offered a Peace to the Offices made by the *States* upon an Alternative at the Choice of the *Spaniards*; that he thought our Mediation ought to be offered to both Crowns upon that Foot, to induce *France* to make good their own Offer, and *Spain* to accept it. And that to this purpoſe he thought it very neceſſary to make a ſtrict Alliance between his Majeſty and the *States*.

That for making an offenſive Alliance, it could not be; for it was a Maxim obſerv'd by this *State*, never to make any, at leaſt when they were in Peace; that for defenſive Leagues, they had them with many Princes, and he believed would be ready to enter into one with his Majeſty; and tho' he could not at all anſwer what would be the Mind of the *States* upon theſe Points, yet he had told me his; and would add, that he was not uſually miſtaken in theirs, and that he would at leaſt uſe all his Endeavours to bring the *States* to ſuch Opinions and Reſolutions.

When I had ſaid this, and obſerved by his Action and Face that he aſſented to this Recital of all that had paſſed between us; I ask'd him whether this was all right, that I might know whether I had miſtaken nothing in repreſenting his Majeſty's Meaning to him, nor his to his Majeſty. He anſwered, that it was all right, and that he very well remembred it, and much commended a Method of proceeding ſo exact and ſincere, by an endeavour to avoid all Miſtakes between us.

I then told him, that I had upon my Arrival in *England*, repreſented all as faithfully to his Majeſty as I had done to him; and that upon it his Majeſty had taken ſo much Confidence in his (Monſieur *de Witt's*) Opinion and Judgment, as well as in his Credit with the *States*, that he had taken a ſudden and firm Reſolution upon it; firſt, to join with the *States* in the Offer of a Mediation between the two Crowns, and upon ſuch Terms, as they and I ſhould agree, but with a Deſire, that they might be as advantageous as the *States* could be induced to, for the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and Recovery of ſuch Places as ſhould be moſt neceſſary to it. In the next place, to conclude a Treaty, the ſtrongeſt that could be between us, for obliging *France* to accept the Peace upon thoſe Terms, and in the mean time for putting a Stop to the Courſe of their Arms in *Flanders*. But that his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to begin all this, with a ſtrict League between him and the *States*, for their own mutual Defence, and to this Purpoſe had ſent me over as his Envoy to the *States* with full Powers, and the Draught of a defenſive League between us; but refers the reſt for what touched *Flanders*, to what the *States* and I ſhould agree.

Monſieur *de Witt* received this Diſcourſe with a Countenance pleaſed, but yet as I mark'd, ſomething ſurprized, as if he expected not a Return from his Majeſty ſo ſudden and ſo reſolute. He ſaid, that the *States* would be much pleaſed with the Honour his Majeſty did them, and the Overture he made them; that I ſhould chuſe my Time, whenever I deſired it, for my Audience: and would paſs the Forms of demanding it from the Preſident of the Week; That he was ſtill confident the *States* would enter with his Majeſty into the Mediation, tho' *France* gave them Hopes of ſucceeding by their own: That the Provinces differed in Opinion upon what Terms the Peace ſhould be made: That *Utrecht* was ſo bold as to think nothing but Juſtice ought to be conſidered in the caſe: That all that *France* had conquer'd ſhould be reſtored to *Spain*, and their Pretenſions be referred to Judgment or Arbitrage. But *Holland*, with moſt of the other Provinces, were of another Mind, and conſidering their own preſent Condition, as well as that of *France*, thought it beſt to keep the *French* to their own Offer; but he believed would come to means of more Force, if *France* ſhould recede from what they themſelves had advanced to the *States*. That, for the defenſive League between us, he did not know whether the late Sore were yet fit for ſuch an Application, but would try the Mind of the *States*. That he doubted they would think it like to prove too ſudden a Change of all their Intereſts, and that which would abſolutely break them off, from ſo old and conſtant a Friend as *France*, to rely wholly upon ſo new and uncertain a Friend, as *England* had proved.

I told him, that the doing what he ſaid, would be the Effect of any Treaties of this Nature between us, let them be as tenderly handled and compoſed as we could: That *France* would take it as ill of us and of them, to be ſtopp'd in the remaining Conqueſt of *Flanders*, as to be forced out of all they had already gained: That he knew very well, it had been long their Deſign at any Price, to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and he knew as well that it was their Intereſt to do ſo, conſidering the Advantages it would give them over all the reſt of *Chriſtendom*; that it was as much our Intereſt to hinder it, and that nothing could do it, but a firm Conjunction between us: That the *States* Part would be next after *Flanders* was gone, and therefore they had now as much need of being protected by *England* againſt *France*, as they thought they had three or four Years ago of being protected by *France* againſt *England*; and that they had no other Choice, but either continuing their Friendſhip with *France*, till they ſhould ſee both *Flanders* and themſelves ſwallowed up by ſuch a Neighbour; or elſe change their whole Meaſures, and enter into the ſtricteſt Alliance with his Majeſty for the Preſervation of both; and let *France* take it as they pleaſed.

Monſieur *de Witt* confeſſed the Deſigns of *France* for the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, ſpoke of the Treaties they had made with the *States* in Cardinal *Richlieu's* *lieu*'s time, and lately offered again, for *partaging* it between them; and ſaid, he underſtood very well the Danger of ſuch a Council and Neighbourhood, or elſe he ſhould have fallen into them; but the Ventures were great on the other ſide too; that the *States* were much more expoſed than the King; that the *Spaniards* were weak, and ill to be truſted by the *States*, between whom there had never yet been any better Meaſures than barely thoſe of the *Munſter* Peace, after ſo great Rancours and long Hoſtilities. That tho' he believed the *German* Princes would be glad of what his Majeſty propoſed, yet he knew not how far *Sweden* might be engaged in the Meaſures with *France*, who lay here at their Backs in the Dutchy of *Bremen*. And laſt of all, tho' this Reſolution ſeemed now to be taken by his Majeſty and his Miniſters, upon the ſureſt and wiſeſt Foundations, which were thoſe of true Intereſt and Safety; yet no Man knew how long they might laſt. That if they ſhould break all their Meaſures with *France*, and throw themſelves wholly upon his Majeſty by ſuch a Conjunction, any Change of Councils in *England* would be their certain Ruin. That he knew not this preſent Miniſtry, and could ſay nothing to them; but that he knew the laſt too well. Upon which he ſaid a good deal of our uncertain Conduct ſince his Majeſty's Return, and concluded that the Unſteadineſs of Councils in *England*, ſeemed a fatal thing to our Conſtitution; he would not judge from what Grounds, *Mais que depuïs le temps de la Reyne Eliſabet, il n'y avoit eu qu'une fluctuation perpetuelle en la Conduite de l'Angleterre, avec laquelle on me pouvoit jamais prendre des Meſures pour deux Années de Temps.* After this ended, with ſome Melancholy that looked a little irreſolute, I told him, that as to their own Intereſts he knew them, and could weigh them better than I; that after my Audience and firſt Conference with Commiſſioners, I ſhould quickly ſee how the *States* would underſtand them, in which I knew very well how great a part he would have: That for our Danger, I confeſs'd *they* would be firſt expos'd to *France*, and we the laſt, which made it reaſonable they ſhould make the firſt Pace to their Safety. That for *Sweden* I had no Orders to negotiate with them, but being fully inſtructed in his Majeſty's general Intentions, I ſhould be glad to ſee them ſtrengthen'd all I could; and to that purpoſe, if he thought fit, I would talk with the Count *de Dona* the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador here, and ſee whether he had any Powers to engage their Crown in any common Meaſures for the Safety of *Chriſtendom*; that if by ſuch a Conjunction we could extend it to a *Triple Alliance* among us, upon the ſame Foundation, I believed he would think it too ſtrong a Bar for *France* to venture on. That for the Unſteadineſs of our Councils, I would rather bewail than defend it; but that I ſhould not have made this Journey, if I had not been confident *that* had been ended, and we now bottom'd paſt any Change or Remove. That I could not pretend to know any body's Mind certainly but my own; But that upon this Matter I was as confident of his Majeſty's, of your Lordſhip's, and my Lord *Arlington*'s, as I was of my own. Upon this Occaſion I ſaid a great deal, not only of the Intereſts, but Reſentments, that had engaged his Majeſty and his Miniſters in this Council; and concluded that I was confident it could never break, but would anſwer, if ever it did, it ſhould never be by my Hand, and was as confident I might anſwer the ſame for your Lordſhip and my Lord *Arlington*, and that you would fall or ſtand upon this Bottom.

Monſieur *de Witt* ſeemed much ſatisfied with what I had ſaid; aſſured me for his part, he would give his Hands towards a good Concluſion of this Affair: That he would truſt his Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt upon ſo great a Conjuncture, as well as the Sincereneſs and Conſtancy of his Miniſters, whom he could judge of by no other Lights but what I gave him; made me Complements upon the great Confidence he had taken in me and my manner of dealing, by what he had heard and ſeen of me ſince the firſt Viſit I made him in my Paſſage here, after the end of the War; and concluded that I ſhould ſee the Count *Dona*, and try how far *Sweden* was to be engaged in this Affair.

I tell your Lordſhip all theſe Circumſtances, that knowing where the Difficulties have been, how they have been overcome, and upon what Advances on my ſide this Knot has been tied, your Lordſhip and my Lord *Arlington* may the better know how to ſupport this Affair, and make many others eaſy, by recovering the Credit of our Conduct in *England*, ſo far loſt by the Unſteadineſs too truly laid to our Charge; and at leaſt by your own Conſtancy, in what you have begun, make good the Characters you have already in the World, and the Aſſurances I have given Monſieur *de Witt* upon your Occaſion.

That Evening I went to the Count *Dona*, and run over all Ceremonies of our Characters, by going ſtraight into his Chamber, taking a Chair, and ſitting down by him before he could riſe out of his. I told him I hoped he would excuſe the Liberty upon an Errand wherein I thought both our Maſters were concerned; that Ceremonies were intended to facilitate Buſineſs, and not to hinder it; that I knew nothing to make my ſeeing the other Ambaſſadors at the *Hague* neceſſary, and ſo was content with the Difficulties had been introduced between our Characters; but thinking it abſolutely for my Maſter's Service to enter into Confidence with his *Excellency* upon my Errand here, I had reſolved to do it in this manner, and if he gave me leave, would purſue it as if our Acquaintance and Commerce had been of never ſo long a Date.

The *Count* embraced me, gave me great Thanks for the Honour I did him, made me Complements upon ſo frank and confident a manner as I uſed with him; and ſaid he was ready to return it upon any thing that I ſhould think fit to communicate to him.

After this I enter'd into the Detail of my whole Progreſs to that time, both in *England* and here; of his Majeſty's Reaſons, of the common Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*, of the Reception my Errand found from Monſieur *de Witt*, and the Hopes I had of ſucceeding: Of our Diſcourſes about engaging *Sweden* in the ſame Meaſures, and a Deſire of extending our League into a *Triple-Alliance* among us, for our own mutual Defence, the Safety of *Flanders*, and thereby of *Chriſtendom*. That I knew how the Crown of *Sweden* had been treated of late Years by *France*, how cloſe they had kept to the Friendſhip with his Majeſty, and how beneficial as well as honourable, ſuch a Part as this might prove to them, by the particular uſe they might be of to the Crown of *Spain*; and that upon any good Occaſion they might be ſure of his Majeſty's Offices and the *States*, who reſolved to enter into this Affair without any other Intereſt than that of the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and thereby of their own Safety, and the common Good.

The Count *Dona* profeſſed to applaud his Majeſty's Council, to be confident that *Sweden* would be content to go his Pace in all the common Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, which he was aſſured of by his own Inſtructions in general; but that ſuch an Affair as this not being foreſeen, he could have none upon it: That if it ſucceeded, he would make all the Paces he could to engage his Maſter in it, as what he thought, of Honour and Advantage to the common Safety: but that he would return my Frankneſs to him with the ſame to me, in telling me, that he doubted my bringing it to an Iſſue: That he firſt doubted Monſieur *de Witt*'s Reſolution, to break upon any Terms with *France*, and cloſe with *England*; not only conſidering what had lately paſſed between us, but the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Orange*, which he muſt ever believe would at one time or other be advanced by us; whereas he was ſure to be ſupported againſt them by *France*: Therefore he believ'd, though he would not oppoſe it, becauſe the *States* and People might run into it; yet he would find ſome Means to elude the Concluſion or Effect of it, without appearing himſelf in any ſuch Deſign: That in the next Place, ſince ſuch a Treaty could not be made by the *States General*, without firſt being ſent to all the Provinces and Towns for their Approbation, and Orders upon it to their Deputies; he did not ſee how it was poſſible for the *French* Ambaſſador to fail of engaging ſome Towns or Provinces againſt it, and the Oppoſition of any one of them would loſe the Effect; ſince no new Treaty could be made by the Conſtitutions here, without an univerſal Conſent. That however he would not diſcourage me, but wiſh me Succeſs with all his Heart, upon many Reaſons; and among others, as being ſo much a Servant to the Houſe of *Orange*, which could not but profit by a Conjunction between *England* and *Holland*: And again promiſed, whenever I brought it to a Period, to uſe all his Endeavours, and ſtretch his Powers as far as he could, towards engaging his Maſter in the ſame Meaſures with us.

In the ſecond Conference I had with Monſieur *de Witt*, I acquainted him with what had paſſed with Count *Dona*: which he ſeemed much pleaſed with; and ſaid, tho' we could not expect he ſhould have Powers ſo general as to conclude ſuch an Affair, yet an Inſtrument might be drawn up between us, whereby room may be left for *Sweden* to enter as a Principal into our Alliance; and the Count *de Dona* had ſo much Credit at his Court, to recommend it there ſo as to ſucceed, eſpecially upon the Hopes we muſt give him of obtaining Subſidies from *Spain*, which might countervail what they might loſe from *France* upon this Occaſion.

I then fell upon the Form of concluding this Treaty; ſaying, I could eaſily foretel the Fate of it, if it muſt paſs the common Forms of being ſent by the ſeveral Deputies to all their Principals for their Reſult upon it: That I knew this would take up a Month or ſix Weeks time, and that nothing would be ſo eaſy as for the *French* Ambaſſador to meet with it in running that Circle, and by engaging ſome one Member, perhaps by Money thrown among the chief Perſons in ſome of the ſmall Towns, to prevent and ruin a Council of the greateſt Importance to *Chriſtendom*, as well as to our two Nations, that had been on foot in many Ages: That unleſs the *States General* would conclude and ſign the Treaty immediately, and truſt to the Approbation of their ſeveral Provinces and Towns after it was done, I ſhould give it for gone, and think no more of it.

Monſieur *de Witt* ſeemed to think this impoſſible; ſaid, no ſuch thing had ever been done ſince the firſt Inſtitution of their Commonwealth; that tho' it was true, the *States General* might ſign a Treaty, yet they could not ratifie it without recourſe to their Principals, and that they ſhould venture their Heads in ſigning it, if their Principals not approving it ſhould queſtion them for doing it without Orders; that he hoped the Forms might be expedited in three Weeks time, and that all Care that could be, ſhould be taken to prevent the Addreſſes of the *French* Ambaſſador among the Provinces.

I cut the matter ſhort, and told him I continued of my firſt Opinion, to ſee it immediately agreed between me and the Commiſſioners, and then ſigned by the *States*, which might be done in four or five Days; and that the Deputies might ſafely truſt to the Approbation of their Principals in a Point of ſo great and evident publick Intereſt: That for my part, I know not how this Delay, and thereby Hazard of the Affair might be interpreted in *England*, nor what Change in my Orders it might produce: That I had now Powers to conclude an Alliance of the laſt Conſequence to the Safety of *Flanders* and this State; that if it ſhould miſcarry by the too great Caution of the Deputies in Point of Form, for ought I knew, they might venture their Heads that way, and more deſervedly, than by ſigning at preſent what all of them believed, would not only be ratified, but applauded by their Principals. With this I left him; and the reſt that paſſed in the Progreſs of this Affair, as well as in my Audience or with the Commiſſioners, your Lordſhip has it in my Diſpatch to my Lord *Arlington*, to whom you will pleaſe to communicate theſe more ſecret Springs, that by knowing the Conception, the Forming, the Throws, and Birth of this *Child*, you may the better conſult how it is to be nouriſhed till it grow to Strength, and thereby fit to atchieve thoſe great Adventures, for which it ſeems deſigned.

I am ever with equal Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful

and moſt Humble Servant.

To Mr. Godolphin.

S I R, *Bruſſels, Jan.* 28. *N. S.* 1668.

Though the Interruption of our Commerce hath been long, yet I thought it neceſſary to renew it at this time, and thereby let you know what has lately broken it on my Side, that you may not believe any Interruption of yours has had a worſe effect upon me of late than it ever had before, being an Accident I have often been ſubject to. About the End of laſt Month, *N. S.* I paſſed through this Place with private Commiſſion from his Majeſty, to ſound the Mind of the *States*, in what concerns the preſent Quarrel between the two Crowns, and how they were diſpoſed to join with him in the Share of a War, or Project of a Peace, to be endeavoured by our joint Offices between them. From hence I went to *London* with the private Account of what I had in charge. After five Days ſtay there, I was diſpatch'd back, as his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary to the *States*, with full Power, to treat and conclude upon thoſe Points which his Majeſty eſteemed neceſſary for our common Safety, and the Repoſe of *Chriſtendom* in this Conjuncture. Upon the 6th I arrived here, had my firſt Audience on the 18th, and on the 23d were ſigned by me, and the Commiſſioners given me by the *States* with full Powers, three ſeveral Inſtruments of our preſent Treaty: The firſt, containing a League defenſive and perpetual between his Majeſty and the *States*, againſt all Perſons without Exception, that ſhall invade either of them, with Agreement to furniſh each other upon Occaſion with forty Ships of War, of which, fourteen between ſixty and eighty Guns, and four hundred Men apiece one with another; fourteen between forty and ſixty Guns, and three hundred Men apiece; and of the other twelve, none under thirty ſix Guns, and a hundred and fifty Men: Beſides this, with ſix thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe, or Money inſtead of them, at the Choice of the invaded, and to be repaid within three Years after the end of the War; the Proportions of Money to the ſeveral Parts of the ſaid Aid, being aſcertained in the Treaty.

The ſecond Inſtrument contains our joint Obligations to diſpoſe *France* to make Peace in *Flanders* upon one of the Alternatives already propoſed; and likewiſe to diſpoſe *Spain* to accept it before the end of *May*; but in caſe of Difficulty made by them, to diſpoſe *France* however to ſtop all farther Progreſs of its own Arms there, and leave it wholly to the Allies to procure the Ends propoſed in this League.

The third Inſtrument contains certain ſeparate Articles between his Majeſty and the *States*, ſigned at the ſame Time, and of the ſame Force with the Treaty, but not to be committed to Letters.

'Tis hardly imaginable, the Joy and Wonder conceived here, upon the Concluſion of this Treaty, brought to an Iſſue in five Days, nor the Applauſe given to his Majeſty's Reſolution, as the wiſeſt and happieſt that could in this Conjuncture be taken by any Prince, both for his own and his Neighbours Affairs; nor are the Reflections upon the Conduct of it leſs to the Advantage of the preſent Miniſtry in *England*; the thing being almoſt done here as ſoon as my Journey was known in *London*, and before my Errand was ſuſpected by any publick Miniſter there.

Three Days after our ſigning, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador ſigned another Inſtrument jointly with me and the *States* Commiſſioners, obliging his Maſter to enter as a Principal into the ſame Alliance, ſo ſoon as ſome Pretenſions he has from the *Emperor* and *Spain* are ſatisfied by our good Offices between them. After which Count *Dona* parted as Ambaſſador likewiſe from that Crown for *England*, where the reſt of that Affair will be negotiated; and in his Company my Brother *Henry Temple*, with the whole Account of my Buſineſs, and the Treaties ſigned in order to their Ratification, for which a Month is allowed, though the *States* promiſe theirs within fifteen Days after the Date. When thoſe arrive and are exchanged, I return to my Reſidence at *Bruſſels*, to ſee the Iſſue of this Buſineſs, which now takes up the Thoughts and Diſcourſe of all *Chriſtendom*, and from which moſt Princes will reſolve to take their Meaſures.

I ſuppoſe my Lord *Sandwich* upon his way, and therefore content my ſelf only with giving you this Trouble, and the Profeſſions of my being,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, *Hague, Jan.* 29. *N. S.* 1668.

IN my laſt paſſage hither I had the Honour of trying your Majeſty's Yatch in ſuch a Storm as that never felt before, and a greater no Man in her pretended ever to have ſeen. The Fortune of your Majeſty's Affairs help'd us to the Diſcovery of a Pilot Boat at a diſtance from the Coaſts that brought us happily in, without which we had paſſed ſuch another Night at Sea, as I ſhould not care to do for any thing your Majeſty could give me, beſides your Favour, and the Occaſions of ſerving you: If we had miſcarried, your Majeſty had loſt an honeſt diligent Captain and ſixteen poor Seamen, ſo beaten out with Wet and Toil, that the Compaſſion I had then for them I have ſtill about me, and aſſure your Majeſty that five or ſix more will be neceſſary for your Yatch, if you uſe her to ſuch Paſſages as this; but for the reſt I believe there is not ſuch a Boat in the World. She returns with a long but final and happy Account of my Buſineſs to my Lord *Arlington*, and with the Count *de Dona*, who will be better Company than a long ill Letter, and deſerves your Majeſty's Welcome by his other Qualities, as well as his particular Devotions for your Majeſty's Perſon and Service.

I cannot end this Letter without congratulating with your Majeſty upon the Succeſs of your Reſolution, which occaſioned my Journey hither; and which is generally applauded here as the wiſeſt and happieſt, both for your Kingdoms and your Neighbours, and the moſt honourable to your Majeſty's Perſon, that ever was taken upon any Occaſion by any Prince: And the ſtrange Succeſs of it hath been anſwerable to the reſt of your Majeſty's Fortunes, and ſo amazing, that the Expreſſions made of it here every Hour, are altogether extraordinary, not to ſay extravagant.

God of Heaven continue your Majeſty's good Health, and good Councils, and good Fortunes, and then I ſhall have nothing more to wiſh, but that you may pardon the Faults, and accept of the humble and hearty Devotions of,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's Moſt Loyal and moſt
Obedient Subject and Servant.

To Monſieur Gourville.

Hague, Febr. 7.
N. S. 1668.

I Have juſt received (by the *Rhingrave's* Favour) yours of the 28th paſt, and am extreme glad to have yet ſome place in your Memory, after ſo many Diverſions in *Germany*, which uſe

A Monſieur *de Gourville.*

De la Haye, 7 Fevr.
S. N. 1688.

JE viens de recevoir par les ſoins obligeans de Monſieur le Rhingrave, votre lettre du 28 *du paſſé ; & je me rejouïs extremement d'occuper encore quelque place dans vôtre ſouvenir, aprés tant*

uſe to make one forget Things of much greater Importance. But all this was neceſſary to comfort me for your Abſence, which I believe you have ordered, with deſign for all my Journeys into *Holland*; this is now the third I have made ſince that of *Breda*, without ever meeting you there; you, I ſay, who are not able to live three Months without going thither, though you are forced for it to leave the Ladies and the Orange Trees at *Bruſſels.*

I can tell you no News; the Duke of *Lunenburg*'s Reſident having aſſured me, that he has ſent you Word of the Concluſion of our Treaty here, whereof I every Day expect the Ratifications. They will needs have me paſs here for one of great Abilities, for having finiſhed and ſigned in five Days a Treaty of ſuch Importance to *Chriſtendom*: But I will tell you the Secret of it: To draw things out of their center, requires Labour and Addreſs to put them into Motion; but to make them return thither, Nature helps ſo far, that there needs no more than juſt to ſet them a going. Now, I think, a ſtrict Alliance is the true Center of our two Nations. There was alſo another Accident, which contributed very much to this Affair, and that was, a great Confidence ariſen between the *Penſioner* and me; he is extremely pleaſed with me, and my ſincere open way of dealing; and I with all the Reaſon in the World am infinitely pleaſed with him upon the ſame ſcore; and look on him as one of the greateſt Genius's I have known, as a Man of Honour, and the moſt eaſy in Converſation, as well as in Buſineſs. In ſhort, the two Nations are cloſer united than if there never had been a War. For Affairs in general I can tell you nothing, but that our common Deſign is to give Peace to all *Chriſtendom*, ſo that if *France* pleaſes they may have it this Spring; if not, (as Monſieur *d'Eſtrades* ſays, at leaſt not after our Faſhion) they may have their fill of the War. For the Convention at *Aix*, I can tell you nothing till we get an Anſwer from *France* and *Bruſſels*, where we have already ſent Advice

tant de divertiſſemens goutez en Allemagne, ce ne ſeroit pas la premiere fois qu'ils auroient fait oublier des choſes plus importantes que ma perſonne: Mais il ne falloit pas moins que les plaiſirs que je ſay que vous avez goutez, & la nouvelle marque que vous me donnez de votre amitié, pour me conſoler de votre abſence; Je croy au reſte que vous l'aviez concertée avec tous mes voyages en Hollande; car voici le troſieme que j'y fais depuis celuy de Breda, ſans vous y trouver, vous dis je, qui ne pouviez paſſer trois mois ſans y aller, quand même il auroit fallu pour cela quitter vos orangers & les mignonnes de Bruſſelles.

Je n'ay point de nouvelles à vous mander; le Reſident de Lunebourg m'ayant aſſuré qu'il vous avoit appris la concluſion du traité que nous avons fait icy: J'attens de jour en jour les ratifications. On veut à toute force me faire paſſer icy pour habile homme, à cauſe que j'ay achevé & ſigné en cinq jours un Traité ſi important pour toute la Chrétienté: Mais je vous diray le ſecret; quand on arrache les choſes de leur centre, il faut du tems & de la peine, & même de l'addreſſe pour les faire mouvoir; mais lors qu'il n'eſt queſtion que de les y ramener, la nature y ayde ſi puiſſament, qu'il ne faut quaſi que leur donner le branle: Or, je croy qu'une etroite Alliance eſt le centre de nos deux Nations. Il y a encore un accident qui a fort contribué à cette affaire; c'eſt la parfaite confiance qui nous a reciproquement uni, Monſieur le Penſionnaire & moy: il ſe loue de moy & de ma maniere d'agir, qui comme vous ſavez, eſt toujours franche & ouverte; & moy, je me loue infiniment de luy; j'en ay toutes les raiſons du monde, & je dois à toute ſa conduite les eloges qu'il donne à la mienne: Je le regarde comme un des plus grands Genies que j'ay connus, avec cela, trés homme de bien, d'un commerce egalement aiſé ſoit dans les negotiations, ſoit dans la converſation. Enfin la confiance eſt preſentement retablie entre les deux Nations; & je la croy même plus entiere que ſ'il n'y avoit jamais eu de guerre. Pour les affaires generales, je ne vous ſaurois dire autre choſe, ſi non, que notre deſſein unanime eſt de donner la paix & la tranquillité à toute la Chrétienté; de ſorte que ſi la France le veut, elle l'aura ce printems; ſi elle ne le veut pas (ainſi que le dit Monſieur le Compte d'Eſtrades, qui ajoute, que du moins ce ne ſera pas d'une

Advice of our defenſive League, and of our Treaty or Project of the Peace.

This at leaſt may ſerve for a new Health at your *German* Feaſts when the old ones are gone round, and will at the ſame time help to put you in mind of,

SIR,

Your, &c.

d'une paix de notre façon) elle aura tout ſon ſaoul de guerre. Touchant la Convention à Aix juſqu' à ce que nous ayons reſponſe de France & de Bruſſelles, je ne vous en ſaurois rien dire. Nous leur avons deja donné avis de notre Ligue defenſive, & de notre traité ou projet de paix.

Du moins cecy ſervira à fournir une nouvelle ſanté dans vos feſtins Allemans, lors que les anciennes auront fait leur ronde accoutumée; & cela vous faira en même tems ſouvenir de,

Monſieur

Votre, *&c.*

To My Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Feb.* 12. *N. S.* 1668.

THE Arrival of the Ratifications here was received with the ſame Diſpoſitions of general Satisfaction and Joy, that the Treaty was concluded: Thoſe of the *States* will I doubt be ſomething later ready, tho' occaſion'd only by a Delay in the Aſſembly of the *States* of *Friezeland* and *Zealand*; but new Diſpatches were yeſterday ſent away for haſtening both; and Monſieur *de Witt* aſſures me, the 20th of this Month will be the lateſt I ſhall expect them, and he hopes all may be ready ſomething ſooner. I ſhall preſs it all I can poſſibly, and immediately after the Exchange made, ſhall demand my Audience of *Congé*, and away to *Bruſſels* to purſue his Majeſty's Inſtructions there. I cannot tell with what Succeſs, becauſe I know not with what Mien the *Marquis* has entertained our Project of the Peace, not yet having heard one Word from him in anſwer to all I have writ upon this Subject. I wiſh ſome of his Viſions may not give it another Face than what it ought, I am ſure, to receive from the true preſent State of the *Spaniſh* Affairs; for in that caſe I know his way of arguing ſo well, as to expect he ſhould ſay there is no reaſon for them to give Money to loſe their Towns; but that in caſe his Majeſty will enter into their Defence, he ſhall want no Money the *Indies* can give him; therefore he muſt be plied on that ſide by the Count of *Molina* and Baron *de l'Iſola*, as well as by me here; and not only diſpoſed to accept the alternative, but to receive it as the greateſt Effect at preſent of his Majeſty's good Will to the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and ſtep towards a future defenſive League between *us* and them, and *Holland*, for the general Safety of the *Spaniſh* Crown.

Tho' I ſhall not fail of my part in preſſing all theſe Points on this ſide, yet the Impreſſions will be eaſier given the two Miniſters there than the *Marquis* here, as Perſons ſomething more ſubſtantial in their Conceptions upon this Point; and will have more weight upon *his Excellency*, coming from their own Miniſters, than from me: For the Point of Money to be furniſh'd by the *States* upon the Towns of *Gelderland*, the whole matter was diſmiſſed by Monſieur *de Witt* till the *Marquis*'s Acceptance of our Project was declared; upon which the Baron *de Bargeyck* will return to purſue it, and in caſe of a War, by Obſtinacy of the *French* Refuſal, I doubt not but the matter will be eaſy, the *Marquis* offering *Ruremond* and *Venlo*, tho' Monſieur *de Witt* inſiſts as yet upon the Fort of *Gelre*, and two others by *Sluys*, which the *Marquis* ſays he has no Power to treat upon.

For their Opinion of the *French* Expedition into the *Franche Compté* they ſeem little ſtartled at it, believing it may the more incline the *Spaniards* to receive our Offices for the Peace according to the Treaty; and that poſſibly ſome Exchange may be found convenient for the *Spaniards* between Parts of the *Franche Compté* and thoſe Towns of *Flanders* which are now in the *French* Poſſeſſion, and lie in the very Bowels of the reſt of that Dominion; which are *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Oudenard*, and *Aeth*; for the reſt, they reſolve to make good the Peace to the *Spaniards*, without the Loſs of any thing more, than was actually in the *French* Hands at the time of our Treaty being ſigned, whatever new Progreſſes they may make before the Concluſion; and in caſe *France* ſhall refuſe, or ſeek Evaſions, I do not believe they will be the leaſt backward from entring into the War.

I ſhould formerly have mark'd that, all which is digeſted in our Treaty; and that is to paſs in our Negotiation with *France* upon this Occaſion, the *States* avoid calling our Parts a *Mediation*; becauſe they ſay *that* ſeems to import a Neutrality, whereas upon failing of our Offices towards a Peace, we are to take our parts in a War.

For the Method and Manner of our joining together in purſuit of the War, if it grow to engage us by the *French* Refuſal, Monſieur *de Witt* tells me frankly his Opinion is, for us to enforce the Towns of *Flanders* by ſuch of our Troops as will be neceſſary to defend them, or at leaſt to draw on long and expenſive Sieges, and in the mean time with our ſeveral Fleets, to make the ſharpeſt Impreſſions we can upon ſome of their Coaſts, and ſeize ſome of their Towns, and force them that way to neceſſary Diviſions and Diverſions of their Forces, as well as give Countenance to whatever Diſcontents may ariſe among them at home, upon ſuch an Occaſion. Upon my arguing that an Impreſſion would be the ſharper and the ſafer, perhaps if it were made by our Fleets in one place, but with joint Forces; he ſaid, he did not ſee how our Fleets could poſſibly join, for the Point of the *Pavilion*; and fell into a good deal of Diſcourſe upon that matter, as the only now left, that could ever occaſion any Diſpute amongſt us; being at length bottomed upon our mutual Intereſt, and the wrangling about little Points of Commerce being taken away. All I could draw from him upon the Point of the *Pavilion* was, that they would give all to the King's Ships at Sea, which theirs or any other Ambaſſadors gave to his own Perſon in his Kingdom, where his Dominion was as abſolute as he could pretend it to be, in the narrow Seas; which is, to *uncover* firſt, and *cover* laſt; ſo that all their Ships ſhould vail to ours when they met, in caſe ours would in Return take down the *Pavilion* as a Civility to theirs afterwards, and theirs ſhould remain vailed, till we had ſet up our *Pavilion* again. I told him I could ſay nothing to that matter, which I knew was very delicate; but that if ever we agreed in that Point, I thought it muſt not be by Articles or Treaties, but by Concert between the Miniſters of each ſide; as for the *States*, firſt to give abſolute Orders to all their Captains to vail to the King's Ships, whenever they met them in the narrow Seas; and at the ſame time to ſignify ſo much to his Majeſty in a Letter of Complement, and as a Reſolution taken upon conſideration of ſo near and happy an Alliance, as was now enter'd into between the Nations: Upon which his Majeſty might conſider, what Returns of Civility he would be content his Captains ſhould make an Ally ſo near, as this *State* was now likely ever to be to the Crown of *England*.

Monſieur *de Witt* was willing to fall into any Expedient, and ſaid, that whenever I came into *England* he would hope I might bring this laſt Matter to paſs, as happily as I had done all the reſt. That his Majeſty ſhould find he would be wanting in nothing that the Point of Civility or Deference might require in this Matter, provided it were without acknowledging our Pretenſions to the Dominion of the Sea, which they muſt die rather than do; but in what ſhould paſs, they would leave us to our Interpretations, and keep themſelves to theirs.

For the proviſional Articles according to my Word, which made way for the Treaty's Concluſion, I told Monſieur *de Witt* his Majeſty had in his Anſwer given me leave to do it, with an Article for the meeting of Commiſſioners at both Parties Deſire, to complete what ſhould be defective, and change what ſhould be found inconvenient, and cut off any thing that ſhould be ſuperfluous, ſo as it might appear to be an original Treaty between us, which would be more for our Honour than to copy after the *French*: That tho' his Majeſty had given me this leave, in Compliance to the *States*, yet he had rather the thing ſhould now be left to Commiſſioners for theſe Ends, than concluded with reference to them hereafter. I made his Majeſty's Conceſſion in this point eaſy for theſe two Ends; that either they finding his Majeſty indifferent in it, might grow ſo too; Men being commonly apt to pull the harder, the faſter another holds; or elſe (if they reſolved to inſiſt upon it, ſince I was already engaged) to value a thing which coſts his Majeſty nothing, for as much Obligation as I could to the *States*, which might make way for ſome material return upon another Occaſion.

Monſieur *de Witt* ſeemed very much pleaſed at his Majeſty's Compliance with them in this Point; and ſaid, if I knew his Majeſty's Pleaſure in any Particulars which he deſired ſhould be added, or any others changed for common Convenience, he deſired me to tell him, and doubted not but we ſhould end it in twenty four Hours; but he was unwilling it ſhould fall into other Hands, or remain undone, for the Reaſons I mentioned in one of my laſt. After much Diſcourſe, and no way left to avoid the thing, we agreed it ſhould be done, but with an ample Article for the meeting of Commiſſioners for thoſe foreſaid Ends; and after the Perpetuity, I will endeavour to get in theſe Words; *Aut quouſqne ſaltem ex utriuſque partis Conſenſu indicentur Commiſſarii*; or ſome Words to that Purpoſe. And likewiſe in the Preamble of this ſeparate Inſtrument, ſome Expreſſions of this kind; *Ut omnibus innoteſcat quam ſincerâ ſanctâque Fide nuper contractæ Amicitiæ non modò in præſens ſed in poſteros colendæ cavere voluerunt*: And, *ad divellenda penitus quæcunque non modò diſſenſionum, ſed & Litium & Altercationum Semina*: And, *Ad præcidendam ſpem omnem, & Expectationem quorumcunque prædictam Amicitiam novis Altercationibus labefactatam iri intereſſe poſſit*. Which are things that come now only into my Head, but ſhall be digeſted againſt we meet to morrow upon this Occaſion. And this is all that is poſſible for me to do in this Matter, and which at leaſt is likely to haſten the Exchange of the Ratifications, and to leave our Alliance the cleareſt, firmeſt, and moſt confident that can be. I confeſs I am troubled that it cannot be otherwiſe, becauſe your Lordſhip ſays, his Majeſty would rather have had it ſo; and if you had not ſent me after the Treaty's Arrival, an Explanation of what was written to me, in an unintelligible Cypher, it had been ſo, and my Words had been ſafe; but I think it had been worſe, in leaving a Diſſatisfaction between us, which is now avoided: and I find my Lord Keeper in a Letter to me, ſeems to put no weight upon it, if done in the manner mentioned; and I know you both put a great deal upon any Perſon's (employed by his Majeſty) being and paſſing for an honeſt Man.

No Poſt going from hence till the end of the Week, I have reſolved to diſpatch this by the Yatch that brought over my Brother, whoſe Orders it ſeems are to return immediately: But I know not how to find the ſafe Conveyance for the *Dutch* Ratifications, unleſs another Yatch be ſent for them about a Week or ten Days hence; and to that end I ſhall leave them with Mr. *Carter* at my Lord *Craven*'s Houſe here, and who does all his Lordſhip's Buſineſs, who ſhall deliver them to any Perſon that brings a Letter from your Lordſhip to that Purpoſe. This I think will be much better than to venture them with me in my Journey to *Bruſſels*, or upon a Paſſage from thence.

I am ever with,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

P. S. I had forgot the mention of this incloſed Memorial, given in yeſterday to the *States*, and by their Order ſent me with a Complement, *They would receive nothing without communicating it to me*: They reſolve upon the *Marquis*'s Anſwer for the treating at *Aix*, to ſend likewiſe thither, but refer the Qualities or Number of Perſons to the *Marquis*'s Intentions of going himſelf, or ſending ſome Delegate; and that I ſuppoſe will depend upon *Don Juan*'s coming over. In the mean time the *States* are abſolutely of Opinion with me, that no Treaty can begin with good Intentions on the *French* ſide, unleſs they conſent to a Suſpenſion of Arms while it laſts; and therefore, that the Force of our joint Inſtances at *Paris*, is to be put upon that Point.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, *Lord Keeper.*

My Lord, *Hague*, *Feb.* 12. *N. S.* 1668.

I Received by my Brother the Honour of your Lordſhip's, and therein the Teſtimony of your Favour to me in a manner ſo obliging, and indeed altogether extraordinary, that I know as little how to acknowledge, as to deſerve it; and therefore I ſhall not enlarge my ſelf upon a Subject, where I am ſure not to ſucceed as I deſire; but leave it to Time, and the Conſtancy of my Services, to expreſs how very ſenſible I am of what I owe, and how great a Value I place upon that part your Lordſhip is pleaſed to allow me in your good Opinion and Memory, of which I beg the Continuance, eſteeming them among the very beſt of my Poſſeſſions.

I have written to my Lord *Arlington* at large, upon the Confidence of this ſafe Conveyance by the Return of the Yatch; which will give your Lordſhip your ſhare of Trouble, but withal, a full Proſpect of the Diſpoſitions here, and conſequently the preſent as well as future Eſtate of our Alliance, if it be purſued with the ſame Directneſs it has been contracted; and the happy Continuance whereof, I am perfectly of your Lordſhip's mind, is the true Intereſt of both Nations, and will be the ſureſt Support of his Majeſty's Honour, and the Kingdom's Safety, as well as Satiſfaction. The Expreſſion your Lordſhip pleaſes to make, of endeavouring in your Station the inviolable Obſervation of it, I ſhall value before I part to Monſieur *de Witt*, and the other Commiſſioners, as it deſerves, which will be eaſy to do; for I dare ſay very truly, that the general Opinion conceived here, of your Lordſhip's and my Lord *Arlington*'s Honour and Sincerity, and unbiaſs'd Purſuit of the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, has very much contributed to the Succeſs of my late Negotiation, and been indeed the Spring of any Honour, that your Lordſhip or any others may attribute to me in the Conduct of it.

It will not become me to take no Notice of thoſe repeated Offers your Lordſhip pleaſes to make, in a Faſhion ſo extremely obliging, to favour me in any of my own Concernments; and therefore I ſhall humbly recommend to you the countenancing my Wife in her purſuing the Payment of my ordinary Allowances while I am abroad; ſince the Narrowneſs of my own Fortunes (while it pleaſes God to continue my Father's Life to us) will not ſuffer me to ſerve his Majeſty without troubling him, as I am forced to do, whenever five or ſix Months of my Ordinaries are grown in Arrears. Therefore upon your Lordſhip's Engagement, I will tell my Wife, ſhe may beg your Countenance to her when ſhe begins her next Purſuit of that kind; and that you may the more confidently own your favouring me in this Point, I will aſſure your Lordſhip, his Majeſty ſhall never be troubled with any Purſuits of mine, farther than what he has pleaſed to make my Due, by any ordinary Eſtabliſhment, tho' lower than that of a much cheaper Country, as I am informed; but that is very indifferent to me; for I am perfectly content to live juſt in the Poſture his Majeſty thinks fit I ſhould, while I ſerve him; and very willing to ſpend his Allowance and my own Revenue, but no more; which is the plain Truth of my Story. And I doubt, now the Funds at *Antwerp* fail, out of which I have been hitherto paid by my Lord *Arlington*'s Favour to me, ſomething againſt the Commiſſioners Inclination, I may find longer Attendances upon the Exchequer, for that is grown or growing due, than my Occaſions will ſuffer, which makes me uſe this Liberty to your Lordſhip; tho' I ſhould not have done it had you not now twice, and of your ſelf encouraged me.

For the obliging Meſſage my Brother brought me likewiſe from your Lordſhip's Favour to me, beſides my Acknowledgments, I ſhall only ſay, that * what your Lordſhip pleaſed to mention, would be as agreeable to my Inclinations as

any

* *It was that he ſhould be Secretary of State.*

any thing I know; but I ſhall never preſume to aſk any thing of that kind from his Majeſty, no more than of any other, referring my Station and every thing elſe, wholly to his Pleaſure and Choice, while I have the Honour of ſerving him: Beſides, I find every body here and in *Flanders* deſigns another Poſt for me, at leaſt for a Month or two this Spring, if the Treaty happens to be at *Aix*; believing, that having had ſo much part in what has been done already, I am likely to have ſome part in that too: And I confeſs, becauſe People are fallen into this Thought, I may take the contrary for a Mark of his Majeſty's not being ſatisfied with me in what is paſt; and becauſe I am by Advance inſtructed in the Buſineſs, and acquainted with Perſons, I ſhould be very well pleaſed with it, if his Majeſty finds none to ſerve him better, eſpecially if by the *Marquis*'s going thither himſelf, his Majeſty ſhould find it fit to ſend a Perſon of great Quality to maintain the Port of the Employment, and give me my part under his Shade.

I am aſhamed to have ſaid all this of my ſelf and my Concernments; and beſeech your Lordſhip to remember, that you have drawn it all from me; and after that, to forget it all if you pleaſe. For, to ſay the Truth, I am very well as I am, being of ſo dull a Complexion, that I do not remember any Station or Condition of Life I have been in theſe dozen Years, which I have not been pleaſed with, and a little unwilling to leave. However, what Thoughts of this kind your Lordſhip ſhall have of me, I deſire you will pleaſe to communicate them to my Lord *Arlington*, to whoſe Favour I have been long obliged: And whatever your two Lordſhips ſhall think fit in my Diſpoſal, will be ever perfectly welcome to,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Hague, Feb.* 13. *N. S.* 1668.

SINCE the writing of your Lordſhip's Letter, and the ſealing up of my Lord *Arlington*'s Pacquet, I have been ſo far preſs'd by Monſieur *de Witt*, to ſend him the Article for meeting Commiſſioners, I deſired might be added to the proviſional Articles in a new Inſtrument, that I have been fain to digeſt it as well as I could, according to my Lord *Arlington*'s Inſtructions, and your Lordſhip's ſince given me in your Letter. I thought fit likewiſe to draw up a Preamble to it, whereby it might appear, that the Intention of this Agreement was only an Effect of our mutual Kindneſs, and for Prevention of any Diſputes that might poſſibly ariſe to interrupt it, and for cutting off all our Enemies Hopes ever to ſee us any more, make way for their Ends by our future Diſſenſion. I will ſend your Lordſhip a Copy on the other ſide of this Sheet, of both Preamble and Article, which I have been forced to draw up as haſtily as I could; and hope, if Monſieur *de Witt* thinks fit to paſs it in this Form, it will be in all Points of more Honour and Advantage to us, even than to have had it all omitted. I deſire your Lordſhip to communicate all this to my Lord *Arlington*, and to excuſe this Trouble, by reaſon of his Lordſhip's Pacquet being already ſealed up.

I am ever, &c.

Proœmium Tractatûs inter *Anglos* & *Hollandos*, *Feb.* 13. 1668.

QUandoquidem annuente Divinâ Gratiâ, & conſpirante mutuarum rerum ſalute æquè ac Chriſtiani Orbis jam temporis neceſſitate; Vigeſimo tertio Die Januarii proximè elapſi, inter Sereniſſimum——&——, concluſum & ſignatum ſit Fœdus perpetuum defenſivum, fortiſſimis utrinque tam mari quam terrâ præſtandis

præſtandis auxiliis communitum. Eodemque die alioque Inſtrumento, de rerum vicinarum tranquillitate, paceque Orbi Chriſtiano reſtituendâ inter Prædictum——— & ——— pronis animis conſultum & conventum fuerit, adeoque nihil aliud protinus ſupereſſe videatur, quod tam mutuâ voluntate conflatam amicitiam & neceſſitudinem ullo demùm tempore interpellare poterit, præter controverſias de mercimoniorum ſpeciebus hic inde redigendis forſitan orituras, & ex incertâ vel ambiguâ ejuſmodi rerum utrinque adjudicatione forſitan etiam promovendis. Quo autem omnibus innoteſcat quàm ſincerâ ſanctâque fide Prædictus ——— & ——— nuper conflatæ amicitiæ non modò in præſens ſed & ad poſteros colendæ cavere voluerint, jamdemum ad divellenda quæcunque non modò diſſenſionum ſed vel altercationum ſemina, præcidendamque penitus eorum ſpem aut expectationem quorumcunque demùm prædictam amicitiam novis litibus concuſſam aut labefactatam iri intereſſe poterit: In ſubſequentes Articulos utrinque conventum eſt, qui pro normâ & regulâ ejuſmodi rerum maritimarum & mercaturæ hic inde redigendæ mutuò & perpetuò obſervabuntur, aut quouſque ſaltem ex utriuſque partis Arbitrio & Conſenſu Commiſſarii indicentur, & conveniant ad uberiorem iis de rebus omnibus Navigationiſque Legibus tractatum, & communi utrinque commodo & ulteriore experientiâ dirigendum.

Sequuntur Articuli.

Concluſio.

CUM autem rerum omnium & Conventionum commoda aut incommoda non niſi tractu temporis mutuæque experientiæ documentis penitùs indagari poterunt; Conventum itaque eſt ut quocunque demùm Tempore utrique Parti id viſum fuerit, ex communi Conſenſu indici & convenire poterunt utrinque delegati Commiſſarii, quorum curæ erit, & operis quodcunque in ſuprà memoratis Articulis defeciſſe reperietur, ſupplere, quodcunque autem incongruum & utrinque incommodum, mutare aut circumſcribere, & uberiorem demùm hiſce de rebus omnibus Tractatum abſolvere prorſus & perlimare.

To the States *at firſt Audience.*

High and Mighty Lords,

WHEREAS his Majeſty of *Great Britain* the King my Maſter, hath already found the good Effects of the late Peace, concluded at *Bredá* with your *High and Mighty Lordſhips*, by the general Satisfaction of his Majeſty's Subjects as well as his own; and doubts not but your Lordſhips have likewiſe found the ſame Effects among your People in general, as well as among your ſelves: His Majeſty eſteems nothing more likely to encreaſe the mutual Satisfaction, nor to aſſure the Safety of both Nations, than an Increaſe of the Confidence and Friendſhip already contracted between his Majeſty and your Lordſhips, by a ſtricter and firmer Alliance at this time.

And whereas his Majeſty, contented with thoſe great and powerful Kingdoms and Dominions, which Almighty God has given him by an undiſputed Succeſſion, covets nothing from his Neighbours, nor has other Thoughts or Wiſhes, beſides thoſe of the common Peace and Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*; his Majeſty finds himſelf in this Conjuncture ſenſibly touched by the Calamities ſo many others are like to feel, from the Continuance of the War lately broken out between the Neighbour Crowns, and which in courſe of time cannot but involve moſt of the Princes and States of *Chriſtendom*, unleſs the Flame be quenched before it riſe too high. And his Majeſty believes, that nothing can ſo much contribute towards a ſafe and ſudden Compoſure of that Quarrel, nor conſequently reſtore the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, as a joint Mediation of his Majeſty with your *High and Mighty Lordſhips* (together with each others Allies) between the two Crowns now in War.

Upon theſe two Conſiderations his Majeſty hath thought fit, to ſend me to your Lordſhips with full Powers, to treat and conclude, upon what ſhall be found neceſſary, between his Majeſty and your Lordſhips, in the Adjuſtment of all Matters tending to theſe great Ends. And ſince nothing can bring theſe Negotiations to be of Effect, ſo much as the Suddenneſs of their Concluſion, I deſire your Lordſhips to appoint ſuch Commiſſioners as you ſhall think fit, with whom I may fall upon the Treaty of theſe Matters, and to whom I am ready to expoſe the full Powers which his Majeſty the King my Maſter has given me upon this Occaſion.

At my Audience of Leave to the States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

HIS Majeſty of *Great Britain* the King my Maſter, having ſeen ſo happily finiſhed, and in ſo few Days, three ſeveral Treaties with *Your High and Mighty Lordſhips*; by which the common Security of both Nations is eſtabliſhed, the Seeds of all new Differences entirely rooted out, and the Way laid open to the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, in caſe our Neighbours proceed with the ſame good Faith, wherewith we have begun: His Majeſty thinks he has no farther Occaſion for my Services here, becauſe Miniſters are only proper for faſtening and cementing a Confidence and Friendſhip; whereas ours is ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as not to require any, even the moſt ordinary Supports.

For this Reaſon, his Majeſty has order'd my Return to *Bruſſels*, there to purſue in concert with your Lordſhips, in favour of our Neighbours, what we have here concluded for our ſelves. But his Majeſty has commanded me upon my Departure to aſſure your Lordſhips from him, that as all things are beſt preſerved by the ſame Means they are begun, ſo his Majeſty will not fail for ever to obſerve what he has now concluded, with the ſame Faith, the ſame Sincerity, and the ſame open Heart, wherewith he gave Command they ſhould be negotiated: And his Majeſty doubts not at all, that your Lordſhips are entirely reſolved to proceed after the ſame manner, which is the higheſt Mark of a perfect Confidence to be given at preſent.

For my own particular, I cannot part from hence without expreſſing my

A mon Audience de congé aux Eſtats Generaux.

Hauts & Puiſſans Seigneurs.

SA Majeſté le Roy de la Grande Bretagne mon Maitre, ayant vû conclurre ſi heureuſement, & en ſi peu de jours, trois divers traitez avec V. H. & P. S. par leſquels la ſureté commune des deux Nations vient d'etre retablie; les ſemences de toutes les nouvelles diſcordes entierement deracinées, & le chemin à la paix & au repos ouvert pour la Chretienté, en cas que nos voiſins s'y portent avec la même foy & la même franchiſe qui nous l'a déja fait acheminer; ſa Majeſté croit n'avoir plus beſoin de moy en ce lieu, puiſque les Miniſtres ne ſervent & ne ſont propres qu'a cimenter & entretenir la confiance; mais la nôtre ſe voit etablir ſur de ſi ſolides fondemens qu'elle n'aura plus beſoin des appuis ni des aides ordinaires.

C'eſt pourquoy ſa Majeſté ordonne mon retour à Bruſſelles, pour y pourſuivre de concert avec V. S. en faveur de nos voiſins, ce que nous venons de conclurre icy pour nous mêmes: Mais elle m'a commandé ſur mon depart d'aſſurer V. S. de ſa part, que comme une choſe n'eſt jamais mieux conſervée que par les principes qui l'ont fait naitre, auſſi ſa Majeſté ne manquera pas d'obſerver conſtamment tout ce qui vient d'etre conclu, & cela avec autant de bonne foy, avec la même ſincerité, & la même droiture de coeur, qu'on luy a vû temoigner lors qu'elle l'a fait negotier: Et ſa Majeſté ne doute point que V. S. ne ſoient entierement reſolus à tenir la même conduite à ſon egard; & c'eſt là le dernier ſceau qui doit être apposé de part & d'autre à nos traitez pour preuve d'une parfaite confiance.

Pour ce qui me regarde en particulier, je ne ſaurois ſortir d'icy ſans me louer my Satiſfaction, at the ſincere and judicious Proceeding of *Your High and Mighty Lordſhips* in the whole courſe of theſe Negotiations; and particularly at the great Prudence you have ſhewn in the Choice of thoſe Commiſſioners you gave me; their Candour and Sincerity, their great Capacity and Application did contribute very much to the quick and happy Concluſion of our Treaties. For my own particular, as I ſhall ever bear in mind with Joy and Pleaſure, this ſhort ſpace of Time I have paſs'd with your Lordſhips, in whatever Part of the World I may be; ſo I ſhall always contribute by my good Wiſhes, and whatever Services I may be capable of, to the Support of this good Intelligence, ſo happily reſtored between both Nations. In the mean time, God Almighty take *Your High and Mighty Lordſhips* into his Holy Protection.

louer hautement de la judicieuſe, & ſincère conduite de Vos H. & P. S. dans tout le cours de cette Negotiation, & particulierement de l'extrême prudence que vous avez fait paroitre dans le choix de Meſſieurs les Commiſſaires que vous m'avez donnez. Leur candeur, leur capacité conſommée, leur ardeur, & leur application pour affaire propoſée, n'ont pas peu contribué au bonheur & à la rapidité de la concluſion de nos Traitez. Pour moy, comme je me ſouviendray toute ma vie avec joye, & même avec tendreſſe du court eſpace de tems que j'ay paſſé prés de V. S. auſſi dans quelque lieu du monde que je ſois appellé à paſſer ma vie, je ne negligeray jamais de contribuer par mes voeux, par toutes ſortes de ſoins, & de ſervices dont je me croiray capable, au maintien de cette mutuelle intelligence que je vois ſi heureuſement retablie entre les deux Nations. Cependant je prieray Dieu ardemment de prendre Vos H. & P. S. ſous ſa ſainte protection.

A Letter from the States *to the King of* Great Britain.

Feb. 18. *S. N.* 1668.

S I R,

IT is merely in Compliance to Cuſtom, that we do our ſelves the Honour to write to your Majeſty, in Anſwer to the Letter you were pleaſed to ſend us, relating to Sir *William Temple*: For we can add nothing to what your Majeſty has ſeen your ſelf of his Conduct, by the Succeſs of the Negotiation committed to his Charge. As it is a Thing without Example, that in ſo few Days three ſuch important Treaties have been concluded, ſo we can ſay, that the Addreſs, the Vigilance, and the Sincerity of this Miniſter, are alſo without Example. We are extremely obliged to your Majeſty, that you are pleaſed to make uſe of an Inſtrument ſo proper for confirming that ſtrict Amity, and good Intelligence, which the Treaty at *Breda* had ſo happily begun: And we are bold to ſay, that if your Majeſty continues to make uſe of ſuch Miniſters, the Knot will grow too

fast,

Lettre de *Recreance* de la part des Eſtats, au Roy de la *Grande Bretagne.*

Le 18. *de Fevr. S. N.* 1668.

SIRE,

CE n'eſt pour ſatisfaire à la coutume que nous nous donnons l'honneur d'ecrire à vôtre Majeſté, en réponſe de la lettre qu'il luy à plû nous ecrire au ſujet de Monſieur le Chevalier Temple; *car nous ne pouvons rien ajouter à ce que vôtre Majeſté même a vû de ſa conduite, par le ſuccez de la Negotiation qui luy avoit eté confiée. Comme c'eſt une choſe ſans exemple que dans ſi peu de jours trois ſi importans Traitez ont été ajuſtez, auſſi pouvons nous dire que l'adreſſe, la vigilance, & la ſincerité de ce Miniſtre ſont auſſi ſans exemple. Nous ſommes bien fort obligez à V. M. de ce qu'il luy a plû ſe ſervir d'un inſtrument ſi propre à achever d'etreindre le noeud d'amitié & de bonne intelligence que le traité de Breda avoit commencé à ſerrer: Et nous oſons dire, que ſi elle continue d'employer des ſemblables Miniſtres, le lien deviendra indiſſoluble, & Elle en tirera toujours une ſatisfaction toute particuliere auſſi*

bien

faſt, ever to be untyed; and your Majeſty will ever find a moſt particular Satisfaction by it, as well as we, who after our moſt hearty Thanks to your Majeſty for this Favour, ſhall pray God, *&c.* and remain,

SIR, &c.

bien que nous, qui aprés l'avoir remercié de tout nôtre coeur de cette faveur, prierons Dieu, &c.

SIRE, *&c.*

A Letter from Monſieur de Witt *to my Lord* Arlington.

Feb. 14. *N. S.* 1668.

My Lord,

AS it was impoſſible to ſend a Miniſter of greater Capacity, or more proper for the Temper and Genius of this Nation, than Sir *William Temple*; ſo I believe, no other Perſon either will or can, more equitably judge of the Diſpoſition wherein he has found the *States* to anſwer the good Intentions of the King of *Great Britain*. Sir *William Temple* ought not to be leſs ſatisfied with the Readineſs wherewith the *States* have paſs'd over, to the concluding and ſigning of thoſe Treaties for which he came hither, than they (the *States*) are with his Conduct, and agreeable manner of dealing in the whole Courſe of his Negotiation. It appears, My Lord, that you throughly underſtand Men, and beſtow your Friendſhip only upon ſuch as deſerve it, ſince you cauſe Perſons to be employ'd who acquit themſelves ſo worthily. I think my ſelf happy to have negotiated with him, and that by his means your Lordſhip hath been pleaſed to give me a new Teſtimony of your Goodwill. For the Favour you ſay his Majeſty is pleaſed to have for me; I have no otherwiſe deſerved it than by my Reſpects for his Royal Perſon, whereof I ſhall endeavour to give Proofs upon all Occaſions his Majeſty will pleaſe to afford me. In the mean while, I ſhall wait with Impatience for ſome Opportunity, to ſhew how ſenſible I am of all your Lordſhip's Civilities, which I ſhall ever acknowledge, by a true Eſteem for your Merits, and by a ſtrong Paſſion to let you ſee, that I am with as much Sincerity, as you can deſire,

My Lord, *Your*, &c.

The

Monſieur *de Witt* à Milord *Arlington.*

Le 14. *Fevr. S. N.* 1668.

Monſieur,

COmme il n'etoit pas poſſible d'envoyer icy un Miniſtre plus capable ni plus propre pour le Naturel & le Genie de cette nation que Monſieur le Chevalier Temple, *auſſi croy-je que l'on n'auroit pas pû choiſir une perſonne qui puiſſe ou veuille plus equitablement juger de la diſpoſition en laquelle il a trouvé les Etats à repondre aux bonnes intentions du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Il ne doit pas etre moins ſatisfait de la promptitude avec laquelle les Etats ont paſſé outre à la concluſion & ſignature des traitez pour leſquels il eſt venu icy; qu'ils ſont de ſa conduite, & de ſa belle maniere d'agir en toute la ſuite de ſa negotiation. Il paroit, Monſieur, que vous vous connoiſſez en hommes, & que vous ne donnez vôtre amitié qu'à ceux qui la meritent, puiſque vous faitez employer des perſonnes qui s'acquittent ſi dignement. Je m'eſtime heureux d'avoir eu à negotier avec luy, & de ce que par ſon moyen il vous a plû me donner un nouveau temoignage de vôtre Bienveillance. Pour ce qui eſt de la bonté que vous dites que ſa Majeſté a pour moy; je ne l'ay merité point que par le reſpect que j'ay pour ſa perſonne Royale, dont je tacheray de luy donner des preuves à toutes les occaſions qu'elle me fera la grace de m'en faire naître. J'attens bien avec autant d'impatience celles ou je vous puiſſe temoigner combien je ſuis ſenſible à toutes vos civilitez, que je reconnoitray toujours par un veritable eſtime pour vôtre merite, & par une trés forte paſſion de vous faire voir que je ſuis avec autant de ſincerité que vous pouvez deſirer,*

Monſieur, Votre, *&c.*

Factum

The Triple Alliance copy'd from the Original Papers.

WHereas by the late Treaty concluded at *Breda* between the King of *Great Britain* and the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, both Nations have been reſtored, through the Bleſſing of God, to that ancient Friendſhip and good Correſpondence which was between them: And in order to cut off all Occaſions of farther Differences, and to prevent all new Accidents, which might tend to the Diſturbance of the ſaid Amity and good Correſpondence of the Subjects on either part, ſome Articles and Rules of Navigation and Commerce were there agreed; and particularly by the eleventh Article of the ſaid Treaty, it was ordained, That the ſaid King, and the ſaid *States General*, ſhall be obliged as Friends, Allies and Confederates, mutually to defend the Rights and Immunities of each others Subjects againſt all ſuch as ſhall endeavour to diſturb the Peace of either State by Sea or by Land, or ſuch, as living within the Dominions of either, ſhall be declared publick Enemies by the one or the other: And becauſe it is not particularly determined in what way and manner the ſaid Confederates ſtand obliged mutually to ſuccour each other; and that it is the fix'd Reſolution of the ſaid King of *Great Britain*, and of the ſaid *States General*, more and more to corroborate and accompliſh the ſaid Agreement: Therefore in the firſt place, and above all other things, they conſent to confirm the ſaid Treaty concluded at *Breda*, together with the ſaid Laws of Navigation and Commerce relating to the ſame, as by theſe Preſents they are confirm'd, under a mutual and undiſſoluble Obligation to obſerve and accompliſh them truly and faithfully, and to command the Subjects on both ſides exactly and religiouſly to obſerve and fulfil them according to the genuine Senſe and Tenor of the ſaid Treaty and Articles: And for the better aſcertaining the mutual Aſſiſtance that the Parties are to give each other, which was omitted in the preceding Treaty; for increaſing Amity and Friendſhip be-

tween

Factum triplicitèr conventum.

QUandoquidem pactis non ita pridem Bredæ inter Magnæ Britanniæ Regem, & fœderati Belgii Ordines generales concluſis, priſtina inter utramque Nationem Amicitia ac bona Correſpondentia annuente divina gratia reſtituta, adeoque ad præcidendam omnem omninò in poſterum novis diſſidiis anſam, atque ad præveniendа nova inter utriuſque partis ſubditos accidentia, quæ dictam amicitiam ac bonam correſpondentiam turbare aliquando poſſint, in Articulos quoſdam Legeſque navigationis ac commerciorum ibidem conſenſum atque ſpeciatim undecimo dicti Tractatus Articulo ſtatutum ſit, uti dictus Dominus Rex, dictique Domini Ordines Generales maneant Amici confœderati Neceſſitudine & Amicitiâ, conjuncti & aſtricti, ad Jura atque Immunitates Subditorum alterutrius contra quoſcunque demum tuendas, qui utriuſve ſtatus Pacem Terra Marive diſturbare conabuntur, vel qui infra alterutra Dominia degentes publici utriuſque ſtatus Hoſtes denunciabuntur; neque tamen ſpecificè definita reperiantur media, auxiliave, quibus Fœderatorum pars una alteri, tali in caſu, ſuccurrere debeat: Dicto autem magnæ Britanniæ Regi, dictiſque Ordinibus Generalibus ſtet Sententia iſthæc Pacta corroborandi magis, magiſque perficiendi, placuit imprimis atque ante omnia, dictum Tractatum Bredæ concluſum, dictaſque Leges Navigationis ac Commerciorum eo ſpectantes confirmare, quemadmodum per præſentia confirmantur, obligatione mutua atque indiſſolubili, eas bona Fide obſervandi atque adimplendi, jubendique ut à ſubditis utrinque exacte atque religioſe obſerventur atque adimpleantur, juxta genuinum dicti Tractatus dictorumque Articulorum Senſum ac Tenorem. Ut autem prætérea de ſpecialiore auxiliorum mutuò præſtandorum deſignatione prioribus Pactis omiſſa, pro Amicitiæ inter dictum Dominum Regem dictoſque Dominos Ordines Generales Incremento majori conſtet, utque ſecuritati & defenſioni mutuæ utriuſque ſtatus contra infeſtos conatus vel inſultus hoſtiles à quoquam forte quocunque demum ſub prætextu inſtituendos, arctiori fœdere atque Unione plene proſpiciatur; Nos infra

ſcripti

tween the ſaid King and *States General*, and that full Proviſion may be made by a nearer Alliance and Union, for the Safety and mutual Defence of both States, againſt the pernicious Endeavours and hoſtile Attempts of any Enemy under any Pretext whatever: We whoſe Names are underwritten, in virtue of the Orders and full Powers granted to us, and hereunder to be inſerted, do covenant and agree, That the ſaid King of *Great Britain*, and the ſaid *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, ſhall be mutually obliged, united and confederated together, as they are by the Force and Virtue of theſe Preſents mutually obliged, united and confederated in a perpetual League defenſive, in the manner, and under the Conditions following.

I.

That if any Prince, State or other Perſon whatever, without Exception, ſhall under any Pretext, invade or attempt to invade the Territories, Countries, or any Places that lie within the Dominions of the ſaid King of *Great Britain*, or ſhall exerciſe any Acts of Hoſtility by Sea or by Land, againſt the ſaid King or his Subjects, the ſaid *States General* ſhall be obliged, as by Virtue of theſe Preſents they are obliged, to ſend forty Ships of War, well furniſh'd with all things neceſſary, to aſſiſt the ſaid King, to oppoſe, ſuppreſs and repel, all ſuch Inſults and Acts of Hoſtility, and to procure him due Reparation for any Damages ſuſtained: That is to ſay, fourteen of the ſaid Ships ſhall carry from ſixty to eighty great Guns, and four hundred Men, a juſt Allowance and Computation being made, as well with reſpect to thoſe Ships that carry a greater, as thoſe that carry a leſſer Number of Men: Fourteen other Ships ſhall carry from forty to ſixty Guns, and one with another, three hundred Men at the leaſt, Allowance to be made as before; and none of the reſt to carry leſs than ſix and thirty Guns, and a hundred and fifty Men. Beſides which, they ſhall aſſiſt him with ſix thouſand Foot Soldiers, and four hundred Horſe, or ſhall pay a Sum of Money with due regard to the juſt Value of ſuch an Aſſiſtance, either for the whole or a part at the Choice of the ſaid King. All theſe

ſcripti Virtute mandati plenæque poteſtatis nobis conceſſæ, atque inferius inſerendæ, convenimus atque ſtatuimus dictum Dominum Magnæ Britanniæ Regem, dictoſque Dominos fœderati Belgii Ordines Generales, invicem obſtrictos, unitos atque confœderatos fore; quemadmodum vi ac vigore præſentium invicem obſtricti, uniti atque confœderati ſunt fœdere defenſivo perpetuo, modo atque conditionibus ſequentibus.

I.

Quod ſi Principum Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiſcunque ille tandem fuerit, nemine excepto, ſub quocunque prætextu invaſerit vel invadere tentaverit Territoria, Regioneſque, aut loca qualibet ſub ditione dicti Magnæ Britanniæ Regis ſita, aliumve quemcunque Actum hoſtilem Terra Murive contra dictum Dominum Regem ejuſve Subditos exercuerit; dicti Domini Ordines Generales tenebuntur, quemadmodum virtute præſentium tenentur, dicto Domino Regi, ad inſultus eos actuſque hoſtiles arcendos, ſupprimendos, atque repellendos, debitamque Damni dati Reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adeſſe quadraginta Navibus bellicis probe inſtructis; quarum quatuordecim à ſexaginta ad octoginta Tormenta bellica majora, Homineſque quadringentos ferant ſingulæ, facta juſta compenſatione aut retributione inter eas quæ numeroſiore, & eas quæ minus numeroſo milite Nautaque inſtructæ erunt: Quatuordecim aliæ à quadraginta ad ſexaginta Tormentis, Hominibuſque ad minimum trecentis; facta compenſatione ut ſupra, inſtructæ ſint quælibet: Et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta ſex tormenta, Homineſque centum & quinquaginta; atque inſuper ſex mille Peditibus, & Equitibus quadringentis; vel valore juſto hujuſmodi Auxilii in pecunia numerando, prout dicto Domino Regi eligere placuerit, vel parte tali prædicti Auxilii, aut dicti Valoris in Pecunia, quæ à dicto Domino Rege expetetur. Præſtabuntur

Aids ſhall be furniſhed within ſix Weeks after they ſhall be demanded; and the ſaid King ſhall reimburſe the whole Charge to the ſaid *States* within three Years after the Concluſion of the War.

II.

That if any Prince, State, or other Perſon whatever, without Exception, ſhall under any Pretext, invade or attempt to invade the *United Provinces*, or any Places ſituated within the Juriſdiction of the ſaid *States General*, or garriſon'd by their Soldiers; or ſhall exerciſe any Act of Hoſtility by Land or by Sea, againſt the ſaid *States General* or their Subjects; the ſaid King ſhall be obliged, as by Virtue of theſe Preſents he is obliged, to ſend forty Ships of War well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, to aſſiſt the ſaid *States General*, to oppoſe, ſuppreſs and repel, all ſuch Inſults and Acts of Hoſtility, and to procure due Reparation for any Damages ſuſtained by them: That is to ſay, fourteen of the ſaid Ships ſhall carry from ſixty to eighty great Guns, and four hundred Men; a juſt Allowance and Computation being made, as well with regard to thoſe Ships that carry a greater, as thoſe that carry a leſſer Number of Men: Fourteen other Ships ſhall carry from forty to ſixty Guns, and one with another three hundred Men at the leaſt; Allowance to be made as before; and none of the reſt to carry leſs than ſix and thirty Guns, and a hundred and fity Men. Beſides which, he ſhall aſſiſt them with ſix thouſand Foot Soldiers, and four hundred Horſe, or ſhall pay a Sum of Money, with due regard to the juſt Value of ſuch an Aſſiſtance, either for the whole or a part, at the Choice of the ſaid *States*. All theſe Aids ſhall be furniſhed within ſix Weeks after they ſhall be demanded: And the ſaid *States* ſhall reimburſe the whole Charge to the ſaid King, within three Years after the Concluſion of the War.

III.

The ſaid Ships of War, and the ſaid auxiliary Forces of Horſe and Foot, together with the Commanders of the Ships and Forces, and all the ſubaltern Officers of both, that ſhall be ſent to the

autem dicta Auxilia intra ſex ſeptimanarum ſpatium poſtquam poſtulata fuerint; dictiſque Dominis Ordinibus à dicto Domino Rege refundantur impenſæ omnes intra triennium, à finito atque extincto Bello numerandum.

II.

Quod ſi Principum, Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiſcunque ille tandem fuerit, nemine excepto, ſub quocunque prætextu invaſerit vel invadere tentaverit Provincias Confœderatas, aut loca quælibet ſub Ditione dictorum Dominorum Ordinum Generalium ſita, vel in quibus ipſorum miles præſidio poſitus eſt, aliumve quemcunque actum hoſtilem, Terra Marive, contra dictos Dominos Ordines Generales, eorumve ſubditos exercuerit; dictus Dominus Rex tenebitur, quemadmodum Virtute præſentium tenetur, dictis Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus ad inſultus eos actuſque hoſtiles arcendos, ſupprimendos, atque repellendos, debitamque damni dati Reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adeſſe quadraginta Navibus bellicis probè inſtructis: Quarum quatuordecim à ſexaginta ad octoginta Tormenta bellica majora, Homineſque quadringentos ferant ſingulæ; factâ juſtâ Compenſatione aut Retributione inter eas quæ numeroſiore, & eas quæ minus numeroſo milite Nautaque inſtructæ erunt: Quatuordecim aliæ à quadraginta ad ſexaginta Tormentis, Hominibuſque ad minimum trecentis, factâ compenſatione ut ſupra, inſtructæ ſint quælibet: Et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta ſex Tormenta, Homineſque centum & quinquaginta: Atque inſuper ſex mille Peditibus, & Equitibus quadringentis; vel valore juſto hujuſmodi Auxilii in Pecunia numerando, prout dictis Dominis Ordinibus eligere placuerit, vel parte tali prædicti Auxilii, aut dicti valoris in Pecunia, quæ ab iiſdem expetetur. Præſtabuntur autem dicta Auxilia intra ſex ſeptimanarum ſpatium poſtquam poſtulata fuerint: Dictoque Domino Regi à dictis Dominis Ordinibus refundantur impenſæ omnes intra triennium, à finito atque extincto Bello numerandum.

III.

Dictæ Naves bellicæ, ac dictæ equitum peditumque Copiæ auxiliares, Naviumque & Copiarum Præfecti, cæterique Officiales bellici minores, vim atque injuriam paſſo ſubmiſſi, ejus Voluntatem reſpicere the Aſſiſtance of the Party injured and attacked, ſhall be obliged to ſubmit to his Pleaſure, and be obedient to the Orders of him or them, who ſhall be appointed to command the Armies in chief either by Sea or Land.

IV.

Now that an exact Computation may be made of the Charges that are to be reimburs'd within the ſpace of three Years after the Concluſion of the War; and that the Value of ſuch Aſſiſtance may be adjuſted in ready Money, which poſſibly the Party attack'd may chuſe, either for the whole or a part of the ſaid Ships, Horſe and Foot; 'tis thought expedient, that the fourteen Ships carrying from ſixty to eighty Pieces of Cannon, ſhould be valued at the Sum of eighteen thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty ſix Pounds Sterling, or of *Engliſh* Money; the other fourteen which carry from forty to ſixty Guns, at fourteen thouſand Pounds Sterling; and the remaining twelve, at ſix thouſand Pounds of the ſame Money: Six thouſand Foot, at ſeven thouſand five hundred Pounds Sterling; and four hundred Horſe, at one thouſand and forty Pounds, for one Month: The Money to be paid by the ſaid King of *Great Britain* at *London*, and by the ſaid *States General* at *Amſterdam*, according as the Courſe of the Exchange ſhall be at the time when Payment is to be made. But in Conſideration of the ſix thouſand Foot Soldiers, the Sum of ſix thouſand Pounds Sterling ſhall be paid within the firſt Month, to defray the Expence of liſting and providing the Men.

V.

This League, with all and every thing therein contained, ſhall be confirmed and ratified by the ſaid King of *Great Britain*, and the ſaid *States General* of the *United Provinces*, by Letters Patents of both Parties, ſealed with their Great Seal in due and authentick Form, within four Weeks next enſuing, or ſooner, if it may be; and the mutual Inſtruments of Ratification ſhall be exchanged on each part within the ſaid time.

Here follows a Copy of the Powers granted by the moſt ſerene King of *Great Britain*, &c.

Charles,

reſpicere tenebuntur, atque obſequi mandatis ejus eorumve, quos ſumma cum poteſtate exercitui ſuo Terrâ Marive præficere voluerit.

IV.

Quo autem exacta Computatio inſtitui poſſit impenſarum, intra trium Annorum ſpatium, poſtquam bello finis impoſitus fuerit, reſtituendarum; vel etiam juſti earundem Valoris in Pecunia numerata, quam vim hoſticam paſſo, loco dictarum Navium, Equitum, Peditumque, vel omnium vel pro parte eligere forte placuerit; viſum fuit impenſas quatuordecim Navium à ſexaginta ad octoginta Tormentis inſtructarum, æſtimare Pretio octodecim millium ſexcentarum & ſexaginta ſex Librarum Sterlings, *ſive Monetæ Anglicanæ; earumque quatuordecim quæ à quadraginta ad ſexaginta Tormenta ferunt, quatuordecim millibus Libris* Sterlings; *Reliquarum autem duodecim, ſex millibus ejuſdem Monetæ libris: Sex mille autem Pedites, ſeptem millibus & quingentis Libris* Sterlings: *Quadringentos verò Equites, mille quadraginta ejuſdem monetæ Libris, pro quolibet Menſe computandis: Nummique à dicto quidem Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniæ,* Londini, *à Dominis verò Ordinibus Generalibus* Amſtelodami *ſolventur, juxta curſum Cambii eo tempore quo Solutio præſtanda erit: Pro primo autem Menſe reſpectu peditum ſupradictorum, inſuper perſolventur ſex mille Libræ* Sterlings, *pretium nimirum ad eos conſcribendos inſtruendoſque neceſſarium.*

V.

Fœdus hoc omniaque & ſingula eo contenta, à dicto D. Rege Magnæ Britanniæ, dictiſque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Fœderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriuſque partis Literas ſigillo magno munitas debita & authentica forma, intra quatuor ſeptimanas proximè ſequentes aut citiùs, ſi fieri poterit, confirmabitur & ratihabebitur, mutuaque Ratihabitionum inſtrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Sequitur tenor Mandati à ſereniſſimo Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniæ dati.

Carolus

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all, *&c.*

A Copy of the Powers granted by the High and Mighty Lords, the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*.

The *States General* of the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, To all thoſe, *&c.*

In Witneſs and Confirmation of all, and every part of this Treaty, we, whoſe Names are underwritten, have ſubſcribed and ſealed the ſame, at the *Hague* in *Holland*, the 23d of *January*, 1668.

Signed on the King of *England*'s Part,

W. Temple.

On the Part of the States,

Gellicom.
Aſperen.
J. de Witte.
Crommon.
Unkel.
Jacob Van Coeverden.
K. Iſbrants.

Carolus, *Dei Gratia*, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ *Rex*, *Fidei Defenſor*, &c. *Omnibus*, &c.

Sequitur tenor Mandati, à Celſis & Præpotentibus Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fœderati Belgii dati.

Les Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies des Pais Bas, A tous ceux qui ces preſentes, &c.

In quorum omnium & ſingulorum Fidem majuſque robur, hiſce Tabulis ſubſcripſimus, illaſque ſigillis noſtris ſubſignavimus. Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandiâ *die* 23tio *Januarii*, *Anni* 1668.

Signed on the King of England*'s Part,*

W. Temple.

On the States Part.

Gellicom.
Aſperen.
Johan de Witte.
Crommon.
Unkel.
Jacob Van Coeverden.
K. Iſbrants.

THE King of *Great Britain*, and the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, having with great Grief conſider'd and maturely weigh'd the Miſeries and Calamities of the late War between the two Crowns, which raged in their Neighbourhood; and having obſerved that the Flames of that Fire have inſinuated themſelves among their Neighbours, which by inevitable Neceſſity will involve the greateſt part of the Princes and States of *Chriſtendom* in the ſame Calamities, unleſs they may be timely extinguiſhed, before they gather greater Force; have thought that they could not diſcharge the Duty of that Truſt, and the reſpective Offices, wherein they are placed by God, if after the Reeſtabliſhment of a mutual Friendſhip and Alliance between the Nations of *Great Britain* and the *United Netherlands*, and the Concluſion of a Peace between the four powerful States that

REX *Magnæ Britanniæ, atque Ordines Generales Fœderati Belgii, reputantes, atque apud Animum expendentes ſummo cum dolore Miſerias Calamitateſque Belli, quod nuper inter duas Coronas in Finibus exarſit, quodque neceſſitate quadam ineluctabili maximam partem Principum atque Statuum Chriſtiani Orbis iiſdem involveret malis, Serpente incendii iſtius Flammâ ad Vicinos, niſi tempeſtive & in Principio extinguatur: Exiſtimarunt ſe nullatenus functuros partibus Officii muneriſque ſibi à Deo mandati, ſi poſt fœliciter inſtauratam Amicitiam ſub auſpiciis divini Numinis, & reductam veterem neceſſitudinem inter Magnam Britanniam & fœderatum Belgium, eodemque tempore ſtabilitam Pacem inter quatuor potentes Status, qui cruenti iſtius Belli Partes fuerunt; Animum non applicent ſedulo omnique Induſtria ad componenda diſſidia quæ oborta ſunt inter prædictas duas Coronas, præſertim ut memorati in finibus*

were Parties in that Bloody War; they ſhould not apply their Minds with the utmoſt Diligence and Induſtry, to compoſe the Differences that have ariſen between the ſaid two Crowns, and more eſpecially to take care, that the Flames of that War, which have been kindled in their Neighbourhood, may be extinguiſhed. Therefore the moſt ſerene King of *Great Britain*, and the High and Mighty *States* of the *United Netherlands*, having with much Labour and earneſt Intreaty, induced the moſt Chriſtian King to profeſs ſolemnly to the ſaid *States General*, that he would immediately lay down his Arms, if the *Spaniard* would either conſent to yield up to him in due Form and Manner by a Treaty of Peace, all thoſe Places and Forts, together with the *Chaſtelanies* and their Dependencies, which he poſſeſs'd himſelf of in the Expedition of the laſt Year; or will be perſuaded to transfer and make over to him all the Right that remains to them in the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, (or elſe in the County of *Burgundy*) together with *Cambray* and the *Cambreſis*, *Doway*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Winoxbergen*, *Furnes* and *Lincken*, with their Bailiwicks, Chaſtelanies, and other Dependencies; and in caſe they accept the Alternative laſt mention'd, the moſt Chriſtian King will reſtore to the King of *Spain*, all ſuch Places and Territories as the *French* have poſſeſs'd by their Arms ſince they entered *Flanders*. Provided the High and Mighty *States General*, ſhall on their part promiſe, and render themſelves Guarantees to the moſt Chriſtian King, that they will by their Reaſons and other effectual Means induce the *Spaniards* to agree to theſe Conditions. The ſaid King of *Great Britain*, and the ſaid *States General*, jointly conclude and judge, that they can do no better Service in this Conjuncture and State of Affairs, either to the two Kings before named, or to the reſt of the neighbouring Princes and States, than by their joint Counſels and utmoſt Endeavours, to exhort, and as much as in them lies, oblige the ſaid two Crowns to make Peace, upon the Terms and Conditions before mentioned. To which end we, whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, having received full Power to that Effect, have by Virtue of thoſe Injunctions,

Belli flamma ſopiatur. Proinde, cum ſereniſſimus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, & Celſi præpotenteſque Ordines fæderati Belgii, poſt multum Operis inſumptum, variaſque obteſtationes, obtinuerint à Chriſtianiſſimo Rege, ut profeſſus ſit dictis Ordinibus Generalibus ſe ex hoc tempore Arma depoſiturum, dummodo Hiſpani parati ſint illi rite atque ſolenniter cedere per Tractatum Pacis omnia loca & munimenta, ut & Caſtellanias cum annexis, quæ Armis in Expeditione præcedentis Anni occupavit aut munivit; vel ut Hiſpani permoveantur in eum tranſcribere omne jus quod illis reſtat in Ducatu Luxenburgico (*ſive Comitatu* Burgundii) *præter* Cameracum *cum* Cameraceſio, Duacum, Ariam, Fanum *St.* Audomari, Bergas *St.* Vinoci, Furnas & Linckium, *cum Bailluatibus, Caſtellaniis, cæteriſque quæ inde pendent: Regemque Chriſtian. poſteriori caſu, reſtituturum Regi Hiſpaniæ omnia loca ditioneſque, que Galli Armis ex quo Flandriam ingreſſi ſunt occupavere; ea Lege ut Celſi & Præpotentes D. D. Ordines Generales reciprocè caveant, Regemque Chriſtian. ſecurum reddant, ſe effecturos apud Hiſpanos rationibus aliiſque momentis, ut in eaſdem conſentiant Leges; arbitrati ſunt ſe hac tempeſtate, atque hoc rerum Articulo optimam navaturos operam non modò utrique præfatorum Regum, ſed & aliis Principibus & Statibus vicinis; ſi conjunctim communicatis Conſiliis collatiſque Operis adhortentur, & quantum ſuarum Virium eſt permoveant ſæpiùs dictas duas Coronas, ad ineundam Pacem Legibus atque Conditionibus ſupra memoratis; in quem finem facta nobis, qui has Tabulas ſubſignavimus, poteſtate tum libera, ex præſcripto mandatorum noſtrorum convenimus de Articulis & Capitibus ſequentibus.*

ctions, concluded and agreed, the following Articles.

I.

That the King of *Great Britain*, and the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, ſhall either jointly or ſeparately (provided their Intentions be mutually communicated, and no way repugnant to this Agreement) uſe their utmoſt Endeavours and Induſtry with the moſt Chriſtian King, to perſuade him to promiſe and engage in the beſt Form, and by a ſolemn Treaty, to the King of *Great Britain*, and to the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, That he will conclude a Peace and Alliance with the King of *Spain*, without any Exception or Reſerve, under whatever Pretext, or for whatever Cauſe; if the King of *Spain* ſhall be induced or perſuaded by the King of *Great Britain*, and the Confederated States, to yield to the moſt Chriſtian King, either the Places he poſſeſs'd himſelf of the laſt Year in the Low-Countries, or to give him an Equivalent, by delivering up the Places above mention'd, or others in lieu of them, as ſhall be mutually agreed between the Parties concerned.

II.

That the moſt Chriſtian King be induced to conſent, That the preſent Ceſſation of Arms in the Low-Countries, may be prolonged to the End of the Month of *May*, to the end that the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States may, in the mean time, employ themſelves with all Diligence, Care and Induſtry, to procure the Conſent of the King or Queen of *Spain*, and their Council, to the aforeſaid Terms and Conditions.

III.

But that the moſt Chriſtian King may have no juſt occaſion to refuſe to prolong the Ceſſation of Arms; the King of *Great Britain*, and the Confederated States ſhall oblige themſelves by the ſame Treaty, to take effectual Care, That the *Spaniards* ſhall yield to *France* all that was taken the laſt Year by the *French*, or give them an Equivalent, as ſhall be agreed with the Conſent of both Parties.

IV. That

I.

Quod Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, & Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, conjunctim vel ſeparatim, communicatis tamen omninò conſiliis, & ſecundùm ea de quibus mutuò convenerint, omnem operam omnemque induſtriam adhibebunt apud Regem Chriſtianiſſimum ut in optima legitimaque Forma, ſolenni Tractatu ſpondeat & promittat Regi Magnæ Britanniæ, & fœderati Belgii Ordinibus Generalibus, ſe pacis fœdus facturum cum Rege Hiſpaniæ, citra omnem, quocunque ſub prætextu, vel quacunque de cauſa, exceptionem vel diſpenſationem; ſi Hiſpaniæ Rex induci aut permoveri queat per Regem Magnæ Britanniæ, & Ordines fœderatos, ut cedat Regi Chriſtianiſſimo, aut loca anno præterito in Belgica armis occupata, aut aliud tantundem valens, per traditionem locorum ſuperiùs memoratorum aliorumve in compenſationem, de quibus mutuo conſenſu partes inter ſe convenire poterunt.

II.

Ut Rex Chriſtianiſſimus conſentire velit in prorogationem vacationis armorum in Belgica ad finem Menſis Maii, ut temporis interea Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, & fœderati Ordines ſedulò omnique induſtria & diligentiâ operam dare poſſint apud Regem aut Reginam Hiſpaniæ, ejuſque Conſiliarios, uti legibus conditionibuſque præfatis conſenſum adhibere velint.

III.

Ut verò Rex Chriſtianiſſimus nulla juſta ratione dictam armiſtitii prorogationem recuſare queat: Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, Ordineſque fœderati ſe eodem Tractatu obſtringent, id ſe effecturos ut reapſe Galliæ cedatur ab Hiſpanis omne quod Gallorum Armis Anno præterito occupatum fuit, aut aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo partium conſenſu convenietur.

IV. *Quod*

IV.

That the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall be induced and perſuaded to give intire Credit to, and put full Confidence in the aforeſaid Promiſe, that his Arms may not for the future diſturb the Quiet of the Low-Countries: So that if it ſhould happen, contrary to all Hope and Expectation, that the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States ſhall not be able by their Exhortations and earneſt Sollicitations to perſuade the *Spaniards* to give their Conſent to the Conditions above mention'd, before the end of the next enſuing *May*; and that it become neceſſary to uſe more effectual means to that purpoſe: Nevertheleſs the *French* ſhall not move or introduce their Arms within, or upon the Limits of the Low Countries; but the King of *Great Britain* and the confederate States ſhall engage, and take upon themſelves ſuch neceſſary Proviſion, as may effectually oblige the *Spaniards* to accept the foreſaid Conditions of Peace: and it ſhall not be left to the Diſcretion of the moſt Chriſtian King, either to exerciſe any Acts of Hoſtility in the ſaid Countries, or to poſſeſs himſelf of any Town, tho' by voluntary Surrender; unleſs the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States ſhall ceaſe and omit to proſecute the Things above-mention'd.

IV.

Quod Rex Chriſtianiſſimus inducetur & permovebitur prædicto promiſſo plenam adhibere fidem, atque in eo Fiduciam ponere velit, & ut proinde ejus Arma in poſterum quieſcant in Belgica, ita quidem ut ſi præter omnem ſpem & expectationem Rex Magnæ Britanniæ fæderatique Ordines nequeant per exhortationes obteſtationeſque permovere Hiſpanos ante finem Menſis Maii proximi, ut conſenſum adhibeant Conditionibus ſæpiùs memoratis, ac proinde ad media majoris efficaciæ venire neceſſe ſit; nihilominus Galli intra fines & in finibus dictæ Belgicæ ſua arma non movebunt aut introducent: Sed Rex Magnæ Britanniæ & ſæderati Ordines ſe obſtringent, atque in ſe recipient id ſeſe ſuppleturos quod neceſſum erit, ut Hiſpani reapſe aſtringantur, uti pacem legibus ſupradictis accipiant; adeoque Regi Chriſtianiſſimo integrum non erit ullos exercere Actus hoſtiles in dictis Regionibus, neque ullum occupare Oppidum licet ſponte ſua ſe dedere velit, niſi Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, & fæderati Ordines ceſſent atque omittant efficere id quod jam dictum eſt.

V.

That when the Peace is made between the two Crowns, not only the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States, but likewiſe the Emperor, and all the neighbouring Kings and Princes, who ſhall think themſeves concern'd, that the Quiet of Chriſtendom remain unſhaken, and the Low Countries be reſtored to the Enjoyment of their former Tranquillity; ſhall be Guarantees and Conſervators of the ſame: To which end, the number of Forces, and other means to be uſed againſt either of the Parties that ſhall violate or infringe the ſaid Peace, ſhall be determin'd and agreed, that the Injury may ceaſe, and the Party offended receive Satiſfaction.

V.

Quod ſancita inter duas Coronas pace; ejus ſervandæ Sponſores vindiceſque erunt in forma omnium optima, ampliſſima & ſecuriſſima, non modò Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, & fæderati Ordines, ſed & Imperator, omneſque Reges & Principes vicini, qui exiſtimabunt ſuâ intereſſe ut Orbi Chriſtiano inconcuſſa maneat quies, & Belgicæ ſua reddatur conſtetque tranquillitas: In quem finem definietur copiarum militarium numerus, aliaque media quibus utendum erit adverſus alterutram partium quæ temeraverit vel violaverit Pacem, ut injuriam demat ac parti læſæ reſarciat.

VI.

That this Agreement, with all and every thing therein contained, ſhall be confirm'd and ratify'd by the ſaid King of *Great Britain*, and the ſaid *States General* of the United Provinces, by Letters Patents on both ſides, ſealed with the Great Seal in due and authentick Form, within four Weeks next enſuing, or ſooner, if it can be done; and within the ſaid time the mutual Inſtruments of Ratification ſhall be exchanged on both ſides.

In Witneſs and Confirmation of all which, we, whoſe Names are underwritten, have ſubſcribed and ſealed the ſame. At the *Hague* in *Holland*, the 23d of *January*, 1668.

Signed as before.

VI.

Pacta hæc conventa omniaque & ſingula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniæ, dictiſque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fæderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriuſque partis literas ſigillo magno munitas, debita & authentica Forma, intra quatuor ſeptimanas proximè ſequentes, aut citiùs ſi fieri poterit, confirmabuntur & ratihabebuntur, mutuaque ratihabitionum inſtrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

In quorum omnium & ſingulorum fidem majuſque Robur, hiſce Tabulis ſubſcripſimus, illaſque Sigillis noſtris ſubſignavimus. Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia 23. Die Januarii, 1668.

Signed as before.

Separate Articles, which ſhall be of the ſame Force and Authority, as if they had been inſerted in the Treaty concluded this Day, between the King of Great Britain, *and the* States General *of the* United Netherlands.

I.

IF in the procuring of a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, any Difficulty ſhould ariſe about the Point of the *Renunciation*, 'tis to be ſo contriv'd, that either no mention at all is to be made of it in the Treaty, or at leaſt, the Form is to be conceiv'd and ſet down in ſuch Words, as nothing may accrue to either of the two Crowns, on account of the ſaid *Renunciation*; nor any Prejudice be created to either of them in Point of Right: But if either the King of *Spain*, or the moſt Chriſtian King, refuſe their Conſent to this Expedient; then the King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States, ſhall proceed againſt the Refuſer, as is agreed by the third and fourth Article of the Treaty, and in the laſt of theſe Articles reſpectively; with this Condition however, That

in

Articuli ſeparati, qui ejuſdem erunt Virtutis atque Authoritatis, ac ſi inſerti forent Tractatui, hodierno Die, intra Regem Magnæ Britanniæ, & Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, concluſo.

I.

SI in procuranda pace inter Galliam & Hiſpaniam ſe offerat aliqua difficultas ſuper puncto renunciationis, ea ineunda eſt ratio, ut vel nulla ejus in pactis fiat mentio, vel ut ejuſmodi verbis concipiatur Formula, ut neutræ duarum Coronarum quoad prædictam renunciationem eo quicquam accedat, aut etiam inde creetur aliquod juris detrimentum: Quod ſi verò Rex Hiſpaniarum vel etiam Rex Chriſtianiſſimus in id conſentire nolint, adverſus recuſantem, Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, & fæderati Ordines procedent; ut conventum eſt Articulo tertio & quarto dicti Tractatus, & ultimo horum Articulorum reſpectivè: Ea tamen conditione, ut in caſu recuſationis Regis Hiſpaniæ, Rex Chriſtianiſſimus ſe reciprocè obſtringat, quemadmodùm in Articulo quarto, ſe nullatenus arma moturum in Belgica.

II. *Quod*

in caſe ſuch refuſal proceed from the King of *Spain*, the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall oblige himſelf not to make War in the Low-Countries, according to the Tenor of the fourth Article.

II.

That the King of *Great Britain*, and the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, to the end that all Parties may be ſatisfied, ſhall oblige themſelves to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours, that a Peace may at the ſame time be eſtabliſh'd between the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; but with this Condition, That the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall alſo oblige himſelf, in caſe this Negotiation cannot be ſo ſoon accompliſh'd, that ſuch a Delay ſhall no way hinder on his Part, the Peace between him and *Spain*; except only, That it ſhall be free for the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, to give Succour and Aid to the King of *Portugal*, his Ally, either by way of Attack, that he may draw the Enemy from other Parts, or by any other means which he ſhall judge to be moſt convenient and advantagious. And if the *Spaniards* can be brought to conſent to a Peace under the ſaid Condition, and the ſame be concluded accordingly; then the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall be oblig'd wholly to abſtain from the Low-Countries, as poſſeſs'd of Peace, and not involv'd in the Diſputes of either Party. Neither ſhall it be lawful for him to form any Deſigns againſt them, either by open Force or clandeſtine Practices; nor to require any Satisfaction, under the Pretext of Charges and Expences to be ſuſtained on account of the War in *Portugal*; either for raiſing Men, or any other Burdens of that War. And if it ſhould happen that during the ſaid War, the auxiliary Forces of the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of any Places in *Spain* or *Italy*; the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King ſhall reſtore them to *Spain*, as ſoon as the Peace with *Portugal* ſhall be made. But if beyond, and contrary to Expectation, *Spain* ſhould refuſe to make Peace with the King of *Portugal*, and alſo with the moſt Chriſtian King, under that Exception, of leaving him free to aſſiſt his Confederate, as has been already ſaid: In this unexpected caſe, The

King

II.

Quod Rex Magnæ Britanniæ, & Ordines Generales fœderati Belgii, ut prolixiùs ab omni parte ſatisfiat, ſe obligabunt omnem ſedulò operam daturos, ut Pax inter Reges Hiſpaniæ & Luſitaniæ eodem tempore ſanciri poſſit; ea tamen lege ut viciſſim Gallia ſe obſtringat, ſi tam citò non poſſit id negotium perduci ad exitum, uti Pax inter ſe & Hiſpaniam nihilominus ineatur; hoc excepto, ut liberum ſit Regi Chriſtianiſſimo ſuppetias ferre Regi Luſitaniæ Fœderato ſuo, eique auxilio eſſe, ſive inferendo arma ſua ut aliunde detrahat hoſtem, ſive alio quocunque modo quem ſibi commodiſſimum atque maximè ex uſu fore exiſtimabit. Et ſi Hiſpani adduci poterunt ut conſentiant in Pacem ſub dicta conditione, atque ea proinde concludatur; Rex Chriſtianiſſimus tenebitur, à Belgica ut pacata, atque neutrarum partium rebus implicata, omninò abſtinere; neque ei jus faſque erit quidquam adverſus eam moliri, neque palam virtute bellica, neque clandeſtinis artibus; ut ne petere ullam ſatisfactionem ſub obtentu impenſarum erogationumque quæ in bello Luſitanico erunt faciendæ, tam ob delectum Militum quam alia Belli onera. Quòd ſi contingat manente dicto Bello per Auxiliares Regis Chriſtianiſſimi copias, occupari loca quædam in Hiſpania Italiave; Rex Chriſtianiſſimus ſimulatque Pax cum Luſitania facta fuerit, eadem reſtituet Hiſpaniæ: Sed ſi præter & contra expectationem Hiſpania recuſet Pacem cum Rege Luſitaniæ, ut & cum Rege Chriſtianiſſimo, ea cum exceptione ut Fœderato ſuo liberum ſit ei auxiliari, quemadmodum jam dictum eſt; hoc inopinato caſu Rex Magnæ Britanniæ & fœderati Ordines tenebuntur reapſe id efficere ut Hiſpani omnimodò in id conſentiant; ita tamen ut reciprocè Rex Chriſtianiſſimus ſe obſtringat quemadmodùm Caſu primo, quod non ſit moturus Arma in Belgica.

III. Si

King of *Great Britain*, and the confederated States, ſhall be bound to employ themſelves effectually to procure the Conſent of the *Spaniards*; yet with this Proviſion, that the moſt Chriſtian King do alſo oblige himſelf not to make War in the Low Countries, as in the former Caſe is already ſaid.

III.

But if beyond all Expectation, the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould entertain ſuch Thoughts as ſhall induce him to refuſe to promiſe, that he will ſign the Treaty of Peace as ſoon as the *Spaniards* ſhall conſent to give up all thoſe Places which have been acquir'd by him in his laſt Expedition, or ſuch an Equivalent as ſhall be agreed by mutual Conſent; or in caſe he ſhall not accompliſh his Promiſe, or ſhall diſallow or reject the Cautions and Proviſions that are expreſs'd in the ſaid Treaty, which are ſo neceſſary to obviate the Fears and Jealouſies that are moſt juſtly conceived of the moſt Chriſtian King's Intentions to make a farther Progreſs with his victorious Arms into the ſaid Low Countries, ſo often already mentioned: In all theſe Caſes, and alſo if he ſhould endeavour by any Subterfuges or oblique Practices to hinder or elude the Concluſion of the Peace, then *England* and the *United Netherlands* ſhall be bound and oblig'd to join themſelves to the King of *Spain*, and with all their united Force and Power to make War againſt *France*; not only to compel him to make Peace upon the Conditions aforeſaid, but if God ſhould bleſs the Arms taken up to this end, and favour them with Succeſs; and if it ſhall be thought expedient to the Parties concern'd, to continue the War, till things ſhall be reſtored to that Condition, in which they were at the time when the Peace was made upon the Borders of both Kingdoms, in the *Pyrenæan* Mountains.

IV.

Theſe ſeparate Articles, with all and every thing therein contain'd, ſhall be confirm'd and ratified by the ſaid King of *Great Britain*, and the ſaid *States General* of the *United Provinces*, by Letters Patents of both Parties, ſealed with their Great Seal in due

III.

Si præter omnem expectationem Rex Chriſtianiſſimus inducat in animum ut promittere nolit quod Tractatum Pacis ſignaturus ſit, ſimulatque Hiſpani ceſſuri ſint omnia loca ab eo occupata in noviſſima expeditione, vel aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo conſenſu convenietur; aut promiſſorum fidem non impleat, aut detrectet reſpuatve cautiones & præmunimenta in dicto Tractatu expreſſa, quæ neceſſaria ſunt ut obviam eatur metui juſtiſſimè concepto, ne Rex Chriſtianiſſimus arma ſua victricia in ſæpiùs memorata Belgica ulteriùs proferat: Quod omnibus iſtis caſibus, ut & ſi per alia Subterfugia aut obliquas Artes conetur Pacis concluſionem impedire aut eludere; Anglia, fœderatumque Belgium tenebuntur accedere partibus Regis Hiſpaniæ, omnibuſque & junctis viribus Terra Marique adverſus Galliam bellum gerere; ut compellatur non in leges duntaxat ſæpiùs jam memoratas Pacem facere; ſed ſi arma in eum finem ſumpta, Deum habeant faventem & propitium, atque de communi conſenſu id expedire viſum fuerit, etiam bellum continuare, donec res in eum ſtatum fuerint reſtitutæ quo fuerunt tempore fœderis in collimitio Regnorum in Montibus Pyrenæis ſanciti.

IV.

Articuli hi ſeparati, omniaque & ſingula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnæ Britanniæ, dictiſque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus fœderatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriuſque partis literas ſigillo magno munitas, debita & authentica Forma intra quatuor Septimanas

due and authentick Form, within four Weeks next enſuing, or ſooner if it may be; and within the ſaid Time, the mutual Inſtruments of Ratification ſhall be exchang'd on both Sides.

Done at the *Hague* in *Holland* the 23d of *January*, 1668.

Signed as before.

manas proximè ſequentes, aut citiùs ſi fieri poterit, confirmabuntur, & ratihabebuntur, mutuaque Ratihabitionum Inſtrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Actum Hagæ-Comitum in Hollandia Die 23 Januarii, 1668.

Signed as before.

The Swediſh *Act.*

WHEREAS the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, have earneſtly deſired, that the King of *Sweden* might be aſſociated with them, as one principal Party, in that League which is this Day concluded, and ſigned by their Commiſſioners and Plenipotentiaries; whereby a ſpeedy and ſafe Peace may be promoted and made between the two neighbouring Kings, and the publick Tranquillity of *Chriſtendom*, by the Bleſſing of God, may be reſtored: And whereas the King of *Sweden* himſelf, even from the Beginning of theſe Differences, which have grown to ſuch a Height between the two Kings, has acquainted the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the *United Netherlands*, with his good and ſincere Intentions and Deſire, to aſſociate and join himſelf to them in the Buſineſs abovementioned, as well in regard of the ſtrict Friendſhip and Alliances, which he acknowledges have join'd him in one common Intereſt with them, as that by his Acceſſion to them, all uſeful and honourable Means and Induſtry may be uſed to eſtabliſh a Peace between the two Kings: Profeſſing that no other Difficulty has hitherto reſtrained him from opening his Mind upon that whole Matter, than that he waited to be informed, what firm and deliberate Councils the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the *United Netherlands*, would take in this Affair, and what Aſſiſtance would be requiſite, with other Things of that kind, in which the ſaid King of *Sweden* deſires to be ſatisfied, to the end that he may proceed by the like Steps, and in equal manner with the King of *Great Britain*, and the States of the *United Netherlands*: For theſe Reaſons 'tis

CUM *Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, ac Ordines Fœderatarum Belgii Provinciarum, valdè deſiderarint Regem Sueciæ unà cum ipſis in partem principalem adſciſci illius Fœderis, quod hodierno Die per Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios ſuos concluſum ſignatumque eſt; quo prompta atque tuta Pax inter Reges duos vicinos promoveatur, quoque Divinâ adſpirante gratiâ per Orbem Chriſtianum publica tranquillitas inſtauretur: Præterea cùm Rex ipſe Sueciæ jam ab initio eorum motuum qui inter duos deſignatos Reges cruduerunt, tam Magnæ Britanniæ Regi, quam Fœderatorum Belgarum Ordinibus ſit teſtatus bonum ſincerumque ſuum propoſitum ac ſtudium quo tenebatur, ſeſe cum iis in hoc negotio modo ſupradicto ſociandi ac jungendi; idque reſpectu arctiſſimæ neceſſitudinis, & horum Fœderum per quæ communibus cum iiſdem commodis adſtringi ſe agnoſcit, ut per hunc interventum, perque modos utiles quoſcunque ac honeſtos, Paci inter binos Reges ſtabiliendæ inſudetur: Nec per ullam difficultatem ſeſe hactenus cohibitum, mentem ſuam ſuper re totâ aperiendi, niſi quòd præſtolatus eſt dum certò reſciretur quid deliberati atque firmi conſilii Rex Magnæ Britanniæ & Fœderatorum Belgarum Ordines ſuper omni hoc negotio eſſent capturi; tum quouſque promoveri ſubſidia, aliaque id genus nonnulla poſſent, per quæ dictus Sueciæ Rex ſibi ſatisfieri exoptat, ut pari & æquato cum Magnæ Britanniæ Rege ac Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus paſſu in hac re procedat: Ea propter, ex commodo communi viſum eſt fore, ſi hoc inſtrumentum inter Miniſtros Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios dictorum Regum Sueciæ Magnæque Britanniæ, nec non dictorum Fœderati Belgii Ordinum ſcripto conſignaretur; Quo unâ ex parte obligaretur Rex Sueciæ, mediante ſatiſfactione*

'tis thought expedient for the common Good, that the preſent Inſtrument between the Miniſters, Deputies and Plenipotentiaries of the ſaid Kings of *Sweden* and *Great Britain*, and thoſe of the ſaid States of the *United Netherlands*, be put down in Writing, whereby, on the one Hand, the King of *Sweden* ſhould be obliged, after the foreſaid Satisfaction receiv'd, to embrace the ſaid League, to uſe the ſame Endeavours, and to proceed equally, and in the like manner, as the ſaid King of *Great Britain* and the ſaid States of the *United Netherlands* think fit to do, in order to promote and carry on ſo uſeful a Work; and on the other hand the ſaid King of *Sweden* will be aſſured, that a Place is reſerved for him, empty and intire, to enter, as one principal Party, into this League; as by theſe Preſents he is deſired in the moſt friendly manner, both by the King of *Great Britain*, and by the States of the *United Netherlands*; who on their part will moſt readily employ themſelves, and all kind of good Offices, towards the Emperor and King of *Spain*, to the end that all ſuch Differences, as the ſaid King of *Sweden* may have with them, be compos'd and determin'd, according to the Rules of Equity and Juſtice. And foraſmuch as concerns the Aid which is required from the ſaid King, the *States General* of the *United Netherlands* will not be wanting to ſend with Expedition, ſuch neceſſary Inſtructions to their Ambaſſadors in the Court of *England*; that between them, and ſuch Commiſſioners as the ſaid King of *Great Britain* ſhall appoint to that purpoſe, and the extraordinary Ambaſſador of the King of *Sweden*, who is now ready to begin his Journey thither, together with other Miniſters reſiding there on the Part of divers Princes and States, who are concern'd and intereſted in this Affair; ſuch Meaſures may be taken to ſettle all things which ſhall be requiſite and neceſſary, that the ſaid League may acquire the Subſtance as well as the Form of a *Triple Agreement:* To which the reſpective Parties ſhall make it their Buſineſs to invite their Friends and Allies, if any of them ſhould deſire to be admitted.

Done at the *Hague*, $\frac{13}{23}$ of *January*, 1668.

Signed,

factione prædictâ, ad amplectendum deſignatum Fædus, & ad eandem navandam Operam, eodemque paſſu procedendum, quo dictus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex, dictique Fæderatorum Belgarum Ordines procedendum ſibi eſſe exiſtimant, ut negotium tam ſalutare promoveatur: Necnon parte ex alterâ dictus Rex Sueciæ certus ità fieret locum ſibi vacuum ac integrum relinqui Fæderis hujuſce inter partes principales amplectendi, quemadmodùm id ut faciat à Magnæ Britanniæ Rege, & ab Ordinibus Fæderati Belgii per haſce præſentes, maximè amicum in modum rogatur; qui & ipſi libenter apud Cæſarem & Hiſpaniarum Regem omne officii genus eo convertent, ut Controverſiæ nonnullæ quæ dicto Sueciæ Regi cum iis poſſint intercedere, quamprimùm componantur, & ſecundum jus faſque è medio tollantur. Quantùm vero ad ſubſidia quæ à dicto Rege prætenduntur; Ordines Fæderati Belgii Generales non defuturi ſunt mandatis neceſſariis confeſtim ad Legatos ſuos in Aulâ Britannicâ mittendis, ut hos inter & Commiſſarios quos dictus Magnæ Britanniæ Rex eam in rem deſignabit, interque Legatum Regis Sueciæ extraordinarium, qui iter jam nunc eò meditatur ex Belgio, alioſque illic degentes Miniſtros Principum Statuumve, quos id negotium quoque tangit atque concernit; concilia ineantur, ſuper neceſſariis ac requiſitis omnibus conſtituendis; ſic ut Fædus jam dictum conſequatur, quamprimùm ſubſtantiam atque formam Pacti tripliciter conventi; ad quod invitandis Amicis & Confæderatis, ſi qui ejus in partem admitti volent, omni ex parte opera quam diligentiſſimè dabitur.

Actum Hagæ-Comitum, $\frac{13}{23}$ *die Januarii*, 1668.

Signed,

Signed,	Signed.
Chriſtopher Delphicus B. and *Count* of *Dhona.*	Chriſtophorus Delphicus B. *ac* Comes *in* Dhona.
Haraldus Appelboom.	Haraldus Appelboomius.

The Negotiation of the Peace at *Aix la Chapelle.*

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Antwerp, Feb. 27. S. N. 1668.*

I Did not expect to give your Lordſhip another Trouble from this Town, but having been detain'd here ſome Days by the Marquis's Stay till this Morning, and intending at Night to follow him for *Bruſſels*; I know not whether my Arrival there may be time enough to write by the Pacquet that parts from thence to Morrow at Evening, and therefore will not venture by any Omiſſion to forfeit my Charter of writing every Poſt.

I had Yeſterday a joint Audience with the *States Deputies*, and will refer your Lordſhip for what paſs'd there to the incloſed Memorial on our part, and Anſwer given us by the Marquis, which we have diſpatch'd this Morning to Sir *John Trevor*, and Mr. *Bouningham* at *Paris*, by a joint Expreſs; in hopes by their Endeavours there to bring the Buſineſs to a Suſpenſion of Arms, upon the Marquis's having now accepted the Truce, to the ſhorter Term offered by *France*, as well as the longer propoſed by his Majeſty and the *States*.

For the *Alternative*, we can yet draw no Reſolution from him upon it, defending himſelf by the Neceſſity of firſt concerting with us how he ſhall be aſſiſted, in caſe of *France* refuſing both the Truce and the *Alternative*. This is in the Marquis an Aim of engaging us by Advance in the Party, and thereby exaſperating *France*, by being threaten'd more directly; and ſo embark the whole Affair into the Neceſſity of a long enſuing War: For, that *Spain* would much rather engage in with our Aſſiſtance, than be forced to a Peace upon our late Project; and, I think, purſues its own Intereſt right in this Point. That of *Holland* is certainly oppoſite to theirs, and leads them to nothing ſo much as the Compoſure of the Quarrel, with ſome Security of *France* growing no greater at leaſt on this ſide.

The *Marquis* is large in arguing to me, that our Intereſt lies in a joint War, rather than a Peace between the two Crowns, and that our End muſt have been hitherto, only to engage *Holland* with us in the Quarrel; and reaſons from Story, and the preſent Genius of our People and Parliament. I endeavour to quiet him in this Point, by aſſuring him, that whatever other Kings have thought or done, and whatever the People wiſh or talk; the King, in whoſe ſole Diſpoſition all Matters of Peace and War lie, will by no Arts nor Conſiderations be induced to break from *Holland*, in the Management of this Buſineſs; nor make one Pace farther in the *Spaniards* Defence, than the *Dutch* are willing to join in. That his Intereſt as well as Honour lies in this Reſolution, agreed by ſo many ſolemn Treaties; and that we as well as the *Dutch* can very well content our ſelves with a Peace, and Purſuit of our Commerce; provided we are not alarmed too much, and too near, with the Growth of the *French* Greatneſs. And I wind up all with preſſing him ſtill to an Acceptation of the *Alternative*, and to embrace the Peace according to our Project. And thus we fence here at preſent; of all which your Lordſhip, I believe, will receive the Detail more at large by the *Holland* Packet, in the Diſpatches paſs'd between me and Monſieur *de Witt* ſince my Arrival here; of which I deſired him to ſend Copies to their Ambaſſadors in *England*, to be by them communicated to your Lordſhip; becauſe more Uncertainty in the *Nieuport* Pacquet, and the preſent want of a ſettled Cypher, have hindered larger

Tranſmiſſions this way, and more directly to your Lordſhip's Hands.

Yeſterday came in the *Spaniſh* Letters, and though I have not ſeen the Marquis ſince, yet by what I have from his Secretary, and the Count *Monterey*, I have reaſon to believe, that *Don Juan* is on his way hither, and now at Sea with conſiderable Supplies of Men and Money, which are very neceſſary here, either for carrying on a War, or inducing a Peace. The Particulars I cannot aſſure, though the common talk is, of eight thouſand *Spaniards*, and ſix hundred thouſand Crowns in *Specie*, and eight hundred thouſand in *Remiſe*. 'Tis very poſſible your Lordſhip may hear more there of his coming, and ſee him ſooner than we ſhall here, as well as judge better, What, or how much it will import to the Effect or Defeat, the Advance or Diverſion of the preſent Councils. What occurs to your Lordſhip upon it, and will relate to my Conduct here, I hope to receive from you by the firſt; not eſteeming any thing well begun, without a Thread at leaſt from your Lordſhip to guide me; nor well perform'd, 'till I receive your Approbation, upon which depends ſo much the Satisfaction, as well as good Fortune of, *&c.*

To Monſieur de Witt.

Antwerp, Feb. 27.
S I R, *N. S.* 1668.

I Have received much Satisfaction as well as Honour by yours of the 25th, and am very glad to obſerve the ſame Conformity of Sentiments between us ſince we parted, that there ever was while I reſided at the *Hague*. I ſhall write to you now with *my own Ink*, having already done it with that of the Marquis, who would not be ſatisfied 'till I ſent you that Diſpatch: And I was forced to ſhew him my Letter before I ſealed it, to ſee whether it were agreeable with what he had deſired me to tell you upon that Occaſion.

I had at my firſt Audience preſs'd him ſo cloſely to declare himſelf upon the *Alternative*, and ſurmounted all his Excuſes upon Defect of Powers, by deſiring that he would do it by way of Limitation, not to be ratified 'till the Queen of *Spain*'s farther Pleaſure; that at laſt he told me he would comply, provided *France* could be brought to ratify their Renunciation in Form in the Parliament of *Paris*, to content themſelves with an Equivalent for the Cities taken, which advance ſo far into the Heart of the Country: And laſtly, if in caſe of a Refuſal from *France*, he might be aſſured before hand of the Aſſiſtance of

A Monſieur *de Witt*.

Anvers, le 27 *Fevr.*
Monſieur, *S. N.* 1668.

J'*AY eprouvé beaucoup de Satisfaction, & reçeu beaucoup d'Honneur par vôtre Lettre du* 25 *de ce mois; & je ſuis fort aiſe de remarquer une auſſi grande Conformité de Sentimens entre nous, depuis que nous nous ſommes ſeparez, qu'il y en a toujours eu pendant mon ſejour à la Haye. Je vous ecriray à preſent de mon propre encre, car c'eſt de celle de Monſieur le Marquis que je vous ecrivis dernierement: Il ne voulut point pariôtre ſatisfait, que je n'euſſe conſenti à me charger du ſoin de vous ecrire, & par là je me vis contraint à luy montrer ma lettre avant que de la fermer; car il falloit qu'il jugeat ſi elle êtoit conforme à ce qu'il m'avoit prié de vous mander ſur l'affaire qui en faiſoit le ſujet.*

Dans ma premiere audience je l'avois ſi fort preſſé de ſe declarer ſur l'alternative, & j'avois ête ſi habile à lever toutes ſes difficultez, & à m'oppoſer à ſes delais qui etoient fondez ſur ſon manque de Pouvoirs; mes inſtances êtoient ſi fortes & ſi redoublées, qu'il me dit enfin qu'il ſe diſpoſeroit à faire ce que j'exigeois de luy, pourvû qu'on pût porter la France à faire verifier, dans les formes, ſa renonciation dans le Parlement de Paris; à ſe contenter d'un equivalent pour les Villes priſes, leſquelles ſont ſituées ſi avant dans le païs, & preſque au cœur de l'Etat, & enfin qu'en cas de refus de la part de la France, il ſeroit aſſûré du ſecours de l'Angleterre & de l'Hollande, of *England* and *Holland* by a common Concert.

I told him, that for the two Points of the *Renunciation* and the *Equivalent*, he might reckon from our joint Offices upon all we could obtain from *France* in Favour of *Spain*. For, as to the *Equivalent*, our own Intereſt obliged us to it, that we might leave ſo much a ſtronger Barrier between *France* and *Holland:* And as for the *Renunciation*, we deſired it too, but do not conceive it a Thing upon which *Spain* ought to be too ſtiff; ſince our *Guaranty* was the only ſtrong and ſolid *Renunciation* that could be made upon this Occaſion: And for the Aſſurance he deſired, of being aſſiſted in caſe of a Refuſal from *France*, I did not doubt but he had heard at leaſt the Subſtance of our ſecret Articles to that Purpoſe; becauſe their Ambaſſador at the *Hague* had told me, that a *Jew* of *Amſterdam* had ſent him a Copy of them, by which he muſt needs be well informed of our mutual Obligations, as well as of our Intentions not only to aſſiſt *Spain* in caſe of a Refuſal from *France*, but to engage our ſelves in the Quarrel, by an open War with all our Forces againſt that Crown.

After much Diſcourſe to this Purpoſe, I thought fit for his entire ſatisfaction upon the Article of our aſſiſting *Spain*; to let him know clearly, how far he might hope from us in the Point of the *Renunciation*, and to remove a Thought which *Don Eſtavan de Gamarra* had given him as coming from me, That there was ſomething in the Articles, by which it ſhould appear, that we would not force *Spain* in caſe of a Refuſal: For theſe Reaſons, I ſay, I thought good to read to him our three ſeparate Articles, without giving him a Copy; for

l'Hollande, & que les deux Nations armeroient de concert. Au reſte, voicy par où je reüſſis à vaincre ſa repugnance, & à obtenir ma demande; je luy dis qu'en attendant l'arrivée de pleinpouvoirs, il fit ſous le bon plaiſir de la Reine d'Eſpagne, & ad ratificandum, *la declaration ſur laquelle je le preſſois.*

A l'egard des conditions qu'il propoſe, voicy ce que je luy ay repondu; que pour les deux premieres, ſavoir la Renonciation & l'Equivalent, qu'il ſe pouvoit promettre de nos ſoins & de nos offices mutuels tout ce que nous pourrions obtenir de la France en faveur de l'Eſpagne; à quoy j'ay ajouté, qu'à l'egard de l'Equivalent, nôtre interêt commun demandoit qu'on preſsât cet Article, & qu'il fuſt accordé, afin qu'une plus forte barriere fuſt laiſsée entre la France & l'Hollande. Que pour ce qui regardoit la Renonciation, nous la deſirions auſſi; mais que nous ne croyons pas que ce fût une choſe ſur laquelle l'Eſpagne dût s'opiniâtrer; puiſque nôtre Guarrantie étoit l'unique ſureté & la ſeule ſolide Renonciation, ſur laquelle il fût ſeur de ſe repoſer en cette occaſion. Qu'à l'egard de l'aſſurance qu'il vouloit avoir d'un ſecours, en cas que la France refusât les Conditions; je ne doutois point qu'il n'eût été inſtruit, du moins en ſubſtance, du contenu de nos Articles ſecrets touchant ce point là; que l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne à la Haye m'avoit même dit, qu'un Juif d'Amſterdam luy en avoit fait tenir la copie, par où il devoit être aſſez inſtruit de nos engagemens mutuels, auſſi bien que de nos Intentions pour l'Eſpagne; qui êtoient, non ſeulement de l'aſſiſter en cas d'un refus de la part de la France, mais de nous engager dans ſa querelle, par la declaration d'une guerre ouverte en tournant toutes nos forces contre la France.

Aprés beaucoup de diſcours ſur cette matiere, j'ay trouvé à propos, afin de le ſatisfaire pleinement ſur l'Article de ſecours, pour luy faire evidemment ſentir juſqu'où il pouvoit conter ſur nous, dans l'affaire de Renonciation, auſſi bien que pour luy ôter la penſée que Don Eſtavan de Gamarra luy avoit donnée de ma part, que peut être y avoit-il quelque choſe dans les Articles par laquelle il paroitroit que nous ne voulions forcer l'Eſpagne en cas d'un refus: Pour toutes ces raiſons, dis-je, j'ay jugé à propos de luy lire nos trois Articles ſeparez, ſans luy en laiſſer la copie; car il me declara, qu'il ne

for he profeſs'd to me, that he never receiv'd one from the *Jews* though he did the Subſtance of them both from him, and the Baron *de Bargeyk*. I do not know whether I did well in ſhewing them to him; but if you think otherwiſe, I hope you will excuſe me upon my good Intentions, and my uſual plain dealing, to inform freely thoſe I treat with, of what they have to hope or to fear. The *Marquis* took no Offence at our two firſt Articles; and only ſaid, He could not comprehend, why the *States* being newly Enemies to *Portugal*, and having ſtill a Controverſie with them, ſhould deſire ſo much to ſee them ſtrengthened by a Peace with *Spain*. I told him, my Opinion was, That they drove on this Affair, becauſe they believed, that without a Peace with *Portugal*, *Spain* would not recover it ſelf enough to make head againſt *France*, and reduce Affairs of *Chriſtendom* to the Balance that is neceſſary. He was ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and ſpoke no more of the Buſineſs of the *Renunciation*: But, upon that of the *Aſſiſtance* we promis'd; he ſaid, that the Words of the third Article were ſtrong enough, but in too general Terms; and that after he ſhould have accepted the *Alternative*, *France* might yet, during the next Month, or *April*, make ſome Enterprizes upon the Places on this ſide, before the new Levies could be raiſed, and take ſome of them, if he were not furniſhed with three or four thouſand Foot, which might be eaſily done from *Holland*: And though I told him, that we could not concert farther with him before he had accepted the *Alternative*, and by that means caſt the Refuſal upon *France*, and by conſequence, the Force of our Arms in caſe of a War, which we could not declare till we were aſſur'd upon which Side the Refuſal would lye; for all that, he would not be ſatiſfied till I had writ you that Letter; from which however, I look'd for no other effect, than to let him underſtand from you, what he had already learnt enough from me.

ne qu'il avoit point reçus de ſon Juif, mais qu'il en avoit vû la ſubſtance, & que c'étoit par le canal de ce Juif & du Baron de Bergeyck. Je ne ſçay pas ſi j'ay bien fait en les luy montrant; mais en cas que vous jugiez le contraire, j'eſpere que vous m'excuſerez toujours en faveur de mes bonnes Intentions, qui m'ont toujours porté à declarer ouvertement à ceux avec que je traite, tous les ſujets qu'ils ont de craindre & d'eſperer. Le Marquis ne ſe formaliſa pas de nos deux premiers Articles; il dit ſeulement, qu'il ne peut comprendre pourquoy les Etats qui etoient n'agueres ennemis de Portugal, & à qui il reſte encore des choſes à demeler avec luy, ſouhaitoient ſi fort de voir accroître leurs forces par une paix avec l'Eſpagne: Je luy dit que ma penſée etoit, qu'ils preſſoient cette Affaire, parce qu'ils croyoient que ſans la paix avec le Portugal, l'Eſpagnol ne ſe verroit jamais en etat de faire tête à la France, & de donner par ce moyen aux Affaires de la Chretienté le juſte equilibre qu'elles doivent avoir. Il ſe contenta de cela, & ne parla plus de l'affaire de la Renonciation. Mais à l'egard de ſecours que nous promettions, il me dit, que les termes de l'Article troiſieme etoient aſſez forts, mais trop generaux; & qu'aprés qu'ils auroient accepté l'Alternative, la France pourroit encore pendant les Mois de Mars & d'Avril, faire quelques tentatives ſur les Villes du Païs Bas; que les nouvelles levées nous pourroient encore être ſur pied; & que la Flandre ſe verroit enlever quelqu' une de ſes places, ſi elle n'etoit munie de trois ou quatre mille Hommes de Pied, & qu'il etoit facile à la Hollande de les fournir. Quoyque j'aye pris le ſoin de luy repeter, que nous ne pouvions entrer en aucune Negotiation avec luy, avant qu'il eut accepté l'Alternative, que par là le refus retomberoit ſur la France, & que par conſequent elle s'attireroit toutes nos forces ſur les bras en cas de guerre; qu'enfin ces forces ne pouvoient faire de demarches juſqu'à ce qu'on eut ſçu de quel côté ſeroit le refus. Tout cela ne le ſatisfit pas, & il ne parut point content que je ne vous euſſe ecrit la Lettre qui à precedé celle cy, de laquelle pourtant je n'attendois pas d'autre effet que de luy faire voir par vôtre propre Plume, ce qu'il avoit deja aſſez appris par ma bouche.

On Sunday Morning your Deputies arrived, and we had a joint Audience with the *Marquis*, whereof they will ſend you an Account. I ſhall only tell you, That as we preſs'd him very much upon the *Alternative*, and he on the contrary preſs'd us to a Concert for the Defence of *Flanders*, and in the mean while to make our Preparations for War; I told him thereupon, & what Preparations the King my Maſter had already made, and thoſe alſo made by the *States* on their ſide; but I deſir'd him by his declaring himſelf upon the *Alternative*, to let us know againſt which of the two Parties ſuch great Preparations muſt be employ'd. I leave it to your Deputies to entertain you with an Account of the long Diſcourſes he made upon this occaſion, which however were moderate enough towards our common Intentions. But we finiſh'd them all, by giving him a Memorial to the ſame Effect with what we had told him; upon which having received an Anſwer yeſterday in the Evening, we diſpatch'd it away this Morning to the Miniſters at *Paris*, to forward the Suſpenſion of Arms, if poſſible, by our accepting the Truce propoſed by *France*, to the end of *March*.

Yeſterday came Letters from *Spain*: And tho' I have not ſeen the *Marquis* ſince, (who went early this Morning for *Bruſſels*) yet, by what I have learnt from other Hands, I have reaſon to think, that *Don Juan* may be at preſent upon his Journey hither, and perhaps at Sea, and that he brings along with him conſiderable Supplies both of men and Money. The Talk runs, that he has eight thouſand *Spaniards*, ſix hundred thouſand Crowns in Specie, and eight hundred thouſand in Returns. But of theſe Particulars I cannot aſſure you at preſent. I have already inform'd your Deputies more at large in what I have learnt upon the Subject of *Don Juan*; as I ſhall continually do before-hand of all things that I think you would be glad to know from hence: And I believe they will tell you, That there is no need

Le Dimanche au matin Meſſieurs vos Deputez arriverent, & nous eumes conjointement nôtre audience du Marquis; c'eſt de quoy ils vous rendront conte; je vous diray ſeulement, que comme nous l'avons fort preſſé ſur l'Alternative, & que luy au contraire, ne nous a parlé & n'a inſiſté que ſur un Concert pour ſa defenſe, nous propoſant de faire tous nos preparatifs pour la guerre en attendant; je luy ay parlé de ceux que le Roy mon Maitre faiſoit deja, & de ceux que les Etats faiſoient auſſi de leur côté; je l'ay prié de nous apprendre en ſe declarant ſur l'Alternative, contre lequel de deux partias il faudroit employer de ſi grands prepamalifs. Je laiſſe à Meſſieurs vos Deputez le ſoin de vous entretenir du Detail de la Conferente, qui fut longue, & dans laquelle le Marquis parla ſouvent & long tems, mais toujours d'une maniere aſſez moderée, & qui ne paroiſſoit point s'eloigner de nos communes Intentions. Notre audience s'eſt conclue par la Preſentation d'un memoire que nous luy avons remis, & qui contenoit en ſubſtance les choſes que nous étions chargé de luy dire. Notre memoire ayant été repondu hier au ſoir, nous avons envoyé ce matin la réponſe aux Miniſtres qui ſont à Paris, & cela dans la veue de faire reüſſir, s'il eſt poſſible, la ſuſpenſion d'Armes; qui ſelon toutes les apparences ne ſera pas long tems differée, des qu'on aura appris en France, que la treve qu'elle a propoſée juſqu'à la fin de Mars vient d'etre acceptée.

Il arriva hier des Lettres d'Eſpagne, & quoyque je n'ay pas vû le Marquis depuis qu'il a reçeu ſes depeches (car il à parti ce matin de la pointe de jour pour Bruſſelles) j'ay pourtant lieu de conclure de tout ce que j'ay appris d'ailleurs, que Don Juan eſt enfin parti, & même deja embarqué pour ſe rendre en ce païs-cy, & qu'il a mené avec luy des ſecours conſiderables & d'Hommes, & d'Argent; le bruit court, que les Troupes conſiſtent en 8000 Eſpagnols, que l'Argent ſe monte à 600000 ecus en eſpeces, & en 800000 écus de remiſes. Mais en vous ecrivant ces particularitez je ne pretens vous apprendre encore rien de certain. J'ay dit dans un plus grand detail, à Meſſieurs vos Deputez, ce que j'avois appris touchant Don Juan; & à l'avenir je ſeray toujours preſt à leur declarer toutes les choſes que je croiray que vous ſerez bien aiſe que vous ſoient mandées

need to deſire me to uſe them with all Confidence, whereof they have already receiv'd Proofs enough ſince we met here: And they will be in every thing the more acceptable to me, by how much I ſee they are in eſteem with you, and in Credit with the *States*, as indeed they deſerve both from their Qualities and their Perſons.

Pray give me the Liberty to deſire you will ſend a Copy of this Letter to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *London*, with Directions to ſhew it to my Lord *Arlington*; becauſe I cannot ſo well truſt the *Nieuport* Pacquet, too much expos'd to the Inſpection of the *French*; and I am not yet ſo perfect in my Cipher as to write long Letters in it upon theſe Affairs.

I deſire you will remember me to my Friends at the *Hague*, and believe me, as much as any Man in the World,

Sir,

Your, &c.

mandées d'icy. Je me flate qu'ils vous diront qu'il n'eſt pas neceſſaire de me prier de me communiquer, & de m'ouvrir à eux avec toute ſorte de confiance, puiſque je leur en ay déja donné des preuves depuis que nous nous ſommes raſſemblez icy. Leur entretien & leurs perſonnes me ſeront d'autant plus agreables, que je vois qu'avec vôtre eſtime ils ont auſſi l'eſtime & la confiance de Meſſieurs des Etats; c'eſt une juſtice renduë à leur merite & à leurs qualitez perſonnelles.

M'accordez vous la liberté de vous prier d'envoyer une copie de cette Lettre aux Ambaſſadeurs d'Hollande à Londres, avec ordre de la faire voir à Milord Arlington; car je me defie extremement du courier de Nieuport, trop exposé à la rencontre des François, & je ne ſuis pas encore aſſez grand Maître dans mon chiffre, pour m'en ſervir dans les affaires d'un auſſi long detail.

Je vous prie de m'aider à me conſerver dans le ſouvenir de mes amis de la Haye, & de me croire toujours, & autant que perſonne du monde,

Monſieur,

Vôtre humble & tres
affectionné Serviteur.

The Memorial given to the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo. Febr. 1668.

My Lord,

THE under-ſigned Reſident of the King of *Great Britain*, and the Deputies Extraordinary of the *States General* of the *United Netherlands*, find themſelves obliged to repreſent to your Excellency, That his Majeſty and their High and Mightineſſes have lately concluded a Treaty, by which they have not only provided for their proper Security, but alſo for the Peace and Quiet of *Chriſtendom*, in caſe their Neighbours proceed in it with the ſame good Intentions wherewith the ſaid Allies have begun this Affair: His ſaid Majeſty and their High and Mightineſſes, for the better perfecting ſo Chriſtian a Work, having given Orders to their Miniſters reſiding at the Courts of both

Memoire au Marquis de Caſtel Rodrigo. Anvers. Fevr. 1668.

Monſieur,

LES *ſous-ſignez Reſident de la Grande Bretagne, & les Deputez extraordinaires des Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies de Païs Bas ſe trouvent obligez de repreſenter à V. E. que ſa Majeſté & leurs Hautes Puiſſances ayant depuis peu conclus un traité, par lequel ils n'ont pas ſeulement pourvû à leur propre ſureté, mais auſſi à la paix & repos de la Chrêtienté, en cas que leurs voiſins y procedant avec les mêmes bonnes intentions dont les dits Alliez ont entamé cette affaire, ſa dite Majeſté & leurs Hautes Puiſſances, pour mieux acheminer un ouvrage ſi Chrêtien, ont donné ordres à leurs Miniſtres auprés de deux Couronnes à preſent en guerre, de tacher par tous moyens, & par un* Concert *commun de diſpoſer les dites deux Couronnes*

both Kings at preſent in War, to endeavour by all Means, and by a common *Concert*, to diſpoſe both the ſaid Kings to accept the Means propoſed by the ſaid Allies, as the readieſt and moſt neceſſary for arriving at ſo happy an End; that is to ſay, to accept the Peace upon the *Alternative* already propoſed: And (to prevent the Accidents that may intervene to hinder the Progreſs of the Treaty) to conſent alſo immediately to a Truce till the end of *March*, and in the mean while to ſend their Plenipotentiaries to *Aix la Chapelle*, furniſh'd with Inſtructions and Powers, neceſſary to treat and conclude a Peace upon the ſaid *Alternative*; that the Fire at preſent kindled, and whereof in all appearance the Sparks are ready to fly through the greateſt part of *Chriſtendom*, may be ſoon extinguiſh'd, and give place to a general and laſting Peace, to the Safety of all thoſe who find themſelves engaged in the ſaid Effects or Conſequences of the preſent War.

The ſaid Reſident and Deputies extraordinary are more particularly obliged by the Orders of their Maſters, to repreſent to your Excellency, how glorious it will be to you, how advantagious to the common Ends of the Peace, and how neceſſary for preſerving to *Spain* the Remainder of *Flanders*; that your Excellency by virtue of your Powers, would make the firſt Step in this great Affair, by conſenting readily to the ſaid *Alternative*, and to the ſaid Truce, and to the diſpatching of the ſaid Plenipotentiaries to *Aix la Chapelle*; and for the better entring into this Negotiation, and the ſaid Truce, that your Excellency will declare immediately your Acceptation of the Truce, which the moſt Chriſtian King has propoſed, from the 18th of *November* to the laſt of *March*, 1668. And upon all theſe Points, the ſaid Reſident and Deputies extraordinary, do pray your Excellency with all poſſible Inſtances to give them a ſpeedy and plain Anſwer, agreeable to the good and holy Diſpoſitions wherewith his Majeſty and their *High and Mightineſſes* have begun and purſued this glorious and *Chriſtian* Deſign of a general Peace.

ronnes à accepter les moyens propoſez par les dits Alliez, comme les plus prompts & les plus neceſſaires pour arriver à une fin ſi heureuſe; c'eſt à dire, de conſentir à la paix ſur l'Alternative deja propoſée; & (pour prevenir les accidens qui pourront ſurvenir pour empecher le progrés du traité) de conſentir auſſi promptement à une treve juſqu'à la fin du mois de Mars, & en attendant, d'envoyer leurs Plenipotentiaries à la Ville d'Aix la Chapelle, munis des Inſtructions & de pouvoirs requis pour y traiter & conclure la Paix ſur la dite Alternative, afin que le feu qui ſe voit à preſent allumé, & duquel les eſtincelles ſe vont en apparence jetter dans la plus grande part de la Chretienté, ſe puiſſe bientôt etouffer; & faire place à une paix generale, durable & ſalutaire à tous ceux qui ſe trouvent envellopés ou dans les effets ou dans les conſequences funeſtes de la guerre preſente.

Les dits Reſident & les Deputez Extraordinaires ſe trouvent plus particulierement obligés par les ordres de leurs Maitres, de repreſenter à V. E. combien il luy ſera glorieux, & avantageux à la fin commune de la paix, & neceſſaire à la conſervation de ce qui reſte à l'Eſpagne dans les Pais Bas; que V. E. en vertu de ſes pouvoirs faſſe le premier pas dans cette grande affaire, en conſentant promptement à la dite Alternative, & à la dite Treve, & à la depeche des dits Plenipotentiaires à la Ville d'Aix la Chapelle: Et auſſi pour mieux acheminer cette Negotiation & la dite Treve, que V. E. ſe declare promptement d'accepter la treve que ſa Majeſté Tres Chretienne a propoſée le 18 Novembre 1667, juſqu'au dernier jour de Mars 1668. Et ſur tous ces points les dits Reſidents, & les Deputez Extraordinaires ſe trouvent obligés de prier V. E. avec toutes les inſtances poſſibles, de leur donner une reponſe prompte, nette & agreable aux bonnes & ſaintes diſpoſitions avec leſquelles ſa Majeſté & leurs Hautes Puiſſances ont entamé & pourſuivi ce deſſein glorieux & Chretien de la Paix commune.

To my Lord Hallifax.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, March* 2. *N. S.* 1668.

IT would be a difficult thing to anſwer a Letter I receiv'd lately from your Lordſhip, if it could be ever difficult for me to do a Duty where I owe it ſo much, and pay it ſo willingly. The Reflections I make upon what you ſay, and what I hear from other Hands of the ſame kind, carry me only to conſider how much by chance, and how unequally *Perſons* and *Things* are judged at a diſtance; and make me apprehend from ſo much more Applauſe than is my Due upon this Occaſion, that upon the next I may meet with as much more Blame than I deſerve; as one ſeldom has a great Run of Cards which is not followed by an ill one, at leaſt Gameſters that are no luckier than I. It is not my Part to undeceive People, that will make my Succeſſes paſs for Merit or Ability; but for my Friends, I would not cheat them to my Advantage it ſelf; and therefore will tell you the Secret of all that has ſeemed ſo ſurprizing in my Negotiation; which is, that Things drawn out of their Centre, are not to be moved without much Force, or Skill or Time; but to make them return to their Centre again, there is required but little of either, for Nature it ſelf does the Work. The true Centre of our two Nations, now ſo near ally'd, is where they now are ſeated; and nothing was in the way of their returning thither, but the extreme Jealouſies grown between the Miniſters on both ſides, and from thence diffuſed among the People; and this it was my good luck to cure, by falling into a great Confidence with Monſieur *de Witt*, which made all the reſt eaſy: And there is the whole Story; that you may ſee how much you are either byaſs'd or miſtaken in all the reſt you ſay of it. For what you mention of Reward, I know not how it came into your Head, but I am ſure it never enter'd into mine, nor, I dare ſay, into any Bodies elſe. I will confeſs to you, that conſidering the Approbation and good Opinion which his Majeſty, and ſome conſiderable enough about him, have been abuſed into, by my good Fortune in this Buſineſs, I think, a wiſer Man might poſſibly make ſome Benefit of it, and ſome of my Friends have adviſed me to attempt it, but it is in vain: For I know not how to aſk, nor why, and this is not an Age, where any thing is given without it. And by that time you ſee me next, you ſhall find all this which was ſo much in Talk to my Advantage for nine Days, as much forgotten as if it had never been, and very juſtly, I think; for in that time it receiv'd a great deal more than its due, from many other Hands as well as from yours. This I tell you, that you may not deceive your ſelf by hoping to ſee me ever conſiderable, farther than in the Kindneſs of my Friends, and that your Lordſhip may do your Part to make me ſo in that, ſeeing me like to fail in all other ways. But as I remember, this is a Time with you for *good Speeches*, and not for *ill Letters*; I will therefore end this, to make you more room for the others, and hope that none of the Eloquence you are entertained with, can be more perſuaſive than a plain Truth, when I aſſure you that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt

Faithful Humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, March.* 2. *N.S.* 1668.

I AM ſorry his Majeſty ſhould meet with any thing he did not look for at the opening of this Seſſion of Parliament; but confeſs I do not ſee why his Majeſty ſhould not only conſent, but encourage any Enquiries or Diſquiſitions they deſire to make into the Miſcarriages of the late War, as well as he has done already in the matter of Accounts: For if it be not neceſſary, it is a King's Eaſe and Happineſs to content his People. I doubt, as Men will never part willingly with their Monies, unleſs they be well perſuaded it will be employ'd directly to thoſe Ends for which they gave it, ſo they will never be ſatisfy'd with a Government, unleſs they ſee Men are choſen into Offices and Employments by being fit for them; continued, for diſcharging them well, rewarded for extraordinary Merit, and puniſhed for remarkable Faults. Beſides, in theſe Caſes, his Majeſty diſcharges the Hardſhip and Severity of all Puniſhments upon the Parliament, and commits no Force upon the Gentleneſs of his own Nature, while his Subjects ſee that no Tenderneſs of their Prince, nor Corruption of Miniſters, can preſerve them long from paying what they owe to any Forfeits of their Duty. Nor indeed can any Prince do Juſtice to thoſe that ſerve him well, without puniſhing thoſe that ſerve him ill, ſince that is to make their Conditions equal, whoſe Deſerts are different. I ſhould not ſay this to any Perſon but your Lordſhip, to whom I know part of that Juſtice is due. But to ſay the Truth, the Progreſs and End of the laſt War went ſo much to my Heart, and I have heard ſo much lately from Monſieur *de Witte* concerning the Carriage of it on our ſide, eſpecially what fell under his Eye, while he was abroad in the Fleet, that I canot but think the Parliament may be excuſed for their Warmth in this Purſuit. But your Lordſhip can beſt diſcern by the Courſe of Debates, whether this proceeds from a ſteady Intention upon a general Good, or from ſome accidental Diſtempers, from which the greateſt and beſt Aſſemblies of Men are not always free, eſpecially when they have continued long together.

I beg your Lorſhip's Pardon for my Liberty in theſe Diſcourſes to which you were pleaſed to encourage me by hearing me ſo obligingly thoſe few Minutes I was allowed for ſuch Talk or Thoughts at my laſt being with you, and from the Senſe you then expreſſed of the abſolute Neceſſity there was for his Majeſty to fall into a perfect Intelligence with his Parliament, eſpecially being engaged into an Appearance of Action abroad by the Force of this preſent Conjuncture.

I am ever, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR, *Bruſſels, March* 5. *N. S.* 1668.

ABOUT ten Days ſince I diſpatch'd away an Expreſs to you, (jointly with the Deputies of *Holland*) whereby we acquainted you and Monſieur *Bouningham*, that the Marquis *de Caſtel-Rodrigo* had accepted the Truce and Suſpenſion of Arms propoſed ſome time ſince by *France*, until the End of *March*, as well as the other propoſed lately by his Majeſty and the *States General* until the End of *May*. We are in ſome Pain to have yet received no Account of his Arrival, but hope this Delay will be recompenſed by bringing us News of the Treaty's being accepted in the ſame Terms by that Court as well as by this. However, in caſe of any Scruple which may be raiſed there, for want of due Notice given of the Acceptation here, we now ſend you an Act of the Marquis *Caſtel-Rodrigo*, authorizing his Majeſty's and the *States* Miniſters at *Paris*, to manifeſt to that Court his Excellency's ſaid Acceptation, and thereupon to negotiate and conclude the ſame on that Side.

And, to the end that no Objection may be made by *France* againſt the preſent Expedition of this Truce, in order to an enſuing Treaty and Peace, we ſend you likewiſe by this Expreſs the Marquis's laſt Anſwer to our Inſtances yeſterday made for the Acceptation alſo of the Alternative, which is ſo full and ſo direct to the Ends of our late Treaty, that we have now nothing left to do on this Side, the Remainder of the whole Negotiation lying on your Parts at *Paris*, which we are here very much pleaſed with, ſeeing it is devolved to ſo much abler Hands. I hope you will place the whole Strength of his Majeſty's and the *States General*'s Credit in that Court upon an immediate Conſent to the Suſpenſion of Arms, knowing how dangerous all new Accidents may prove to the fair Hopes and Proſpect in which we are at preſent of a Peace; and withal how far his Majeſty and the *States* are engaged to take part in any Action that ſhall begin after the Marquis's accepting the Alternative, as well as all other Points of their late Project for bringing about ſo happy an End.

For a good Preſage of this greater Peace, we received here the News of that of *Portugal*, the very Evening which brought us ſo happily the Marquis's Anſwer upon the Alternative, which has ſo much raiſed the Hearts of the *Spaniards* here, that we are likely to have leſs Thanks for preſſing them ſo far to a prejudicial Peace, as they eſteem it on this ſide: But ſince they are already obliged, it will depend wholly upon *France* to hinder the Concluſion of this in the ſame Seaſon with the other; which I will believe them too wiſe to do, as well as too conſtant to the Aſſurances they have already given his Majeſty, the *States*, and ſeveral other Princes in this Point; of which the immediate conſenting to a Suſpenſion of Arms will ſhew the Meaning and Effect.

I ſhall no farther increaſe your preſent Trouble, than by the Profeſſions of my being,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant.

To the Count de Molina, *Spaniſh Ambaſſador at* London.

My Lord, *March* 7. 1668.

YOUR Excellence cannot doubt of my Satisfaction in arriving at *Bruſſels*, to find my ſelf there immediately poſſeſs'd of your Letter with the incloſed Paper; tho' the News of your Health was more neceſſary to me, than that of the Unreaſonableneſs of one of your Neighbours, and true Intereſts of the others, which I find ſo well deſcribed there. But the beſt Ink in the World is not a Balſam that can cure ſuch Wounds; they muſt find their Remedy from more powerful Medicines, which the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* has given us Reaſon to hope, if *France* will ſtill chuſe rather to fall out with all the World, than to make a Peace ſo much to their own Advantage as that we offer them. At leaſt it is certain, that your Excellency with a Stroak of your Pen, has brought to Light the moſt covered Deſigns

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Al Conde de Molina.

Sennor Mio, 7 *Marco* 1668.

NO *puede V. E. dudar del guſto que he tenido enllegar a Bruſſelleus, aviendome yo allado a qui con ſu carta en las manos con le quaderno adjunto, aunque a mi era mucho mas neceſſaria la noticia de ſu ſalud de V. E. que no de la ſinrazon de uno ſuyo vezino ny del interez verdadero de los otros, que van muy bien traçados en el dicho quaderno; Pero la mejor tinta del mondo no es balſamo boſtante para curar tales heridas, y es meneſter remedios mas fuertes, a los quales la prudencia del Sennor Marques de Caſtel Rodrigo a dado lugar, ſi la Francia par ſus peccados mas quiſiere la guerra con todo el mondo, que no la poz avantajada que la hemos offrecido: a lo menos ſe puede dezir que S. E. con un raſyo de pluma a ſacado en luz los deſinios mas encubiertos de ſus enimigos, a dado a los intereſſados el mas claro deſſenganno, y pueſto las coſas de Flandes*

Deſigns of your Enemies, undeceived with the greateſt Clearneſs of your Friends, and put *Flanders* under the ſecureſt Protection; of which I cannot help rejoicing with you as the Author. For what relates to Father *Patrick*, how much ſoever I concern my ſelf in his Fortunes, I do not yet ſee any way that it can be in my Power to ſerve him on this Occaſion; the laſt *French* Conqueſts having determined the Diſpute between the Abbot *Arnolphino* and the Marquis of *Baden*, about the Abby *de la Charité*. But the Marquis *de Caſtel-Rodrigo* has aſſured me, he will find ſome other way of ſhewing the Eſteem he has both for the Merits and Perſon of Father *Patrick*, to whom I hope your Excellency will do me Juſtice, having endeavoured (though without Succeſs by this unhappy Conjuncture) all that lay in my Power to ſerve him.

I kiſs your Excellency's Hands,

and am yours, &c.

Flandes debaxodel amparo mas fuerte que ſe podia buſcar, de que no me puedo impedir de dar a V. E. la enorabuena. Por intereſſado que ſoy en los aumentos del Padre Patricio, no veo come ſara poſſible ſorvirle mas en eſta occaſion; aviendo la Francia con ſu poſtrera conquiſta determinada el pleyto entre el Abad Arnolfin y el Marques de Baden, en la de la Abadia de la caridad. Pero el Sennor Marques me ha prometido con muchos veras de hallar otra manera di manifeſtar en quanto ſtima la perſonna y los meritos del dicho padre, a quien V. E. me ha de juſtifiar por averme empennado quanto era poſſible en ſuo negotio aunque faltado en alcancarle por la deſdicha de las coyunturas.

B. L. M. D. V. E.

Su Mayor Servidor.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, March* 13. *N. S.* 1668.

THE laſt Poſt brought me none from *England*, nor has this Week as yet brought me any from *Spain*; ſo that 'tis *France* only at this time that entertains us. The Diſpatch return'd us late laſt Night from Sir *John Trevor* upon the Point of the *Alternative*, has given the Town here occaſion to talk of the Peace as a thing done, though I know not yet what the Marquis ſays to it, having not ſeen him ſince; but think it poſſible he may be as much ſurprized with their Acceptation, as Sir *John Trevor* ſays, *they* were with his. It ſeems plain to me that *France* deſires to purſue the War, but fears our engaging in it; and to hinder that, will uſe all the Addreſs that can be to lay the Obſtruction of Peace upon the *Spaniards*. They on the other Side deſire to continue the War, provided they may be ſure of our and *Holland*'s Aſſiſtance; and to that End, if they play their Game well, they will be ſure to retort the Addreſs of *France* upon them, and lay the Blame of the War at their Doors, without which they have no Hopes of *Holland*'s falling into their Party; who whether they are partial to the *French* or no in this Quarrel, are certainly partial to the Peace, and will not be drawn to ſhare in the War but upon the laſt Neceſſity. Therefore my Buſineſs will be at preſent, to induce the Marquis to clear thoſe two Scruples made by the *French* upon his Powers, and the Choice of one or other of the *Alternatives*; in which I know not what Succeſs I am like to have after ſo many Advances made already as he conceives on his ſide, and ſo near *Don John*'s Arrival, at leaſt according to the preſent Reckoning here, which perſuades us that he parted from *Madrid* upon the 22d paſt.

I know your Lordſhip has the ſame Papers I received from Sir *John Trevor*, and from what occurs upon them here, I beg your Lordſhip's Leave that I may this once refer you to the encloſed Copy of my Letter this Evening to him upon that Subject, having not Time left me to repeat it here ſo at large as I ought to do.

The Truth is, I never had ſo hard a Part upon me as I have at this Time, to keep all in good Temper between the Marquis and the Deputies of *Holland:* For beſides, that their Ends may perhaps be a little different, their Complexions are extremely *ſo:* He is not the eaſieſt of Acceſs, nor the quickeſt of Diſpatch; and his Officers are at the ſame rate. The *Dutch* Deputies are all upon the Spur; and when they demand an Audience or a Paper, if they have it not within an half an Hour, they ſay, the Marquis *Se mocque d'eux, & Ils ſe trouvent obligez de l'eſcrire ce Soir aux Eſtats, & que le Marquis ne cherche que des Retardements, & par la' de les engager dans la Guerre.* When they receive Orders to move the Marquis in any Particular, they muſt have it granted the firſt time it falls in Diſcourſe, and in the very ſame Form and Words it runs in their Letters; and think the Marquis ought to obſerve the *States* Order and Directions as punctually as they; and will reaſon him to the Death upon every Point. The Marquis, who uſes to owe no Man any thing in that kind, grows ten times more difficult by that time they have talk'd an Hour, than he was at firſt; and engaging in large Diſcourſes, gives them twenty Occaſions of growing *warm* upon the Place, and *wiſe* afterwards by Interpretations, that, God knows, were never in the Caſe; ſo that in their Audiences, between the Marquis's Eloquence and their *Leyden* Philoſophy, the Cards commonly run high, and all is *Picque* and *Repicque* between them; and I am to go to one and t'other next Day to ſet all right again, and endeavour to make them agree aſunder upon Points which they could by no means agree upon together. But if I go on, I ſhall weary your Lordſhip as much as they weary me: And therefore I ſhall break off this Letter with telling you only, that the Talk here is of an Attempt for the Relief of *Genap*, and that the Horſe are drawing together for that Purpoſe; with what Succeſs I know not, but am ſure the *French* deſerve none there, for continuing an Attempt ſo long after the Suſpenſion of all Enterprizes was accorded.

I am ever, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR, *Bruſſels, March* 13. *S. N.* 1668.

I AM two Letters in your Debt ſince my laſt by the Ordinary, one of the 8th, the other of the 12th; but I muſt needs ſay that your laſt has left you nothing in mine. That King's Anſwer is full and fair in my Apprehenſion, what it will appear in the Marquis's I know not: For ſince that Court cavils at his Acceptation of the *Alternative*, and calls it captious, I know not whether he may not have his Revenge at theirs. Beſides, Monſieur *Lionne's* Letter I confeſs looks of a very different Style from his Maſter's, and, in my Judgment, artificial: Nor do I underſtand great Miniſters reaſoning upon the Intentions of Crowns, rather from common Report, from Paſſages of private Mens Letters, or of Books made for Argument, than from the open and poſitive Declaration of Miniſters, who ought to know their Powers beſt, and how to uſe them. Beſides, they give the *Spaniards* very fair Play againſt them in this kind of War, by an Action I am very much unſatisfied in, which is, beginning and continuing the Siege of *Genap*, about four Leagues from hence, now the eighth Day after the Accord granted by *France* for the Suſpenſion of Arms, notwithſtanding our Signification of it to the Commander of thoſe Troops; Beſides the ſeizing of another Caſtle five Days after the ſaid Accord, though the Courier came in two Days from *Paris*, and the ſame Haſte might as eaſily have been made upon the other Errand. In ſhort, if *France* pretends to be believed here, they muſt give *Deeds* as well as *Words*; and will ſhew the Sincerity of their Intentions for Peace, by conſenting to the Truce till the end of *May*, accepted already here; ſince if there ſhould be any Defect in the Marquis's Powers, it may be eaſily ſupplied with a little Time, and any Delay in the Choice of the *Alternative* repaired. In the mean while I will hope by the next Courier to give you Satisfaction in thoſe Points; for I neither know why the Marquis ſhould be difficult in making his Choice upon the *Alternative*, or expoſing the material Clauſes of his Powers, which I will aſſure you are as full, in my Apprehenſion, as can be granted. In the mean time, this Courier goes to you with a Duplicate of Monſieur *Colbert*'s Paſs, (which was ſent ſome time ſince to the *Internuncio* at *Aix*) with the Orders ſent out for the Suſpenſion of Arms, and with the Marquis's naming a Day for the Baron *de Bergeyck*'s coming to *Aix*, in caſe Monſieur *Colbert* can be ready in that time; tho' I do not ſee how the Treaty can begin till his Majeſty's and the *States* Miniſters can be there, as well as two Principals; and in that regard as well as many others, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to obtain *France*'s Conſent to the Truce, if they would have us believe they intend the Peace, and in the mean time to procure Orders for the Suſpenſion of Arms before *Genap*, as well as all other Places.

To Morrow I expect an Audience upon the Choice of the *Alternative*; tho' I confeſs I did not think, any more than the Marquis, that ſuch Declaration was neceſſary before the Miniſters meeting at *Aix*; but the Compliance muſt be on the weaker ſide, and to that Purpoſe I ſhall uſe my beſt Endeavours, and remain,

S I R, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels*, *Mar.* 16. *N. S.* 1668.

BY your Lordſhip's of the 28th paſt, I am put out of Pain for the *Merlin* Yatch, and Return of the Ratification upon the laſt Treaty. The Error in the Forms of the preceding Inſtruments ſent over for his Majeſty's Ratification, was, I ſuppoſe, occaſioned, as your Lordſhip ſays, by the Omiſſion of ſigning both Parts, which I confeſs was offered me by the *Dutch* Commiſſioners, but being unpractiſed in thoſe Forms, I choſe to follow the Ambaſſador's Example at *Breda*, who ſigned but one.

Your Lordſhip ſees how ill a Miniſter I am likely to make, if ever I muſt enter upon new Forms, or a Character that requires being more punctual in them. I ſhall however ſay no more in anſwer to what your Lordſhip has hinted to me about the Journey to *Aix*, having written from *Antwerp* all that occurred to me upon it: after which I know very well, it becomes me to leave all to the King's Pleaſure. I have asked the Marquis, with what Character he will ſend the Baron *de Bergeyck*; he ſays, in Quality of *Plenipotentiary*, but in the reſt, with Power to take upon him that Character the *French* Miniſter ſhall aſſume. He plainly acknowledges that in Right he cannot ſend any Man with the Title of an *Ambaſſador*, which lies only between two Sovereigns; and I know not why the Character of *Plenipotentiary* may not agree with that of *Envoy Extraordinary* on all Hands. But the Light in this Point muſt be drawn from *France*, and not from this Place.

Laſt Night at an Audience jointly with the *Dutch* Deputies (which I had diſpoſed in the Morning with the Marquis, and with Difficulty enough) his Excellency was content to declare his Choice of the *Alternative*, which was to leave *France* their Conqueſt of laſt Campaign, and likewiſe to promiſe us a Tranſcription of the moſt material Clauſes: both to be ſent to Sir *John Trevor* and Mr. *Van Beuninghen* at *Paris*, to enable them to give that Court Satiſfaction upon their laſt Objections againſt the Marquis's Acceptation of the *Alternative*. So that we have now gained the utmoſt Point that can be deſired here in purſuit of our Treaty, and muſt leave the reſt upon their Hands at *Paris*.

The Marquis took occaſion at the ſame time to complain hard of the *French* breaking the Suſpenſion by the Attempt upon *Genap*, which was yielded to them two Days ſince upon Conditions, after a large Breach with their Cannon,

non, and ſeems to be deſigned for a Poſt to block up this Town, which they would certainly do if they could poſſeſs themſelves of *Terveur* and *Vilvorde*; the firſt being an abandoned Place, and the ſecond not tenable without Forces to relieve it. I do not ſee how his Majeſty and the *States* can refuſe to oblige *France* to reſtore *Genap* within the time of the Suſpenſion, ſince no Pretence of Miſtake or Delay in the Orders can appear at all ſincere without the Reſtitution, the Siege continuing to the eighth Day after the Accord made for the Suſpenſion at *Paris*.

The Marquis ſeems to apprehend, that the Effects of our having obtained from him all that *France* can demand in purſuit of their former Propoſals, or we in purſuit of our Treaty, will be a ſudden throwing off the Mask on the *French* ſide, and making what Advances they can in the War before we and *Holland* are in Poſture to enter upon Defence of this Country, and therefore preſſes all that can be, our arming, and concerting how to proceed in ſuch a Caſe: And I ſuppoſe his Majeſty may think fit to encourage *Holland* that is ſo near, and already armed, to furniſh them here with three or four thouſand Foot, for Defence of their Towns upon the firſt Motions of the *French* to attack any of them; with aſſurance that his Majeſty will fall into the ſame Courſe, with all poſſible Speed and Vigour, and in the ways that ſhall be concerted.

For the Supplies of Money from hence, I can yet ſay no more than in my former, though I omit no Inſtances upon that Subject: But I doubt in the preſent Poſture here, the King will loſe his Right, which they ſay will be, where nothing is. And I cannot yet find any thing drawn to a Concluſion in the Negotiation with *Holland* for the Money upon their Towns. The Marquis ſhewed me *Don Eſtavan's* laſt Letters yeſterday upon that Matter, which ſay, that the *Dutch* inſiſt peremptorily upon all the *Spaniards* hold in *Gelderland*, and beſides, upon *Damme* and two other Forts in *Flanders*. On the other ſide, the *Spaniards* are unwilling to conclude, if a Peace be like to enſue; by which means, parting from thoſe Places to the *Dutch*, and at the ſame time ſo many other to the *French*, would leave them hardly any thing here they would think worth their Pains to keep: So that the Concluſion of this Money-matter between them, will depend upon the *French* King's Anſwer to the Truce till the end of *May*, and fuller declaring the Continuance of his Satisfaction upon the *Alternative*; and even then I doubt it may be neceſſary for me to make a Journey into *Holland*, for the perfecting that Treaty between them and the Marquis, who has not yet found out the Perſons or Ways of treating to any purpoſe with them. In the mean time if I knew how far I might engage his Majeſty to arm in the Defence of theſe Countries, ſince *Spain* has accepted all we propoſe in our Treaty; I would endeavour to induce the Marquis to conclude a Treaty to that Purpoſe, and for furniſhing his Majeſty thereupon, with certain Sums at certain Times, thereby to make the Debt at leaſt from *Spain* a certain thing whenever the Money could be found. I hope to receive ſome Light from your Lordſhip upon this, in anſwer to a former of mine, and the mean while will prepare the Matter with the Marquis.

I am ſufficiently warned upon the Point of the *Pavilion*, and will hope his Majeſty's Conſtancy therein proceeds from a Reſolution to take thoſe Courſes and Councils which may make him as much feared abroad as any of his Anceſtors were, in whoſe time that Point was firſt gained; for without that, our Pretenſions will grow *vain* at preſent, and in time *obſolete*. In the mean while I hope ſome Expedient will be foreſeen, that may prevent the Inconveniencies or Unkindneſſes which may happen between us and the *Dutch* upon this Point in the preſent Conjuncture; and in caſe of Neceſſity, to join our Fleets. The Indignity offer'd us by *la Roche* in landing armed Men in *England*, and the reſt, ſeems the greateſt I have ever heard of that kind: And how far Moderation in reſenting and revenging Injuries, is a Virtue in a *Prince*, or a *State*, as well as in a private Chriſtian, I will not take upon me to judge. That which I know beſt is, that

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels*, *March* 20. *S. N.* 1668.

THE Day after the laſt *Engliſh* Pacquet's Arrival, I received your Lordſhip's of the 2d by the *Dutch* Reſident's Conveyance, which together with ſome Expreſſions I made out of your Letter, gave me occaſion to conclude that your Lordſhip at the writing of it believed me in *Holland*; I know not whether upon ſomething written by the Marquis or me, but that Journey I ſee, the Marquis would have depend upon the *French* Anſwer to our laſt Diſpatch, and their conſenting or refuſing the propoſed Truce till *May*, from which he ſuppoſes it will be eaſie to gueſs a Peace or a War. In the mean time I was in hopes to receive ſome particular Commands or Inſtructions for my Carriage in *Holland*, not deſiring to be left ſo much at large; and 'tis very poſſible I ought to have received them by your Lordſhip's laſt; but that new Cypher will at one time or other caſt me into Deſpair, for by all our Skill we cannot make out one Syllable of the two long Paragraphs; tho' making out the laſt ſhort one very eaſily, makes us ſee the Fault muſt be on the Writer's ſide, and I am apt to imagine the Exactneſs required to this Cypher, is more than can agree with the Haſte often neceſſary in your Lordſhip's Office; having obſerved frequent Miſtakes in the uſe of the old Cypher, which yet never hinder'd my Collection of the Senſe, whereas the leaſt of this is mortal to the whole Paragraph.

I cannot yet come to any Adjuſtment with the Marquis upon the chief Point recommended to me, though I have often fallen upon the Diſcourſe, and endeavoured to engage it farther by the offer of a Project I have drawn up to that purpoſe; but he aſſures me your Lordſhip is fallen upon it with the Count *de Molina* and Baron *de l' Iſola* in *England*, and when you have agreed it, will ſend it over hither for his Excellency to perfect; which I confeſs I think were the better way, ſince I am but very generally inſtructed in it: However, his Excellency deſired me this Morning to perfect the Draught I had projected, that in caſe we found it not concluded in *England*, it might be ended here.

I doubt, he will not be induced to part with what the *Dutch* demand in *Gelderland*, till he foreſees plainly an inevitable War; and till that Concluſion, or *Don John*'s Arrival, all will be Miſery here, what could be ſpared being gone out upon new Levies and Recruits, and the very *Spaniards* late arrived here, falling already into Want; which is a piece of Husbandry of all others I cannot underſtand, the old Troops every day diminiſhing as the new Levies advance. But they aſſure me, *Don John* brings with him in Bars a Million and a half of Crowns, and another Million and a half of the ſame Money in Remiſes; which is the Life of all Hopes here, though we cannot yet be certain of his having left *Madrid*; the laſt Letters of the 29th paſt mentioning his Indiſpoſition, at the ſame time with his Deſign of parting three Days after.

Your Lordſhip will have found that all I could uncypher in your laſt was already performed here, both upon the Choice of the *Alternative*, as well as Satisfaction in the Powers, and Diſpoſition of the Baron *Bergeyck*'s parting for *Aix*: However, I failed not to mind the Marquis of the laſt this very Morning; who aſſured me the Baron ſhould certainly be there by the Day appointed, which is the 27th of this Month, and that his Equipage was already well advanced; but however the compleating of it ſhould not hinder his Journey. The Baron tells me, that *France* upon deſigning Monſieur *Colbert*, declared his Character to be of *Ambaſſador Plenipotentiary*, with Reſerve of joining another to him as chief of the Ambaſſy in caſe of the Marquis's going, but that he (the Baron) knows not yet in what Quality he ſhall go, leaving it wholly to the Diſpoſition of the Marquis.

I have this Week a long and hearty Aſſurance from Monſieur *de Witt*, of the *States's* Reſolutions to purſue the Effects of our Treaty, with all the Vigour that can be; and for that end, of their having given the firſt Rendezvouz to their Army near *Bergen op Zoom*, from whence they may eaſily fall into the Defence of the *Spaniſh* Towns, upon the firſt Attempt of the *French* after they have refuſed the Peace; which they muſt now ſuddenly unmask themſelves in, one way or other, no farther Pretences being left, ſince our laſt *Friday* Pacquets, which were repeated by an Expreſs on *Sunday*, and ſhall go by another this Week for ſurety ſake; (and your Lordſhip may be aſſured we omit no Cautions, we can uſe, in the matter of our Diſpatches, of which none yet has failed us: The Suſpenſion of Enterprizes is owned by the *French* Commanders ſince the taking of *Genap*. So that there is little now that furniſhes Talk here, beſides the ſhameleſs Treaſon by which *Burgundy* was loſt, and of which, the Marquis *d' Yenne* the Governor, his Nephew the Count *de St. Amour*, and *Don John de Batteville* have chief Honour; the laſt being employ'd by the Marquis to treat with the *Switzers* for the Protection of that Countrey. The Villany and Foulneſs of this Action make the *Spaniards* ſay here, that a great King ſhould rather have ſent his *Lacquays*, than gone himſelf, to receive ſuch a Conqueſt.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, March 23. S. N. 1668.*

I Believe you may wonder on that ſide, as well as many do on this, both here and in *Holland*, at the Election the Marquis has lately made, of the *Alternative* offered by *France*, after ſo long a Deliberation, as might have ſerved him to make a wiſer Choice. For if *Spain* had parted with the County of *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Air*, and St. *Omer*; tho' they had furniſh'd *France* with a better Frontier, yet they had kept a good one for the reſt of theſe Countries on both ſides; whereas, parting with the late conquered Places, beſides their large Dependencies, which ſtreighten their Territories, that ſhould maintain their Armies; their whole Frontier is laid open on the ſide of *Flanders*, by the loſs of *Douay*, *Liſle*, and *Tournay*, and on the other ſide, by that of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, which leaves the *Spaniards* the open Towns of *Lovain* and *Bruſſels* for a Frontier on this ſide, and thoſe of *Ghent* and *Bruges* on the other; and the Countrey ſo pierced by the *French* Conqueſts, as what remains, will be the Work but of one Campagne, whenever the Councils or Forces of *England* and *Holland*, ſhall fail or delay to defend them.

The Reaſoners here pretend to ſay, that *Spain* could not part with the * *French County*, becauſe they muſt with it quit the Title they yet retain of * *Burgundy.* Dukes of *Burgundy*; and beſides, they would thereby loſe their Communication wholly with *Lorrain*, and in a great meaſure with the *Empire*: This laſt is indeed of weight, tho' the firſt be but airy. But neither of them, I take, to have determined the Marquis in his Choice; and having in various Conferences penetrated his inmoſt Thoughts upon this Subject, I judged it neceſſary to acquaint your Lordſhip with them; that his Majeſty knowing perfectly the Diſpoſitions of his Neighbours, may the better take his own Meaſures, in this great Conjuncture. But, to explain this Matter, I muſt run it up to the Original.

Your Lordſhip remembers, that after the *French* Invaſions and Succeſſes laſt Year in *Flanders*, and the Peace at *Breda*; when they found how much both *England* and *Holland* reſented the Progreſs of their Arms in *Flanders*; they ſent a Declaration to the *States General*, that they were willing to make a Peace with *Spain*, either upon *Spain's* quitting all their Right to the late conquered Places, or elſe to the County of *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Air*, and St.

Omers, and would leave to *Spain* the Choice of either of theſe *Alternatives*. The *Dutch* were perplexed what uſe to make of this Declaration, being frighted at the Danger of *Flanders*, but newly and faintly reconciled to *England*, and not knowing, how we would take the Invaſion of *Flanders*. In theſe Doubts I found them, when his Majeſty ſent me firſt to ſound their Intentions, and immediately after, to enter into Leagues with them, for our own mutual Defence, and that of *Flanders*. The King would have joined with them for the Recovery of all the *Spaniards* had loſt in *Flanders*, either by a Peace or a War. The Province of *Utrecht* was for this Reſolution; but the *Penſioner* and the other ſix Provinces were for accepting the Offer of the *Alternative* made by *France*, and obliging *Spain* to make their Choice, as well as *France* to ſtand by their own Propoſal. Upon theſe Terms the *Triple Alliance* was concluded, but with different Views, both of *Holland* and of *Spain*. The truth is, *Holland* was unwilling to break off their ancient Amity with *France*, and embark in a War, with the Conjunction of ſuch an old Enemy as *Spain*, and ſuch a new Friend as *England*. They reckoned on a Peace upon one of the *Alternatives*, and were ſollicitous only to preſerve *Flanders*, as a Frontier for *Holland* againſt *France*, without conſidering the Intereſts of *Spain* further than as they appeared to be their own. They reckoned certainly upon *Spain*'s chuſing to part with *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, &c. which lay far from *Holland*, and recovering the Towns they had loſt in *Flanders*, by which their Country would be left defenſible, at leaſt with the Aſſiſtances of *England* and *Holland*.

On the other ſide, *Spain*, though they profeſs'd the greateſt ſenſe that could be, of what they owed his Majeſty, upon the late generous Advances he had made in their Favour; yet they were enraged at *Holland*, for ſeconding ſo ill his Majeſty's Reſolutions, and turning it upon the Choice, only of an *Alternative*, by which the *Spaniards* were to loſe ſo great Territories, and part with their Right to them, inſtead of recovering the Poſſeſſion they had yet only loſt. They took it as the greateſt Indignity in the World, that *Holland* ſhould pretend to oblige the Crown of *Spain* to accept the very Conditions of *France*, after an Invaſion ſo unjuſt, as they eſteemed this laſt. They were at firſt upon the thoughts of parting with all they had in the *Low-Countries* to *France*, upon ſome equivalent on the ſide of *Spain*; and thereby both end the Charge of keeping *Flanders*, and be revenged upon the *Dutch*, by leaving them open and expoſed to the Neighbourhood of *France*. The Marquis once aſſured me, that moſt of the Council of *Spain* were for making this deſperate Peace; and that for his own part, he was inclin'd to it, tho' more out of ſpite to the *Dutch*, than what he thought was the true Intereſt of *Spain*. After ſome Pauſe, this heat of the *Spaniards* began to cool: They ſaw the *Spaniſh* Crown, by parting with *Flanders*, muſt abandon all Commerce with the Princes and States on this ſide that Country; and that upon a new War with *France*, about the Succeſſion, they ſhould have no way left of diverting the *French* Forces from falling upon *Spain* it ſelf. And ſo, with much ado, they reſolved to accept the *Alternative*; but left the Choice to the Marquis here, as beſt inſightned in all the Intereſts of *Flanders*, as well as the Diſpoſitions of their Neighbours.

The Marquis hated the Peace, upon either of the *Alternatives*, and deſired nothing but the continuance of the War, with the Aſſiſtance of *England* and *Holland*, to which he ſaw his Majeſty inclinable, and thought the *States* would be induced to, rather than venture an Agreement between *Spain* and *France*, for the Exchange of *Flanders*: He thought, that if they yielded *Burgundy* and the remote Frontiers, *Holland* would be ſecure, and *France* would perhaps be contented to let the Peace reſt upon thoſe Terms during the King of *Spain*'s tender Life: But if he yielded all the late conquered Towns to *France*, *Holland* would be in perpetual Alarm for the Danger of the reſt; *England* would be likewiſe the more concerned, and both being obliged to be continually armed, to prevent the Danger of *Flanders*, would find it their Intereſt, rather to enter into ſuch a War, as might end in a ſafer Peace, than by a patcht Peace to lie always in danger of a new War, whenever *France* ſhould be in a Condition of carrying the reſt of *Flanders*, by any ſudden Invaſion, or by any Diſcontent of Councils or Intereſts, between us and *Holland*.

Beſides, the Marquis imagines, that *France* will either endeavour to avoid the Peace now offered; or if they conclude it for the preſent, that being poſſeſs'd of the Frontiers of *Flanders*, they will not long reſiſt the Temptation of carrying the reſt, being in a manner but open Country; and thereby engage both us and *Holland*, to aſſiſt *Spain* with all our Forces, which he thinks, muſt make the War proſperous, or a Peace ſecure. So that upon the whole, the Marquis has choſen this *Alternative*, not from any deſire of making the Peace at preſent; but only in the view, either of carrying on the preſent War, or of making another with the Strength of his Neighbours.

Your Lordſhip may eaſily judge, how much the *Dutch* are like to be diſappointed and offended with the *Spaniards* for this Choice: So that I cannot pretend to gueſs what is like to become of a Peace which both *France* and *Spain* come to ſo unwillingly, and which *England* and *Holland* promote upon Conditions, which they both diſlike. And ſo I leave this perplexed Affair, and ask your Lordſhip's Pardon for this long Deduction, which I ſhould not have troubled your Lordſhip or my ſelf with, but that I thought you would come to know the true Springs of it no other way: And which I could not have known, if the Marquis were not a very warm Talker, and ſometimes farther than he intended.

I am ever, &c.

To Monſieur de Witt.

Bruſſels, March 25.
S I R, *S. N.* 1668.

BY Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Diſpatches of the 21ſt, you will have known the Anſwer of the *French* Court upon the Truce we deſired, which in my Opinion ſeems to make the War inevitable; and that all the Appearances *France* has made of deſiring a Peace, are levelled at no other Mark but to ſlacken the Reſolutions of the Allies from aſſiſting *Flanders*; or at leaſt, to gain ſix Weeks time to enlarge their Conqueſts, before the *Spaniards* can either receive the Recruits they expected, or the Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours for defending their moſt conſiderable Places. For, as to what the *French* propoſe, of reſtoring all they ſhall conquer between the end of this Month and the 15th of *May*, it ſeems to me to be too groſs, and to diſcover a Contempt of our Wit as well as of our Treaty: For, if all our Offices and Offers to make *Spain* ratifie what the Marquis has accepted, are not ſufficient to with-hold them ſix Weeks, from what they pretend to reſtore, how will they be capable of reſtoring

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A Monſieur *de Witt*.

Bruſſelles, le 25 *Mars*.
Monſieur, *S. N.* 1668.

VOus avez appris par les depêches de Monſieur Van Beuninghen du 21. *du courant, la reponſe de la Cour de France ſur la treve tant deſirée: Cette reſponſe ſelon moy ſemble rendre la guerre inevitable; & il paroit que toutes les mines que la France fait de la vouloir, ne tendent à autre but qu'à refroidir les Alliez ſur le ſecours de Païs Bas, ou du moins, à gagner un mois & demy de tems, afin de pouſſer ſes conquêtes, avant que les Eſpagnols puiſſent recevoir leurs recruites, ou des ſecours de leurs voiſins pour munir leurs plus importantes places. Car, à l'egard de l'offre qu'elle fait, de reſtituer tout ce qui ſera conquis entre la fin de ce mois & le* 15. *de May, cela me paroit trop groſſier, & decouvre même ſon mepris pour nos Eſprits auſſi bien que de nôtre traité. Car, ſi tous nos ſoins, & nos bons offices, joints à l'offre que nous faiſons de faire ratifier par l'Eſpagne les Articles deja acceptés par le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, n'ont pû obtenir de la France qu'elle renonce pour ſix ſemaines au deſſein de tenter de nouvelles conquêtes, qui ſont, au reſte, les ſeules qu'elle offre de reſtituer; ſi tout*

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for ever what they have already taken. I cannot ſee how their manner of accuſing and making Exceptions to the abſolute Powers of a Miniſter of *Spain*; and all this founded upon particular Intelligence they pretend to have from the Court at *Madrid*; nor the formal Objections they make againſt the Delegation of the Baron *de Bergeyck*, when at the ſame time they ſend Monſieur *Colbert* to *Aix la Chapelle*; how, I ſay, all this can admit better Interpretation in what regards their Intentions for the Peace: For in whatever comes from theſe Miniſters at *Paris*, I think one may diſcover an irregular Ambition under a great deal of Affectation and Diſguiſe, whereof God only knows the Iſſue.

For my ſelf, I will tell you in Confidence, and with my uſual Freedom, my Opinion in all this. I think then in the firſt place, that by all our Negotiations, though never ſo well managed; by all our Offices and Careſſes, we ſhall never obtain a Peace from *France*, while they have any Appearances of purſuing their Intereſt or their Glory in carrying on the War: And, that the only way of diſpoſing them to a Peace, is to order it ſo, as they may only find their Intereſts in it; which we can no otherwiſe do, but by ſhewing them the Strength of our Forces, and the Firmneſs of our Reſolutions before the War begins; and ſince we only draw a War on our ſelves by deſiring a Peace, to endeavour on the contrary to draw on the Peace by making all the Appearances of deſiring a War.

Therefore I think, that what remains to be done is, to advance as much as poſſible our Preparations and Forces by Sea and Land; and let the moſt Chriſtian King know by our Miniſters, that ſince his Majeſty ſtill declares he is content with the *Alternative* already accepted by the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*, and that all the Difficulty his Majeſty finds, is only upon the Powers of the ſaid Marquis, and the Sincerity of Intentions in the Court of *Spain*: We therefore deſire his Majeſty to give us ſo much time by a Suſpenſion of Arms, as may be ſufficient to ſend a Diſpatch to *Madrid*, and return to *Paris* with a full

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cela, dis je, eſt vray, nous pouvons-nous flater que nous en obtiendrons la reſtitution entiere. Je ne voy pas que leur maniere de chicaner, & de faire des exceptions contre les pleins pouvoirs d'un Miniſtre d'Eſpagne, & tout cela fondé ſur les avis particuliers que la France pretende avoir de la cour de Madrid, non plus que les objections formelles qu'elle fait contre la delegation du Baron du Bergeyck, en même tems qu'elle envoye Monſieur Colbert à Aix la Chapelle, puiſſent recevoir de meilleurs interpretations par rapport à leurs intentions pour la paix: Car dans tout ce qui part de ces Miniſtres, il me ſemble qu'ou decouvre une ambition dereglée, qui ſe couvre ſous une addreſſe recherchée, & des manieres trop etudiées pour etre ſinceres. Dieu ſait ce qui en eſt.

Pour moy, je vous diray avec ma confiance & ma franchiſe ordinaires, mon ſentiment ſur tout cela. C'eſt, que par toutes ſortes de Negotiations les mieux conduites, par toutes ſortes de cajoleries, & de careſſes, & par tant de bons offices reïterez, nous ne pourrons jamais obtenir la paix de la France, pendant qu'elle eſt flattée par les apparences; & qu'elle juge qu'il eſt & de ſon interêt & de ſa gloire de pouſſer la guerre; & que par conſequent, le ſeul moyen de la diſpoſer à la paix c'eſt de faire en ſorte que la paix ſeule puiſſe s'accorder avec ſes interêts. Pour cela il me ſemble, que la ſeule voye qui nous eſt offerte, eſt de faire une grande montre de nos forces, de paroitre bien reſolus à la guerre, avant que la guerre commence: Car puiſque nous attirons la guerre en voulant trop fortement la paix, il faut tâcher au contraire d'attirer la paix, en faiſant toutes les mines de vouloir la guerre.

C'eſt pourquoy, il me ſemble que ce qui reſte à faire, c'eſt de hâter nos preparatifs, & de mettre toutes nos forces en état tant par mer que par terre: De faire dire en même tems par nos Miniſtres au Roy tres Chretien, que puiſque ſa Majeſté paroit diſposée à ſe contenter de l'Alternative deja acceptée par le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, & que toute la difficulté roule ſur les pouvoirs du dit Marquis, & ſur la ſincerité des intentions de la cour d'Eſpagne; nous la prions de nous accorder par une ſuſpenſion d'armes autant de tems qu'il en faut pour depêcher à Madrid, & de Madrid revenir à Paris avec une reponſe, j'entens une reponſe nétte & preciſe de la

Reine

and plain Anſwer from the King of *Spain* upon the *Alternative*. (And truly I think, a Month's time will be ſufficient after the Diſpatches of our Expreſſes from *Paris*.) But in the mean time to add, that if his Majeſty refuſes us a Demand ſo neceſſary to the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and will ſtill carry on his Arms without conſideration of the Offers of *Spain*, or Offices of the *Allies*; that upon the firſt Advances he ſhall make to attack the reſt of *Flanders*, we will march with our Forces to defend it, and endeavour farther by all ways to give him a Diverſion both by Sea and Land.

This I think is all that is left us to do upon the preſent State of Affairs, for obtaining the Peace: And as to the inward Diſpoſitions of the *Spaniards*, I will tell you, that there is not one of them here, of the leaſt Conſideration, who does not deſire it, and think it wholly for the preſent Intereſt of *Spain*: And the Marquis aſſures me in confidence, that he has not only the Power exhibited, but that the King his Maſter has given him others, by which he leaves him abſolute Arbiter of the Conditions of the Peace, according as Conjunctures ſhall ſerve to make him accept either an equal or a diſadvantagious one. And all the Delays of *Don John* ſeem only to proceed from their Hopes of a Peace upon the Project of our Treaty.

In the mean time I am glad the *States* have ſent Monſieur *van Beverning* to be at *Aix* with the Miniſters of both Crowns; I doubt not but the King my Maſter will do the ſame, when he ſhall have received Advice of their Departure; for Forms muſt be obſerved as well as Subſtance; though for my ſhare I cannot imagine to what Effect this Congreſs will meet; *France* having declared it ſelf already upon the Invalidity of the Delegation in particular, as well as of the Powers in general. And truly I think, all Pretence of negotiating without a Ceſſation of Arms, ſeems a mere Jeſt, in an Affair where two Months Progreſs in the War may ſo near end the Diſpute upon which they pretend to treat.

I am, Sir, Your, &c.

Reine d'Eſpagne, touchant l'Alternative, dont les deux parties temoignent ſe contenter (& pour moy il me ſemble, qu'un mois apres le depart de nous couriers de Paris, ſera ſuffiſant) D'ajouter en même tems, que ſi ſa Majeſté nous refuſe une demande ſi neceſſaire au repos de la Chretienté, & veut ſans egard pour les offres d'Eſpagne, & les offices des Alliez, pouſſer ſes armes plus loin; que ſur la premiere demarche qu'elle fera pour attaquer le reſte des Païs-Bas, nous ferons avancer nos troupes pour les defendre, & tâcherons de produire une puiſſante diverſion tant par mer que par terre.

Voila ce me ſemble tout ce qui nous reſte à tenter ſur l'état preſent des affaires, afin d'obtenir la paix. Et pour ce qui eſt des diſpoſitions interieures des Eſpagnols, je vous diray, qu'il n'y en a pas un ſeul icy tant ſoit peu conſiderable, qui ne la ſouhaite, & qui ne croit y voir l'interêt preſent de l'Eſpagne. Le Marquis m'a aſſuré en confiance qu'il n'a pas ſeulement les pouvoirs exhibés, *mais de plus, que le Roy luy en a donné encore un autre, par lequel il le rend arbitre abſolu des conditions de la paix, ſelon que les conjonctures le devront determiner à la recevoir à des conditions ou egales ou deſavantageuſes. Et tous les retardemens de Don Juan ne ſemblent provenir que de ce qu'il eſpere une paix conforme au projet de notre traité.*

En attendant, je ſuis bien aiſe de ce que les Etats font partir Monſieur van Beverning, pour ſe trouver à Aix avec les Miniſtres des deux Couronnes; je ne doute pas que le Roy mon Maitre ne faſſe la même demarche, quand il aura reçu avis de leur depart; car il faut ſatisfaire aux formes auſſi bien qu'au fond; quoy que pour moy, je ne puiſſe imaginer quel effet reſultera de ce congrez; la France s'etant déja declarée ſur l'invalidité de la delegation en particulier, auſſi bien que ſur les Pouvoirs en general. Et pour moy, toute apparence de negotiation avant une ceſſation d'armes me paroît une pure mocquerie, ſur tout dans une conjoncture où deux mois de guerre & de progrez peuvent changer la face des choſes, & decider le different ſur lequel on va traiter.

Je ſuis, &c.

To Mr. Godolphin.

SIR, *Bruſſels, March 27. N. S. 1668.*

I Received lately the Favour of ſome Lines from you in a Letter of my Wife's, which were the firſt I remember to have ſeen of yours theſe five or ſix Months paſt, though I never failed on my part to entertain the Commerce between us as became both our Stations, and the Kindneſs with which it began on both ſides, as I thought; I am ſure on mine, till I took your Silence as a civil Declaration that you were willing it ſhould end: And the Compliance I was deſirous to ſhew you in all things, would not ſuffer me to deny it you in this. I find it very difficult to anſwer your laſt, otherwiſe than by giving you Thanks for the Favour of your Remembrance, which indeed I thought had been better employ'd than upon one who has for ſo long time ſo little deſerved it. For thoſe Expreſſions you are pleaſed to uſe ſo much below your ſelf, and ſo much above me, I confeſs they rather confound than oblige me, ſince I am not fond of receiving what I deſpair of returning. I know no Reaſon at all I had to be angry with you, but much rather with my ſelf, if having been once poſſeſs'd of your Friendſhip, you found I did not deſerve it: But as I reckon'd that Loſs among my ill Fortunes, ſo I ſhall among my good, whenever you return to your former Diſpoſitions of Favour to me, tho' the Miſery of the Scene where I live, will teach me to be fond of no poſſeſſions that I am in danger of loſing; and to a plain equal Man like me, the Certainty of an Eſtate ſeems more valuable than the Greatneſs of it. But I have as much Ambition for my Friends Advances, as others have for their own; and therefore rejoice in all your good Fortunes in *Spain*, and wiſh you an Encreaſe of them in your next Deſigns.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, April 3. N. S. 1668.*

I Received ſome Days ſince the Honour of one from your Lordſhip of the 9th paſt, and though I owe all the Acknowledgments that can be upon it, yet I will not ſo much wrong your Lordſhip's Time, or my own Sincereneſs, as to enlarge them with much Ceremony. It will be enough to ſay, that nothing can be more obliging than your Favour to me, both in the Degree and Manner of it, ariſing ſo freely from your Lordſhip's Bounty and Generouſneſs, as well as expreſs'd in a way ſo frank and ſo hearty as that of your laſt Letter; and on the other ſide, that no Man can reſent it more, tho' they may much better deſerve it: And that your Lordſhip can never reckon more truly nor more juſtly, upon any Perſon's Eſteem and Services, than upon mine, which I humbly beg your Lordſhip to believe. I doubt you will be troubled with my Wife's Attendances, having told her, your Lordſhip had given her that Liberty: If ever ſhe pretends your Favour and Countenance farther than in receiving what the King has made my Due upon this Employment while I have it, or what his Majeſty ſhall from his own Motion aſſign me, upon any new Commiſſion; I diſclaim her beforehand, and declare ſhe goes not upon my Errand; for I ſhall never think that too little which his Majeſty thinks enough: For the reſt I will be confident neither your Lordſhip nor my Lord *Arlington* intend I ſhould ruin my ſelf by my Employments, or that I ſhould at my own Charge bear out a Character, which of it ſelf is enough to turn round a Head that has all its Life, till theſe laſt three Years, been uſed to Shade and Silence. In caſe the Occaſion ſhould break, and my Journey to *Aix* ſhould yet fail, I aſk nothing of his Majeſty, though putting my ſelf in a Poſture to comply with any ſudden Neceſſity of it has already forced me to enter into very conſiderable Expences: But in caſe I muſt go, I beg your Lordſhip that has Children, to conſider how hard it would be for me to perform ſuch a Journey upon my own Credit. Whatever it be his Majeſty thinks fit to aſſign me upon ſuch an Occaſion, if he pleaſes to order Alderman *Backwell* to furniſh me with a Letter of Credit for ſo much, let it be what it will, I will live according to what that and my own little Revenue will reach, and not ſpare any little Preſents I have received in his Majeſty's Service, where his Honour requires it: All I deſire is only not to be forced into Debts, which to ſay the Truth I have ever abhorred, and would by my good Will eat dry Cruſts, and lie upon the Floor, rather than do it upon any other Conſideration, than of his Majeſty's immediate Commands, and I hope thoſe, his juſtice and my Friends Favour, will prevent.

I beg your Lordſhip's Pardon for troubling you with this ſtrange Freedom about my own Concernments, which you have pleaſed to encourage me to, and may at any time check me in it, with the leaſt Diſcountenance, which I doubt I have already deſerved. But I will not encreaſe or lengthen my Faults by Excuſes, nor trouble your Lordſhip, by repeating any thing of what my Lord *Arlington* receives from me at large, upon the Courſe of publick Affairs here; which though ſeeming to change often in others Eyes, appears to me conſtant in the *French* Deſign of a War; which I believe nothing can alter, but the viſible Marks of Force and Steadineſs in their Neighbours to oppoſe them.

I beg your Lordſhip's Belief, that as I am with very great Reaſon, ſo I am with very great Paſſion too,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Monſieur de Witt.

Bruſſels, Apr. 17.
S I R, *N. S.* 1668.

I Doubt not but you are pleaſed as much as I at the Contents of the laſt Diſpatches from *Paris*, which make us believe, that in two or three Days we ſhall have the Suſpenſion of Arms to the end of *May*; and then I do not ſee the leaſt Difficulty that can happen, which we ſhall not eaſily avoid in the Negotiation of the Peace; for I ſee not how *France* can draw back, after the Satisfaction we are going to give them at *Paris:* And for *Spain*, I never had the leaſt Scruple upon their Conduct: And I ſtill believe, as I ever did, that unleſs we drive them to Deſpair by ill Uſage, neither the *Spaniſh* Nation in general, nor the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* in particular, will have recourſe to any baſe Evaſions. And to ſpeak to you in Confidence (as it is neceſſary between Phyſicians) ſince the Reſolution you have talk'd of, about driving the *Spaniards* wholly out of this Country, and cantoning your ſelves in it: And ſince ſo many violent Inſtances made

by

A Monſieur de Witt.

Bruſſelles, le 17 *Avr.*
Monſieur, *S. N.* 1668.

JE ne doute pas que vous ne vous rejouiſſez autant que moy du contenu de dernieres depêches de Paris, qui nous donnent lieu de croire, que dans deux ou trois jours nous aurons une ſuſpenſion d'armes juſqu' à la fin de May; & cela etant, je ne vois point de difficulté qui puiſſe ſurvenir, dont nous ne venions facilement à bout dans le cours de la negotiation de la paix. Car je ne vois pas comment la France pourra reculer aprés la ſatisfaction que nous luy allons donner à Paris. A l'egard d'Eſpagne, je n'ay jamais eu le moindre ſcrupule ſur ſa conduite; & je croy encore, comme l'ay toujours crû, qu'à moins que nous ne la reduiſions au deſeſpoir à force de la traiter de haut en bas; ni la nation Eſpagnole en general, ni le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo en particulier n'auront point recours à de honteux ſubterfuges. Et pour vous dire en confidence (comme il faut faire entre Medicins) depuis que vous avez parlé de la reſolution de chaſſer les Eſpagnols des Païs-Bas, & de vous y cantonner; depuis tant d'inſtances rei-

terées

by your Deputies for ſigning Monſieur *de Lyonne*'s Project without altering a Word, or ſo much as giving the Marquis any Aſſurance of aſſiſting him in caſe *France* ſhould draw back, (according to the Orders of the Queen) I have often heard his Excellency ſay, that if he were now in the Council of *Spain*, he would give his Advice without farther Difficulty, for making Peace with *France* by delivering this Country up to them, rather than ſuffer ſuch a Treatment from all their Neighbours, who are more intereſted in the Loſs of it than themſelves. For it cannot enter into the Marquis's Head, why we ſhould give *France* more Aſſurances than they deſire, in caſe of *Spain*'s refuſing the *Alternative*, and even contrary to our Treaty at the *Hague*; and yet refuſe to give *Spain* the bare Aſſurances of the words of our Treaty, in caſe of *France*'s Refuſal after having driven *Spain* to all we can ask. Neither can the Marquis imagine why we preſs him ſo much to ſign a Project word for word from Monſieur *de Lyonne*, without firſt uſing our Endeavours at *Paris*, to reduce the Affairs of *Cities in the Heart of the Country*, to ſome reaſonable Exchange; as we have always promiſed him, and as I let him ſee in one of your Letters: Nay without once endeavouring to hinder the Devaſtations in the *Franche Compté*. So that by this Project, he ſees clearly, he muſt be confined within *Bruſſels* as in a Priſon, ſhut up by *French* Garriſons, within ſeven Leagues of him on one ſide, and eight on the other; and that *Burgundy* may be invaded as an open Country, without the Poſſibility of defending it a Day. And if the Peace be made upon theſe Terms, every one may ſee that *France* will only wait till we are engaged in a Quarrel with our Neighbours, or till ſome Miſunderſtanding happen between our two Nations, to finiſh the Conqueſt of this Country, which they may do in fifteen Days. However, the Marquis ſays, that in caſe we will give him Aſſurances to follow the third of our ſeparate Articles, he is ready to ſign himſelf, or give Powers to ſign even Monſieur *de Lyonne*'s Project immediately, as the Foundation of the Treaty; and will rely upon our good Offices to negotiate either ſome convenient

terées faites par vos Deputez *pour la ſignature du projet de* Monſieur *de Lionne, ſous la condition de ne rien changer, & même ſans luy donner la moindre eſperance de l'aſſiſter en cas que la* France *recule, conformement aux ordres de la* Reyne; *depuis cela (dis-je) j'ay ſouvent oüy dire à ſon* Excellence, *que s'il etoit à cette heure au conſeil d'*Eſpagne, *que ſon avis ſeroit, qu'on fit ſans marchander l'accord avec la* France, *en luy donnant tout ce* Pais, *plutôt que d'endurer un traitement pareil, de la part de tous les* Etats *voiſins de la* Flandre; *leſquels doivent être plus intereſſez dans la perte de ces* Provinces, *que les* Eſpagnols *eux mêmes. Car il ne peut pas entrer dans l'eſprit du* Marquis, *que nous donnions à la* France *plus d'aſſurance qu'elle n'en deſire, ſuppoſé le refus d'*Eſpagne, *& cela même contre nôtre traité de la* Haye; *& que nous refuſions à l'*Eſpagne *de l'aſſurer ſupplement des clauſes de nôtre traité pour elle, en cas que la* France *refuſe, ſur tout, aprés avoir pouſſé l'*Eſpagne *à faire tout ce que nous avons voulu. Le* Marquis *n'imagine point auſſi, pourquoy nous le preſſons tant pour la ſignature mot-à-mot du projet de* Monſieur *de Lionne, ſans faire par avance tous nos efforts à* Paris, *pour reduire l'affaire des villes ſituées dans le coeur des* Provinces, *à quelque échange raiſonnable: cela luy avoit toujours été promis; & je l'en ay moy même aſſuré par une de vos lettres que je luy ay fait voir. Il s'etonne encore pourquoy nous ne faſſions pas nos efforts pour empécher la demolition des places dans la* Franche-Compté. *De ſorte qu'il voit tres clairement, que par ce projet il ſera dans* Bruſſelles *comme en priſon, ou en ôtage à l'egard de la* France, *ſes garniſons d'un côté n'en etant qu'a huit lieues, & de l'autre qu' à ſept. Il voit de plus, que les forces de* France *entreront dans la* Bourgogne *comme dans un plat païs ſans qu'on la puiſſe couvrir un jour entier. Que ſi la paix ſe fait dans ces termes, tout le monde voit que la* France *n'attendra que le moment de la premiere deſunion entre quelqu'un de nos voiſins, ou de la plus legere meſintelligence entre nos deux* Nations, *pour achever la conquéte des* Païs-Bas, *qui ne luy coutera plus de quinze jours. Pourtant le* Marquis *dit, qu'en cas que nous luy donnions des aſſurances de pourſuivre le troiſiême de nos* Articles *ſeparez, il eſt prêt de ſigner ou donner les pouvoirs de ſigner le projet même ſelon les*

venient Exchange for *Burgundy*, or to have it reſtored in the Condition it was taken; or elſe find means to repair the Towns demoliſh'd. In caſe you will not be perſuaded to give him theſe Aſſurances, we muſt endeavour to finiſh it altogether at *Aix*, whither I ſhall begin my Journey as ſoon as we ſhall have received the Suſpenſion of Arms. And I ſhall not fail to purſue as effectually as I can, both there and at other Places, the Accompliſhment of this great Affair; and ſhall be glad to receive your Advice from time to time, upon the Conduct of this Negotiation.

Before I go, I muſt tell you freely, that the leſs of Buſineſs you leave between the Marquis and your Deputies here, I think it will be ſo much the better for the general Affair: For, in one word, they are not Perſons made for each other; the Marquis being of a humour rather to die than be governed in the Management of Buſineſs: And he ſays, Monſieur *Bourgerſdycke* is a Man not to be employ'd but where you abſolutely give the Law. I have already hinted ſomething of this to you; but now I think it neceſſary you ſhould be informed of it, that you may do thereupon as you ſhall find convenient: For I have not obſerved one thing in the courſe of this Affair, which you and I could not have compaſs'd without the leaſt Heat or Diſcontent: And I will not tell you the Pain and Cares I have been at to manage matters between them, and prevent their breaking out into Violences upon ſo many Occaſions; which I endeavoured by all means to avoid; becauſe I know the Diſpoſitions of Miniſters are often infuſed into their Maſters. I ſee nothing in the World that can hinder the Peace at preſent, unleſs *France* finds ſome Miſunderſtandings between us and *Spain*. To tell you the Truth, many people would perſuade me, that you have changed your Meaſures ſince I left *Holland*: But I anſwer every body, that I truſt ſo much to the Sincerity of your Proceedings, that I do not doubt, but if it were ſo, your ſelf would

les termes de Monſieur de Lionne, comme ſervant de fondement au traité: Qu'il s'en remettra à nos ſoins & à nos bons offices pour la negotiation de quelque échange commode à l'egard de la Bourgogne, ou bien d'une reſtitution en l'etat où elle a été priſe, ou pour trouver les moyens de reparer les villes demolies. En cas que vous luy refuſiez à tous ces egards les aſſurances qu'il demande, il faudra que nous tâchions de reprendre & d'achever le tout enſemble, & d'un même filet à Aix la Chapelle; où je commenceray à m'acheminer des que nous aurons reçu nouvelle de la ſuſpenſion d'armes, & je ne manquerai pas là, non plus qu'ailleurs, de pourſuivre de tout mon pouvoir la concluſion de cette grande affaire. Je ſeray bien aiſe de recevoir de tems en tems vos avis ſur la maniere dont cette negotiation ſera conduite.

Avant que je parte, il faut que je vous diſe franchement, que le moins d'affaires que vous donnerez à diſcuter avec le Marquis à vos Deputez, ſera le meilleur pour la cauſe commune; car en un mot, ce ne ſont point des gens faits les uns pour les autres. Le Marquis eſt d'un humeur à braver plutôt la mort, que de ſouffrir d'etre matriſé dans la conduite & le maniement des affaires. Il dit, que Monſieur Bourgerſdycke n'eſt propre à être employé, que dans les lieux où vous donnez ſouverainement la loy. Je vous en avois deja touché quelque choſe, mais je croy à cette heure qu'il eſt neceſſaire de vous le dire, afin que ſur cela vous en uſiez comme vous le jugerez à propos. Je n'ay encore rien remarqué dans le cours de cette affaire dont je ne fuſſe venu à bout avec vous ſans le moindre chagrin, mais même avec agrement: Et je ne vous diray point les peines & les ſoucis que je ay eus à menager toutes choſes entr' eux, & à prevenir des eclats & les reparties picquantes qu'ils etoient prêts de ſe faire à tout bout de champ; j'ay employé pour cela toute mon adreſſe; car je faiſois cette reflexion, que les diſpoſitions, ou, ſi vous voulez, les paſſions des Miniſtres ont une grande influence ſur celles du Maitre. A cette heure je ne vois plus rien qui puiſſe empecher la paix, ſi ce n'eſt que la France vit la diſſenſion ſe gliſſer entre l'Eſpagne & nous. A ne vous rien celer, il y a icy beaucoup de gens qui voudroient bien me perſuader que vous avez changé de meſures depuis mon depart d'Hollande; mais je leur repons à tous would be the firſt to inform me.

You ſee what Confidence I have in your Perſon, and you may ſafely have the ſame in that of,

SIR,

Your, &c.

à tous, que ſe me repoſe ſi fort ſur vôtre ſincerité, & à la candeur de vôtre proceder, que ſuppoſé que ce qu'ils diſent fuſt, vous auriez été le premier à m'en inſtruire.

Voila qu'elle eſt la confiance que j'ay en vous, & pous pouvez avoir la même en,

Monſieur,

Votre, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Aix*, *April* 28. *N. S.* 1668.

I Never writ to your Lordſhip in worſe Health, nor in worſe Humour, and therefore you could never receive a worſe Letter than this is like to be. The Ceremonies of my Journey your Lordſhip ſhall find in a Letter to Mr. *Williamſon*, ſo ſoon as a Fever which is now upon me, gives me leave to ſay one Word more, than what I think of abſolute Neceſſity; for ſo I conceive, all I have now written to the Marquis is. The Deſpight of ſeeing the Baron *de Bergeyck* yet refuſe to ſign the Project of the Treaty, without another Diſpatch from the Marquis, after that I brought him, is enough to loſe all Patience; my ill Humour I confeſs is not leſſened, by ſeeing my ſelf here, with equal Character to other Miniſters, and without Poſſibility in this Place, of putting my ſelf in an Equipage ſuitable to them, which I could not think poſſible neither to provide my ſelf before my Journey, conſidering the Uncertainty of it, almoſt to the very laſt, and the Aſſurance I came with from the Marquis, of the Treaty's being ſigned the firſt Moment. I aſſured the Marquis *de Bergeyck*, that I thought it neceſſary, ſo that I hoped three Days would end our Buſineſs, which I believed his Majeſty would unwillingly ſee done without his Intervention, and would be content to have all Men think as they have done here, ever ſince the Convention began (and perhaps every where elſe) that nothing could be done, till the King's Miniſter came, and that would immediately cloſe the Affair. The reſt I muſt refer to the incloſed Copy of my Letter this Night, to the *Marquis*, by an Expreſs; and beg your Lordſhip to give me leave to reſt a very weary diſtempered Head, which yet can never forget how much I am,

My Lord, &c.

To the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo.

Aix, *April* 28.
My Lord, *N. S.* 1668.

I Arrived yeſterday in this City. This Afternoon I received a Viſit from the Baron *de Bergeyck*, and another from Monſieur *Colbert*. I treated them both equally; upon a Meſſage by a Gentleman ſent from the Baron

Au Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo.

A Aix le 28 *Avr.*
Monſieur, *S. N.* 1668.

J'Arrivay hier en cette ville. J'ay reçu cette aprés-dinée une viſite de la part du Baron de Bergeyck, & une autre de la part de Monſieur Colbert. Je les ay traitez tous deux egalement, ſur la parole que le gentilhomme envoyé

Baron to inform me, that he was already qualify'd Ambaſſador of *Spain*, by the Letters and Powers of the Queen her ſelf. Monſieur *Beverning* viſited me this Morning *incognito*; and all that a great Indiſpoſition will ſuffer me to tell you at preſent, is this; that it is not poſſible to make any other Paces for ſaving the *Netherlands*, but by immediately ſigning the Project ſent to the Baron *de Bergeyck*: For every Body expected the ſigning of it upon my Arrival. The *French* Ambaſſador declares every where, as he has already done to me, that he is ready to ſign this very Evening, and in all Points as they have been couched by our own Miniſters at *Paris*. And if the Baron makes any Exceptions or Difficulties, he is ready to give anſwer thereupon, according to his Inſtructions, and as he ſhall think convenient: But that *Spain* muſt impute to it ſelf whatever may happen by this Loſs of Time. I ſee plainly, he is ready to ſecond and aſſiſt the Baron *de Bergeyck* in any Delays that may be given to the Affair; and foreſeeing that it muſt at length paſs in the Words of this Project, ſince we and *Holland* are already engaged about it at *Paris*; he hopes either to ſee the Affair break, or to have the Honour to make *Spain* yield at laſt upon all Difficulties they firſt raiſed. In the mean while, Monſieur *Beverning* pretends to think, that after the Orders given to the Baron *de Bergeyck*, and the Copies of them ſent into *Holland*, no Difficulties can ariſe upon the ſigning: And for me, I cannot refuſe to carry the Orders, and am in the greateſt pain imaginable, to ſee the Baron ſtill make a Difficulty to ſign without another Order from your Excellency. Therefore I deſire you in the name of all thoſe who wiſh well to the Affairs of *Spain* and of *Chriſtendom*, to diſpatch an expreſs Command to the Baron, to ſign without farther trifling, and to ſend him Inſtructions for any thing that your Excellency ſhall find convenient to have negotiated afterwards; in which I ſhall have Monſieur *Beverning*'s Aſſiſtance, but not at all before the Project is ſigned.

envoyé de la part du Baron m'a donnée, que ſon Maitre étoit deja revêtu du titre d'Ambaſſadeur, & qu'il etoit muni des lettres & de pleins pouvoirs de la Reine elle même. Monſieur Beverning m'a auſſi viſité incognito *ce matin; & tout ce qu'une grande indiſpoſition qui me retient à preſent permet que je diſe à V. E. c'eſt, qu'il ne reſte plus d'autre demarche à faire pour ſauver les Païs-Bas, que de ſigner inceſſamment le projet envoyé au Baron de Bergeyck; cela eſt ſi vray que même à mon arrivée tout le monde en attendoit la ſignature. Celuy de France declare par tout aprés avoir declaré à moy même, qu'il eſt prêt de ſigner des ce ſoir même tous les points, tels qu'ils ont été couchez par nos Miniſtres à Paris. Que ſi le Baron de Bergeyck fait ou des difficultez, ou des exceptions, il donnera ſes reſponſes conformement à ſes inſtructions, & ſelon l'exigence des choſes; & qu' apres tout, l'Eſpagne ne doit attribuer qu' à elle ſeule les malheurs qui peuvent naitre de tant de delais & de tems perdu. Je vois fort bien, qu'il eſt prêt à ſuivre & à aider le Baron de Bergeyck dans tous les retardemens qu'on pourra apporter à la concluſion de cette affaire; & que prevoyant que l'Eſpagne doit enfin s'accommoder des conditions & des termes du traité, veu l'engagement où la Hollande & nous ſommes déja entrés par nos Miniſtres à Paris; il ſe promet ou de voir l'affaire ſe rompre, ou d'avoir la gloire de faire ceder l'Eſpagne ſur toutes les difficultez qu'elle aura miſes en avant: Cependant, Monſieur Beverning ne s'attend point à voir ſuſciter de nouveaux obſtacles, & de nouvelles difficultez touchant cette ſignature, aprés des ordres donnez au Baron de Bergeyck, & dont les copies ont eté envoyées en Hollande. Pour moy, aprés l'avoir promis, je n'ay pû reculer à porter les ordres, & je ſuis dans la plus grande peine du monde de voir que le Baron de Bergeyck fait difficulté de ſigner avant que d'avoir reçû un autre ordre de V. E. C'eſt pourquoy, je la ſupplie au nom de tous ceux qui ſouhaitent le bien des Affaires d'Eſpagne, & de la Chretienté d'ordonner par un commandement exprés, que l'ordre ſoit ſigné, & qu'on n'y marchande plus. V. E. donnera auſſi ſes avis au Baron de Bergeyck touchant ce qu'elle trouvera bon qui ſoit negotié dans la ſuite; cela fait, je pourray conter ſur le ſecours & l'aide de Monſieur Beverning,*

If your Excellency will not think fit to comply with this, I diſcharge *my ſelf* at leaſt of all the fatal Effects that may arrive upon it. I deſire your Excellency yet once more, to grant this Diſpatch to the Inſtances of one who had ſounded the Bottom of this Affair with all poſſible Attention, and all the Reflections I am capable of making; and who forms a Judgment of it, without other Paſſion than that I have for the Preſervation of *Flanders.*

I am, &c.

ning, du quel je n'attens rien, tandis que la choſe ſera comme elle eſt.

En cas que V. E. ſuive d'autres voyes, je me decharge par avance de toutes les ſuites funeſtes qui en pourront arriver. Je ſupplie encore une fois V. E. de donner cela aux inſtances d'une perſonne qui a approfondi cette affaire, avec toute l'attention & la reflexion dont je ſuis capable; & qui en porte un jugement exempt de Paſſion, excepté celle qu'il a pour la conſervation de Païs-Bas.

Je ſuis, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Aix, April* 30. *N. S.* 1668.

IN the Hurry of theſe Expreſſes to *Bruſſels*, all that I can poſſibly do, is to give your Lordſhip the Account of the State of our Buſineſs here, in the Copy of thoſe Letters I am forced to write to the Marquis. To which end the Ambaſſadors of *Spain* and *Holland* have been very often with me already, though I have not yet ſtirr'd out of Doors, and they are but now gone ſucceſſively from my Bed-ſide. The Fruits of our Conferences your Lordſhip will find in the encloſed, and will pardon me for doing nothing more at this time, than barely acknowledging, and that in extreme haſte, yours of the 10th and 13th, which are come here to my Hands: The torn Paper is an Original of a Poſtſcript I received juſt now in a Letter from Monſieur *de Witt*, which I ſend in Anſwer to one I had lately from your Lordſhip. The encloſed from my Secretary to Mr. *Williamſon*, gives Account of all the Ceremonies that have been hitherto paſt.

I am ever, &c.

To the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo.

Aix, April 30.
My Lord, *N. S.* 1668.

I AM very much indiſpoſed, and God keep me from thoſe Accidents, which the Deſpight I have upon the preſent Courſe of Affairs may cauſe in my Illneſs. All I have to ſay is that the Ambaſſador of *France* has Orders not to change a Word in the Project as prepared by our Miniſters at *Paris*: The *Dutch* Ambaſſador has the ſame Orders from his Maſters: The *Nuncio* preſſes alſo the Signing without any Change; and all the *German* Miniſters are of the ſame Opinion.

Au Marquis de *Caſtel-Rodrigo.*

Aix, le 30 *Avr.*
Monſieur, *S. N.* 1668.

JE trouve ma ſanté fort ebranlée, & à Dieu ne plaiſe que les accidens, qu'eſt capable de me cauſer le depit que je reſſens du train que prennent les affaires, vienneut ſe joindre à mon indiſpoſition. Tout ce que j'ay à dire c'eſt, que l'Ambaſſadeur de France a ordre de ne changer pas un ſeul mot au projet de nos Miniſtres qui ſont à Paris. Celuy d'Hollande a les mêmes ordres; le Nonce du Pape preſſe la ſignature, & inſiſte ſur le même point: enfin, tous les Miniſtres d'Allemagne ſont dans le même ſentiment.

The Baron refuſes to ſign without another Order from *Bruſſels:* Upon which the *French* Ambaſſador preſſes both me and Monſieur *Beverning* to give him an Act, wherein we are to witneſs, that he has been ready to ſign ever ſince the Arrival of the Project. The *Dutch* Ambaſſador proteſts he cannot refuſe it; and beſides, that if the Baron will not ſign to Morrow, he will depart, and return for *Holland.* The *Moſt Chriſtian* King has ſent all his Officers into the Field, and intends to follow them in Perſon; ſo that our Miniſters at *Paris* apprehend ſome new Accidents, unleſs they are prevented by ſigning the Treaty. For my ſelf, I have Inſtructions to uſe all Means for advancing the Peace in Concert with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors; and can by no means diſagree with his Reſolutions. I bear with what Patience I can the Mortification, to ſee that I muſt paſs for a Perſon whom your Excellency has impoſed on, by giving me an Order which your Miniſter was not to obey: But I cannot bear with Patience to ſee that the Affairs of all *Chriſtendom* muſt be abſolutely ruined by a Caprice of the Baron *de Bergeyck.* For I will not, as others do, impute to your Excellency ſuch a Feint as that of drawing from us all Aſſurances you demanded, upon your Promiſe of immediately ſigning the Treaty, and then of giving me a ſort of Order to the Baron, contradicted before by a counter Order in ſecret.

I ſhould not have left *Bruſſels,* had not your Excellency aſſured me, that the Baron ſhould ſign without Delay, whenever I judged it neceſſary. I now find it ſo; and have told him it is ſo very neceſſary, that, I believe, *France* would not have carried greater Advantages, nor triumph'd more upon the winning of a Battel, than on the Advances they have made in this Affair.

For my ſelf, I was never in my Life in greater Mortification, than what I have born in this Affair.

I am, &c.

Le Baron de Bergeyck refuſe à ſigner ſans un nouvel ordre de Bruſſelles: Là deſſus l'Ambaſſadeur de France preſſe & moy & Monſieur Beverning de luy donner un acte, dans lequel nous temoignions, que depuis l'arrivée du project, il a été tous les jours prêt à ſigner. L'Ambaſſadeur d'Hollande proteſte qu'il ne peut pas le luy refuſer; & que même, ſi le Baron de Bergeyck ne ſigne pas dans la journée de demain, il partira d'icy pour s'en retourner en Hollande. Le Roy tres Chretien a fait partir tous ſes Officiers pour aller ouvrir la compagne, & il pretend les ſuivre en perſonne: De ſorte que nos Miniſtres à Paris apprehendent de nouveaux deſordres, ſi on n'arrête tout ce grand mouvement par la ſignature du traité. Pour moy, les inſtructions que j'ay reçûes, portent que je n'epargne rien pour avancer la paix, & que je faſſe toutes choſes de concert avec l'Ambaſſadeur d'Hollande, & je ne puis en aucune ſorte me departir de ſes reſolutions. Je porte le plus patiemment que je puis, la mortification de paſſer pour un homme dont V. E. s'eſt jouée, lors qu'elle m'a fait expedier un ordre auquel on ne devoit pas obeïr, & que Votre Miniſtre a en effet eludé; mais je ne puis voir qu'avec la derniere inquietude, que toutes les affaires de la Chretienté ſe brouillent & ſe perdent par le ſeul caprice du Baron de Bergeyck. Car je me garde bien de ſuppoſer comme les autres, une feinte en V. E. & de luy attribuer de nous avoir tendu un piege, en tirant de nous les aſſurances demandées, ſur la promeſſe de faire auſſitôt ſigner le traité; & enſuite de m'avoir chargé d'un ordre pour le Baron de Bergeyck, qui par avance étoit detruit par une inſtruction ſecrete.

Je n'aurois jamais parti de Bruſſelles, ſi V. E. ne m'avoit aſſuré de bouche, que le Baron ſigneroit ſans y manquer tout auſſitôt que je jugerois la choſe abſolument neceſſaire. Nous nous ſommes vus, & je luy ay repreſenté la choſe ſi preſſée, ſi neceſſaire, que je croy que la France n'a pas remporté plus d'avantage, ni ne ſe ſoit erigée à elle même un plus grand triomphe par le gain d'une bataille que par les avances qu'elle a faites en cette occaſion.

Pour moy, je n'ay eu de ma vie une plus grande mortification que celle que j'ay eſſuyée en cette rencontre.

Je ſuis, &c.

To Mr. Williamſon.

SIR, *Aix, April* 30. *N.S.* 1668.

MY Maſter being kept in his Bed by an Illneſs that ſeized him the firſt Night of his Arrival here, and ſince encreaſed upon him by the Conſtraints he was forced to the next Day in the Reception of the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, hath commanded me to give you the Account of his Journey hither, and deſires you will help it to paſs with my Lord *Arlington* for that Promiſe which he made in his laſt, of doing it himſelf to his Lordſhip upon the next Occaſion.

He parted from *Bruſſels* upon the 24th of this Month, with nine and twenty Perſons in his Company, of which, ten in his own Livery. Beſides thoſe who belonged to him, my Lord *Stafford*, Captain *Brumidge*, and Captain *Weſely*, did him the Favour to accompany him in his Journey, and twenty of the Marquis's Guard for his Security, till he came the ſecond Night into the Land of *Liege*. The firſt Night at *Louvain* paſſed without any Ceremony, not taking upon him any new Character in the *Spaniſh* Dominions: The ſecond Night he lodged at *Hirkinraedt*, a very rich Abby of *Bernardin* Nuns, where he was received as the King of *England*'s Ambaſſador. The next Morning the Magiſtrates of the Town of *Haſſel* ſent to inform whether he paſſed by their Town of *Haſſel* in his way to *Maſtricht*, to the end they might do him the Honour due to his Character: But my Maſter deſiring to avoid thoſe Ceremonies choſe to paſs a private way about a Mile from the Town; however, he found all the Road where it lay over againſt the Town crouded with People, and among them the Magiſtrates of the Town, who in the High-way entertain'd him with a Speech, a Banquet, great ſtore of Wine, and all the great Guns of the Town at the ſame time.

The ſame Night he arrived at *Maſtricht*, having only ſent an ordinary Servant before to take up his Lodgings: Near the Town he was met by a Gentleman from the *Rhingrave*, to tell him, that if the Hour of his Arrival had been known, he would himſelf have met him on the way, but however would not fail to do it at his coming to Town. He was received there by all the great Guns of the Town, the Garriſon ranged through the Streets as he paſs'd, and at the end of them a Volley of their ſmall Shot. At his Inn he was immediately viſited by the *Rhingrave*, and after him by the Magiſtrates of the Town. The next Morning he returned a Viſit to the *Rhingrave*, who would by Force accompany him back to his Inn. As he went out, he had all the great Guns of the Town thrice round, and greater Volleys of Shot than the Night before, and the *Rhingrave* met him in his Coach about half a Mile out of Town, to perform his laſt Complement, having told my Lord *Stafford* that he had expreſs Orders from the *States*, to do all the Honour that was poſſible both to his Character and his Perſon.

From *Maſtricht* he ſent a Letter to the Baron *de Fraiſheim* here, to give him Notice of his intended Arrival upon *Friday* the 27th, but withal, to deſire him to keep it private, that ſo he might enter with little Noiſe or Ceremony, in regard he came upon a ſudden Journey and a very ſhort Stay, and therefore with the Train of the King's Reſident at *Bruſſels*, rather than of his Ambaſſador. The Baron *de Fraiſheim* did his part in ſuppreſſing the Knowledge of it, but the Town having Notice by Orders they had given at *Maſtricht* to that Purpoſe, ſent one to meet him in the Midway with a Complement, and deſire that they might receive him as they had done other Ambaſſadors. My Maſter referred it to them to do as they pleaſed, and the rather becauſe he heard that the *French* Ambaſſador had made a ſolemn Entry about ſix Days before, with a very great Train and Ceremony; and he thought by this more private Entry, to avoid the Expectation of any other: So he was received in the Town with all the Guns, and the *Burghers* in Arms, and complemented immediately at his Arrival both from the Magiſtrates of the Town, and a Commander of the Duke of *Nieuburg*'s, to aſſure him that the Duke had given him Orders for two hundred Horſe to attend him upon the Confines, and to accompany him into the Town, as he had done the *French* Ambaſſador at his ſolemn Entry, and that the Baron of *Fraiſheim*'s Aſſurance of his deſiring to enter privately, had only prevented that Attendance.

The Night of his Arrival, my Maſter went about ten a Clock *Incognito* to the *Dutch* Ambaſſador's Houſe, reſolving to tell him, that upon his Arrival here, he intended to live after another ſort with him than with any of the other Ambaſſadors, as well in reſpect of the near Alliance between their Maſters, as of their Mediation. The *Dutch* Ambaſſador happened to be in Bed, but having heard of my Maſter's Intentions, came and viſited him early the next Morning without Train or Ceremony, and gave him full Information of all that had paſſed here, which made good what we met with every where upon the Road, that nothing in the Peace could be done till the Arrival of the King's Ambaſſador here.

My Maſter's Indiſpoſition that Morning delayed his ſending to give the ſeveral publick Miniſters Advice of his Arrival till about ten a Clock, and then he was prevented by Complements; firſt from the *French*, and then from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, which were returned that Morning, and ſucceeded in the Afternoon by Viſits from them both in the ſame Order.

My Maſter upon his firſt Interview with the *Holland* Ambaſſador, enquired of him what Intercourſe had paſſed between him and the Pope's Nuncio; and finding that after ſome Offices by third Perſons between them, it had ſtopped upon ſome Difficulties without coming to any Viſits or formal Complements: He ſpake to my Lord *Stafford* when he made a Viſit of himſelf to the Nuncio, to let him know in common Converſation, that my Maſter finding by what had paſs'd between him and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, that the ſame Difficulties were like to befal him, had omitted to give him any Advice of his Arrival, but to tell him at the ſame time, that he was very much a Servant to the Merits of the Cardinal *Padrone*, upon his Acquaintance with him at *Bruſſels*, and was very glad to hear of the Continuance of his Health ſince his laſt Recovery; and ſo that Matter ended, as I ſuppoſe; my Maſter having no Inſtruction in that Point, and therefore deſiring as civilly as he could, to take this Occaſion of avoiding farther Commerce with him. I have nothing elſe worth giving you the Trouble of, but am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

Tho. Downton.

To the Elector of Mentz.

Aix, May 2.
S. N. 1668.

SIR,

THO' my own Indiſpoſition, and Monſieur *Schouborne*'s Affairs, deprived me of the Happineſs of ſeeing him ſince my Arrival in this City, I would not however delay any longer to acknowledge the Honour of your Highneſs's Letter of the 12th paſt, and to make you the Offers of my Services (ſince, of the King my Maſter's Affection, your Highneſs wants no Teſtimonies.) In the mean while I ſend your Highneſs the agreeable News of the Peace, the Treaties whereof I have at preſent in my Hands;

A l'Electeur de Mayence.

Aix, le 2 *May,*
S. N. 1668.

Monſieur,

QUOY *que mon indiſpoſition, & les affaires de Monſieur Schouborne m'ayent empeché de le voir depuis mon arrivée en cette ville; je n'ay pourtant pas voulu differer plus long tems ſans me ſervir de cette voye pour reconnoitre l'honneur que V. A. m'a fait par ſa lettre du* 12. *du paſſé, & ſans luy envoyer dans une des miennes les offres de mes ſervices; je dis de mes ſervices, car pour l'affection du Roy mon Maitre elle eſt aſſez connue à V. A. & n'a pas beſoin de mon temoignage. Et même tems je donneray à V. A. une nouvelle bien agreable,*

Hands; one ſigned in Preſence of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, and t'other in mine; which I was glad to obtain by Precaution, ſo to ſurmount the Difficulties raiſed upon delivering the Inſtruments to the Nuncio. I give your Highneſs Joy of an Affair ſo important to the Happineſs of *Germany*; and your Highneſs may juſtly do the ſame to the King my Maſter, who though at diſtance, and out of danger of this Flame, has however contributed more to the extinguiſhing of it, than all thoſe who were moſt intereſted in the Neighbourhood. And ſince this Peace, as well as that of *Portugal*, has ſo juſtly given his Majeſty a Rank ſo high among the *Pacifici*; your Highneſs will join your Prayers to mine, that God Almighty will pleaſe to add alſo to his Character, the *Beati*. And as your Highneſs has all Reaſon to believe the King my Maſter your Friend, ſo I beg your Highneſs to eſteem me always,

greable, puiſque je luy apprendray que la paix eſt conclue, & qu'à l'heure que je luy ecris, les traitez en ſont entre mes mains; l'un ſigné, en preſence de l'Ambaſſadeur d'Hollande, & l'autre en la mienne, ce que j'ay eté bien aiſe d'obtenir par precaution, & afin de ſurmonter les difficultez ſurvenues lors qu'on a livré les Inſtruments *à Monſieur le Nonce. Je donne à V. A.* toute la joye *d'une affaire qui importoit au bonheur de l'Allemagne, comme elle la donnera avec juſtice au Roy mon Maitre; car, quoy qu'eloigné & à couvert des flammes qui devoroient tant de pais, on dira pourtant avec juſtice qu'il a ſeul plus contribué à eteindre cet embraſement, que tous ceux qui en etoient & les plus voiſins & les plus alarmez. Et puiſque cette paix, auſſi bien que celle de Portugal a ſi legitimement placé ſa Majeſté dans le plus haut rang entre les* Pacifici; *V. A. joindra ſes prieres aux miennes, afin que le bon Dieu y ajoute auſſi les* Beati. *Et comme elle a tout lieu de croire le Roy mon Maitre de ſes amis, je la prie auſſi de m'eſtimer toûjours,*

SIR,

Monſieur, &c.

Your Highneſs's moſt, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Aix, May* 8. *N. S.* 1668.

Since my laſt I have received your Lordſhip's of the 17th and 20th, which both complain of the ill State wherein the *Swediſh* Treaty then ſtood, and command my Applications to the Marquis for a Remedy. I have infuſed it all I could poſſibly into the Baron *de Bergeyck* at his return from hence to *Bruſſels*, which was in haſte, and immediately after the ſigning and diſpatching away the Inſtruments of the Treaty. Some here attribute his Haſte to an Intention of avoiding any Speech of a general Guaranty for the Peace, which with ſo many Difficulties and Delays before the ſigning, as well as ſo many Declamations againſt the Violence and Injuſtice in preſſing him to it, are Evidence enough of the Force by which the *Spaniards* have been compelled to it; though I doubt of their being this Age in a Condition of making better uſe of it. For my part, I was of Opinion, that ſince *Don John* was neither arrived with Supplies, nor hardly expected in any Time; ſince *Holland* was ſo deſperately bent upon the Peace, without any Reſpect to the *Spaniſh* Honour or Intereſt, farther than joined immediately with their own; ſince *Spain* had not been able to find means to engage his Majeſty or *Sweden* in their Quarrel by Supplies neceſſary to both Crowns: And ſince his Majeſty was not in a Condition of entring into the Buſineſs ſingle, upon Conſiderations of Honour, Juſtice, or a remote Danger: And conſequently, ſince upon the Projects made both at a time in *Paris*, it grew evident to *Spain*, *Qu'il falloit paſſer par là ou par les feneſtres.* Upon all theſe Conſiderations, I ſay, I was of Opinion that the *Spaniards* Buſineſs was to end frankly and immediately upon my Arrival here, thereby to have more Time for bringing the Ratifications of the Treaty ſigned here, from *Spain* within this Month, and ſo avoid all Pretexts (which I expected) of *France*'s breaking the Buſineſs, and which I knew they would be ſtrongly tempted to by the *Spaniards* want or neglect of Preparations, and by our Diſconcert for their Defence. Upon theſe Conſiderations I confeſs I have preſs'd as hard upon the Baron *de Bergeyck*, as the *Dutch* Ambaſſador himſelf, to finiſh the Affair, ever ſince my Arrival, and was at an end of my Patience to ſee him ſtop it upon ſuch ſlight and unreaſonable Pretences as his two laſt; which were, firſt, not to inſert his Powers, becauſe both his and thoſe of *France* were ſharp upon the Riſe of the War; but Monſieur *Colbert*'s were ſent in that Style ſince his arrival here, and only in return of the Marquis's, ſince thoſe he brought with him were ſoft and without any Reflections: The Baron had been adviſed by Monſieur *Beverning* at his firſt coming, to have them changed, had three Weeks to do it, and yet made no Difficulty upon it till after the Treaty was ſigned, and the Powers came to be inſerted, which he refus'd to ſuffer, ſaying, he expected new and ſofter Powers within two or three Days, and in the mean time would have had the Inſtruments diſpatch'd away without any Tranſcription of the Powers, though in the Treaty mentioned as inſerted: And I believe *France* would not have wiſh'd a better Occaſion to delay the Buſineſs beyond a Poſſibility of being ratified within the time. This Difficulty took up a whole Day after the ſigning; and when the Baron was beaten out of it by main Force, he threw us upon a worſe; for, whereas his firſt Powers, and all he had ever given Copies of, or mentioned to any Miniſter here, had only run, as deputed from the Marquis with the ſame Power to treat and conclude as if his Majeſty had been here in Perſon: When he inſerted his Powers, after having made Monſieur *Colbert*'s Expreſs ſtay a whole Day, he brings the Inſtrument with a Power agreeing in all Words with the firſt, but only thoſe of *Ambaſſador* and *Plenipotentiary* joined to his Deputation, which put Monſieur *Colbert* into ſuch a Rage, that he was ready to tear all in pieces; and for five Hours Monſieur *Beverning* and I could draw no other Anſwer from the Baron, but that it was impoſſible for him to do any otherwiſe, proteſting he had no other Power here, the firſt having been returned to the Marquis upon the Tranſmiſſion of this, the Advcie of which he ſaid he had received from Monſieur *Beverning*. With Monſieur *Colbert* we had no hopes of prevailing to have his new Style allowed, nor had we indeed any reaſon to preſs it, being offered upon a Surprize, and there being no Colour for the Marquis being qualified to ſend an Ambaſſador upon this Occaſion: I was five Hours upon the Rack with the Opinion the Buſineſs would abſolutely break by the Delays this would occaſion; and indeed out of all Patience with the Baron, not believing it poſſible he could be without his firſt Powers by him; and Monſieur *Beverning* and he were at thoſe heights, that they were ſeveral times upon the Point of drawing their Swords in my Room, and I believe had done it in any other Place. But after all, the Baron confeſs'd he had his firſt Powers, and Order to inſert them if he could not make the others paſs, but Inſtructions to endeavour that to the utmoſt; which to give him his due, he acted to a Height that I could never have done without ſtraining my own Truth as well as my Buſineſs. And ſo upon the 4th at Night all ended. My Diſſatisfaction with the Baron *de Bergeyck*'s Conduct ſince I came hither, was, I confeſs, very great, and my Expreſſions upon it very free in my ſeveral Expreſſes to the Marquis, who it ſeems takes part in it, and owns it ſo far, as to ſeem moſt extremely ill ſatisfied with the Miniſters uſing ſo much Earneſtneſs here in beating him out of all thoſe Deſigns. I have had three ſeveral Letters from his Excellency ſince my being here, upon that Subject, but all ſo ill-humoured and ſo *Emportées*, that I think they had been better ſpared, and tho' what was particular to me, civil enough, yet ſome Expreſſions concerning the general Proceeding wherein I had the chiefeſt Part, ſo *Picquantes*, that I think I have reaſon to reſent, and am ſure have not deſerved it from any publick Miniſter either there or here; and having anſwered them accordingly, I know not upon what Terms we are like to be upon my Return; and therefore could not forbear giving your Lordſhip the trouble of this Relation, to juſtify my ſelf not only to your Lordſhip, for there I am ſure it will not need; but if you think fit, to the Count *Molina*, and the Baron *d'Iſola* too, who may perhaps have received Letters from the Marquis upon our Proceedings here of the ſame Style that I have done.

I have been the more earneſt in bringing this Matter to an Iſſue here, (which the *Holland* Ambaſſador ſays, had never been done without me,) becauſe I conceived by all I have had from your Lordſhip, as well as from other Hands, not only that you deſired it in *England*, but that the Peace was neceſſary for the Conſtitution of his Majeſty's preſent Affairs: And ſince he has had the Glory of making two Peaces ſo important, we have now nothing to wiſh but to ſee him in a Condition to make War as well as Peace, whenever the Honour and Intereſt of his Crowns ſhall make it neceſſary; for that Neceſſity can, I ſuppoſe, be no ways long avoided, but by our being in a Poſture to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make Advantage of it. And I think the beſt time to fall into Counſels tending to this great End, will be after the Concluſion of this general Peace, when no Engagement abroad forces his Majeſty to have ſo much need of Money from his People. For, the Time to repair the Harms that Storms have done a Houſe, is in fair Weather; and, to mend a leaky Ship, ſhe muſt be brought aſhore.

God of Heaven ſend your Lordſhip to be an happy Inſtrument in the Propoſal and Application of ſuch Councils, and that we may take warning by the poor *Spaniards* Example, whoſe ill Conduct of late in the Government has ſo far ſubjected them to their Neighbours Diſeſteem, and Inſolence, and Humour, as well as to their Conqueſts, Violence, and Oppreſſion; which I confeſs have been enough to put them upon ſuch deſperate Councils as your Lordſhip mentions, of giving up all to the *French* in theſe Countries, rather than be the bare Guardians of others Frontiers. And yet all theſe Misfortunes are the natural Conſequences of their Conduct, and will never fail befalling any Prince, that follows their Example. I wiſh *That* might befal the *French*, to temper a little ſuch an over-grown Greatneſs; but I doubt it much, from the preſent King's Diſpoſitions, among whoſe Qualities thoſe of Careleſneſs or laviſhing his Treaſures, I am afraid are none: Therefore I wiſh him engaged in ſome very charming Pleaſures, or elſe in ſome more difficult Enterprizes than his laſt and where we may not have ſo great a Share: That which they talk on here may poſſibly prove ſo, which is drawing or forcing the *Empire* to chuſe the *Dauphin* King of the *Romans*; for though his Party be grown ſtrangely powerful in *Germany*, and if *Brandenburgh* be falling into it as is believed, none will be left to the Houſe of *Auſtria* that I know of, unleſs *Saxony* and *Triers*; yet ſuch a Body ſo differently compoſed as the *Empire*, ſhould methinks very hardly move all one way in any new Courſe.

Monſieur *Colbert* talks of his Maſter's ſending immediately ten or fifteen thouſand Men for the Relief of *Candy*, which were a glorious and Chriſtian Council, and in all ways that can be, to be cheriſhed and applauded: And if any Offices could be done towards engaging the *French* Court in that Deſign, by us or the *Dutch*, I think they are not ill beſtow'd; about which I have entertain'd Monſieur *Beverning*, who is of my Mind, and have inſinuated the ſame Notions among the *German* Miniſters here, who ſwallow it greedily; and I hope it may take effect, and help to free all theſe Parts of the Jealouſie which ſo great an Army muſt needs give, as this Peace is like to leave idle upon the *French* Hands.

I intend to begin my Journey to *Bruſſels* to Morrow, Monſieur *Beverning* being gone to Day; but I doubt I ſhall be five or ſix Days upon the Way, any thing now that preſſes me to more than ordinary Haſte.

I received 600 *l.* owing me upon my Employment there before my coming away, and was very ſorry to find by a Letter of my Wiſe's, that the Fear ſhe had of my being diſappointed in that Particular, made her draw up a Memorial which it ſeems the Council was troubled with, about my private Concernments: I may very truly and juſtly diſown it, as I do, and hope ſhe will be pardoned for too forward a Care and Concernment in that buſineſs: For, as to the Charge of my Journey here, when your Lordſhip thinks fit to command it, I ſhall ſend you the exact Account which my Secretary keeps, of all I ſpend, and leave it in your Lordſhip's Hands, for his Majeſty to do as he pleaſes in it; which is all the Trouble I ſhall give you or my ſelf about it.

I am ever with equal

Paſſion and Truth, &c.

To the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo.

Aix, May 8.
My Lord, *N. S.* 1668.

I Received yours of the 4th Inſtant; and am glad your Excellency is ſo extremely ſatisfied with the *Moderation*, (as you are pleaſed to ſtyle it) of the Baron *de Bergeyck*, while at the ſame time you are ſo much provoked at the Complaints I made of his Conduct here. I ſhall always openly confeſs, that ſeeing *Don Juan's* Arrival with the intended Supplies delay'd, and perhaps wholly fruſtrated; ſeeing *Holland* ſo deſperately fond of the Peace, without conſidering the Intereſts of *Spain*; ſeeing the Emperor appear wholly diſintereſted in the Matter; ſeeing *Spain* had uſed no Endeavours to engage the King my Maſter, or *Sweden*, otherwiſe than by fair Words; and that his Majeſty was not in a condition to enter into the Affair alone, upon pure Conſiderations of Generoſity or of a Danger at diſtance: Seeing alſo, that *Spain* approved even the firſt Project of Peace drawn by Monſieur *de Lionne*: I thought, upon all theſe Conſiderations, that it was their intereſt ſincerely to finiſh the Affair, and gain the moſt time poſſible, to get the Ratifications from *Madrid*; and by that means take away from *France* all Hopes or Pretext of breaking, without ſuch an Evidence of Falſhood and Ambition, as would make *Holland* of neceſſity engage in your Defence. And upon the ſame Conſiderations I urged the Baron *de Bergeyck* all I could, to finiſh the Affair; as ſoon I ſaw, that neither the Ambaſſador of *France* nor *Holland*, any more than the *Nuncio*, would hearken to Propoſitions of changing any thing in the Project. And, beſides, I thought, all the Difficulties the

Au Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo.

Aix, 8 May,
Monſieur, *S. N.* 1668.

J'*AY reçû la vôtre du* 4. *de ce mois; & je ſuis bien aiſe que V. E. s'eſt ſi fort ſatisfaite de ce qu'elle appelle la Moderation du Baron de Bergeyck, pendant qu'elle temoigne être ſi picquée de l'aigreur que j'ay fait paroiſtre en me plaignant icy de ſon procedé. J'avoueray tout publiquement, que voyant retarder avec l'arrivée de Don Juan, les ſecours deſtinez & promis, & voyant qu'on en ſeroit peut être fruſtré; voyant l'Hollande ſi eperduement amoureuſe de la paix ſans égard aux interêts d'Eſpagne; voyant l'Empereur jouer dans cette affaire le role d'un Prince parfaitement deſintereſſé; voyant que l'Eſpagne n'avoit encore agi auprés du Roy mon Maitre, & auprés de la Suede, que par de belles paroles; connoiſſant que ſa Majeſté n'étoit pas en état d'entrer ſeule dans cette epineuſe negotiation; & que pour la porter à le faire, il falloit autres choſes que de purs motifs de generoſité; Enfin, voyant l'Eſpagne elle même approuver le Projet de Monſieur de Lionne, tel qu'il l'avoit dreſſé: Faiſant attention à toutes ces choſes, j'ay crû que leur interêt demandoit qu'ils achevaſſent franchement l'affaire; gagnant le plus de tems qu'il ſeroit poſſible pour faire venir les ratifications de Madrid; & ôtant par là à la France tout pretexte, & toute eſperance d'en venir à une rupture; à moins qu'elle voulût elle même étaler ſa bonte & faire voir ſi à decouvert ſa perfidie & ſon ambition, que neceſſairement l'Hollande ſe trouveroit engagée dans vôtre defenſe. Ces mêmes conſiderations ont fait, que j'ay pouſsé, autant qu'il m'a été poſſible, à terminer promptement l'affaire, des que j'avois clairement apperçu, que ni l'Ambaſſadeur*

the Baron made upon the Signing very unſeaſonable, and of ill Conſequence to the Affair; and I ſhewed him how much he was in the wrong to complain of the ſharp Powers of Monſieur *Colbert*, which were drawn up only in Revenge to yours, his former ones having been without any Reflection upon what was paſt: And the Baron *de Bergeyck* having had three Weeks time to ſend for ſofter Powers, and more proper for treating of a Peace. I was alſo ill ſatisfied to ſee him keep us three or four Days on the Rack till the Affair was juſt breaking, only to inſert a new Power with the Word *Ambaſſador*, which the Nuncio never heard the Baron once mention before; there being nothing of it in thoſe Powers whereof he had given a Copy. And, as inſignificant as theſe Accidents ſeems to be, I think they were ſuch, that if Monſieur *Colbert*, either by his own Diſpoſition, or the Intereſts of his Brother, had not been very much inclined to the Peace; I am perſuaded, that this great Moderation of the Baron *de Bergeyck*, had wholly ruined the Affair.

I am your, &c.

*deur de France, ni celuy d'Hollande, non plus que le Nonce, ne vouloient point écouter la propoſition de changer quelque choſe aux termes du Projet. Et même j'ay regardé toutes les difficultez du Baron de Bergeyck ſur la ſignature, comme faites hors de propos, & d'une facheuſe influence pour la concluſion de l'affaire. Je luy ay donné le tort qu'il s'eſt plaint de la forme en laquelle étoient conçus les pouvoirs de Monſieur Colbert; il y a crû y entrevoir de l'aigreur, ſans faire reflexion qu'ils etoient dreſſez à l'imitation, & peut etre à l'envi des vôtres; les premiers Pouvoirs de Monſieur Colbert ayant eté conçûs ſans aucune relation au paſſé; & le Baron de Bergeyck ayant eu trois ſemaines pour faire venir des pouvoirs plus doux & plus ſortables à la paix. J'ay eté auſſi fort indigné de ce qu'il nous a retenu trois ou quatre jours à la gêne; & cela parce qu'il vouloit inſerer un nouveau pouvoir avec le mot d'*Ambaſſadeur. *Le Nonce n'en avoit jamais ouy parler auparavant au Baron; car la moindre mention n'en avoit pas été faite dans les pouvoirs, dont il avoit donné copie. Quelque legers que puiſſent paraître de tels incidens je croy pouvoir dire, que ſi Monſieur Colbert par la ſituation des affaires & des interêts de ſon frere, ne s'etoit pas trouvé tout-à-fait porté à la paix, je ſuis perſuadé que cette belle & louable moderation qu'on vante en Monſieur Bergeyck, auroit ſuffi pour gâter tout.*

Je ſuis, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Bruſſels, May* 22. *N. S.* 1668.

YOUR Lordſhip's of the firſt current, referred me to another I was to expect by the following Poſt, with particular Directions how to purſue the *Swediſh* Affair here; but that being not yet arrived, I have hitherto been only able to make ſome general Diligences therein, together with the *Holland* Deputy in a joint Audience this Morning. The Marquis's Guard conſiſted chiefly in theſe Points; that what he had promiſed of ſending Powers to the Count *Molina*, was in time of War, and with Intention of engaging *Sweden* with us in the Affair. That the Peace has alter'd that Meaſure; and though he had full Powers to grant what he thought fit in the time of War, whoſe Accidents admitted not Recourſe to *Spain*, yet he had not the ſame in time of Peace, but had written effectually upon this Subject. That, in the mean time he expected to know the Effect of this League, and ſee the Form of Guaranty it ſhould produce, with what Concert, and what Advantages for the Affairs of theſe Countries, of which he had yet received no particular Account from the Count *de Molina*. That he did not underſtand why *Spain* ſhould ſatisfy the Expence of thoſe Months which the *Swedes* had kept up their Troops only ly at the Deſire of *Holland*, and without any Reflections upon the Buſineſs of theſe Countries, which has from the time of the Concluſion at *Breda*, to that of our League at the *Hague*, wherein Count *Dona* enter'd, and which ſeemed the firſt Inſtance of the *Swedes* concerning themſelves in this Country or *Spain*'s Affairs.

The *Holland* Deputy preſs'd his Excellency hard upon his Promiſe, and his declaring to us, that he had ſent his Powers to the Count *Molina*, purſuing him with *Res non eſt integra*, and, *Mandatum non poteſt revocari*, and ſuch Civil Law Arguments, till it grew warm, and ſo not very proper for a Man in ill Health, nor in my Opinion, for the Buſineſs as it ſtands; ſo that I was fain to divert it upon my Expectation of new Powers and particular Inſtructions, by which I hoped to be able to give the Marquis Satisfaction in the Project of the intended Guaranty.

This Morning arrived Sir *John Trevor*'s Secretary, with Directions to bring the Buſineſs of the Ratifications to a Period, by carrying one from hence for Sureties ſake, in caſe that from *Spain* ſhould fail, which is expected upon the very Treaty ſigned at *Aix*, and withal to concert other Circumſtances in the manner of the Exchange, which is made very imperfect in the Treaty; that is, one to be deliver'd at St. *Germains*, and the other at *Bruſſels*. I carried the Secretary this Afternoon to the Marquis, and we have fallen upon this Agreement; That to Morrow he ſhall return for *Paris* with a Ratification upon the Treaty at *Aix*, and with Inſertion of the ſame Powers; a Blank now in the Marquis's Hands being to be filled up in that Form, and to be dated the 16th currant, which will anſwer a Poſſibility of a Poſt going to *Madrid* after the 2d, when the Treaty was ſigned at *Aix*, receiving this Ratification there, and returning to *Paris* by the 24th, the Day this Gentleman expects to arrive there.

For the Exchange it ſhall be made at *Paris*, and by the Hands of our Miniſters there, who ſhall deliver the *Spaniſh* Ratifications, and at the ſame time receive the *French*, with which the Marquis is content, and will proceed to the publiſhing of the Peace, ſo ſoon as our Miniſters are poſſeſs'd of the *French* Ratifications, which may afterwards be ſent hither at leiſure. The Day we propoſe for exchanging the Ratifications is the 26th and the 28th, for publiſhing the Peace, in caſe we receive a Courier by that time with Advice of the *French* Concurrence in that Day.

For the manner of executing the Treaty, I confeſs I was of Opinion, nothing ſhould be mentioned of it till the Exchange and Publication were paſs'd, ſince new Difficulties may ariſe upon it, which will be eaſieſt overcome when the thing is done, and perhaps the Parties will have begun to diſarm: The Marquis was of my Opinion in it, and therefore has propoſed only in that Point, that after the Publication, Commiſſioners may be appointed on both ſides to meet upon it, and the Mediators deſired by both Parties to intervene likewiſe by their Commiſſioners, for the better compoſing of any Difference that may ariſe between the Parties, and to whom the Adjudication of ſuch Difference may be referred: The Place of meeting to be *Oudenard* or *Courtray*, as moſt commodious for Adjudication of the Limits which may fall in Diſpute. After this Matter thus digeſted, and Promiſe of the Ratifications to be in my Hands to Morrow by Noon, I came away with Sir *John Trevor*'s Secretary; but the Marquis ſent after me, to deſire he might ſpeak with me alone; and told me, he was to thank me for ſparing him this Morning in Diſputes he was falling into with the *Holland* Deputy: That in ſhort, the *Dutch* had croſs'd him in an Alliance he was making laſt Year with *Sweden*, becauſe they would make themſelves Maſters of the Affair; and now would buy the *Swedes* Dependance at the Coſt of *Spain*. That he had all the Reaſon in the World to be ſatisfied with his Majeſty's Conduct of this Affair, but little in the *Dutch*: That he knew no Reaſon why they ſhould not pay what they had promiſed to *Sweden* after the Treaty at *Breda*, nor why all the Money *Spain* could ſpare ſhould not be given his Majeſty upon a nearer League between us, who was the only Prince had proceeded affectionately and generouſly in the *Spaniſh* Affairs, and who was the beſt able to ſupport them in caſe he were in

Condition to make War without his Peoples Purſes: That he expected the Baron *Iſola* ſuddenly here for Concluſion of the Guaranty, and this Affair with *Sweden*: And that at laſt, if it muſt be paid by *Spain*, it ſhould be all laid in his Majeſty's Hands to diſpoſe of as he pleaſed. I gave his Excellency Thanks for Expreſſions ſo obliging in what concerned our Part in this whole Affair; but deſired him to take it for a Ground in all the Superſtructures to be made upon the preſent Foundations: That *Spain* muſt not diſoblige *Holland* even to oblige us, but diſſemble any Reſentments they had given him, and ſacrifice them to the Advantage both we and *Spain* received by their preſent Separation from *France*. And ſo our Diſcourſes ended, and we are returned into the ſame good Correſpondence we were in before I went to *Aix*, which had been interrupted by ſome Letters I received from his Excellency there, and ſome I returned in the Style I thought they deſerved; it being perhaps natural to the ſame Men, to be the leaſt ſubject to do Injuries, and the leaſt capable of receiving them: For it is eaſy enough to find Morals for the firſt, but Chriſtianity enough for the laſt, I doubt is difficult.

I am ever, &c.

To Monſieur de Witt.

Bruſſels, May 27.
S I R, *N. S.* 1668.

BY my laſt from *Aix* I gave you Account of the Signing of the Peace, and was in hopes by this, to have given you alſo an Account of the Ratification, which is not yet arrived from *Paris*. Mean while the Ravages made by the *French* Troops over all the Country, and their Approaches to this City, alarm us here, as if they had a Deſign to wrangle upon ſome Formalities, and in the mean time put themſelves in a Condition to carry the greateſt Advantages upon Expiration of the Truce. I will not have the leaſt Suſpicion of ſuch a Proceeding; the moſt Chriſtian King having already given Notice of the Peace to the Pope and other Chriſtian Princes: And (which is of greater Weight) knowing that *Swedèn* has already enter'd into the *Triple Alliance*. Therefore the Buſineſs that gives me moſt Pain, is to draw from *Spain* the Satisfaction ſtipulated to *Sweden*, upon which your Deputies here have without doubt already given you the Marquis's Anſwers, tho' indeed ſomewhat cold and uncertain. I have ſince given him a very preſſing Letter from the King my Maſter upon the ſame Subject, but have had yet no Anſwer, farther than that he has not yet ſeen our *Triple Alliance*, nor knows the Advantages given to *Spain* by it, or whether they are equal to *Spain* and *France*. He makes Difficulties alſo upon

A Monſieur de Witt.

Bruſſelles, le 27 *May*,
Monſieur, *S. N.* 1668.

PAR ma derniere lettre d'Aix la Chapelle, je vous ay appris la ſignature de la paix, & j'eſperois par celle-cy vous apprendre la ratification; mais elle n'eſt pas encore arrivée de Paris. Cependant, les ravages faits par les Troupes Françoiſes dans toute la Flandre, & leurs approches de cette ville, cauſent encore de l'alarme icy, comme s'ils avoient deſſein de chicaner ſur quelques formalitez, & en attendant, ſe mettre en état de remporter les plus grands avantages au moment des l'expiration de la Treve. Je ne veux point former le moindre ſoupçon d'un tel procedé dans les François; le Roy tres Chrêtien ayant deja donné avis de la paix, tant au Pape qu'aux autres Princes: Et (ce qui eſt de plus grand poids) ſachant que la Suede a deja entré dans le Triple Alliance. C'eſt pourquoy, la choſe dont je me mets le plus en peine, eſt de tirer de l'Eſpagne la ſatisfaction ſtipulée pour la Suede. Vos Deputez icy vous ont ſans doute deja communiqué ſur cet article les rêponſes du Marquis, à la verité un peu froides & incertaines. Je luy ay remis depuis, une lettre de la part du Roy mon Maitre ſur ce ſujet, fort preſſante, mais je n'en ay juſqu' icy pû tirer d'autre rêponſe, ſi non qu'il n'a pas encore vû le traité de nôtre Triple Alliance, & qu'il ignore quels avantages y ſont contenus pour l'Eſpagne; & s'ils ſont balances egalement entre la France & l'Eſpagne. Il forme auſſi des difficultez

on the Subſidies of theſe Months paſt between the Treaty at *Breda*, and ours at the *Hague*, which was (as he ſays) the firſt Day that *Sweden* began to conſider the Affairs of *Spain* ; and he adds, that he has writ into *Spain* upon this Matter, and waits an Anſwer; his Powers being more ample in time of War than of Peace.

By the Thread of his Diſcourſe I imagine, that he is ſufficiently convinced of the Neceſſity of the Affair, and that he will agree to it ; but knowing that he has time till the Ratification comes from *Sweden*, he makes uſe of it, either firſt to ſee the Supplies of Money expected with *Don John*, or perhaps, becauſe there are ſome Natures in the World who never can proceed ſincerely in Buſineſs, but are always for *gaining Time*, which they will do if they were going to their Wedding, as much as if they were going to their Execution.

Mean while the King my Maſter has thought good to order another Letter to be writ to the Queen of *Spain* her ſelf upon this Subject, and to come to an end of this Affair, notwithſtanding the Difficulties that may ariſe here : And I think it will not be amiſs if the *States* obſerve the ſame Order, writing a Letter to the Marquis, and at the ſame time another to the Queen, to preſs the Affair, and both in civil Terms, without ſharpening the matter, or ſeeming to make Difficulties upon the Ratifications of the Guaranty, at leaſt, not to make them appear greater than they are. I have told my Opinion in this Affair, and I have dealt with the *Spaniards* long enough to know a little of their Genius ; nor do I doubt coming to an end of this matter, as well as I have done of others more difficult, provided we go the ſame way, as having to do with the ſame People.

I doubt not but you will be of my Opinion, that it will be neceſſary after the Peace is made, to endeavour at coming to ſome Exchange of Places, as well to remove the *French* from your Frontiers, as to leave the *Spaniards* in a better Condition of defending themſelves againſt any new Surprize or At-

cultez ſur les ſubſides des Mois ecoulez entre la concluſion du traité à Breda, & la date du nôtre à la Haye, qui étoit, dit il, le premier jour que la Suede a commencé d'examiner les affaires d'Eſpagne, & d'y faire attention. Enfin il ajoute qu'il a ecrit en Eſpagne ſur cette matiere, & qu'il en attend la réponſe, ſes Pouvoirs étant plus amples en tems de guerre qu'en tems de paix.

Par la ſuite de ſon diſcours j'ay crû appercevoir, qu'il eſt aſsez perſuadé de la neceſſité de l'affaire, & qu'il y veut venir ; mais comme il ſait, qu'il a du tems juſqu' à la ratification venue de Suede, il tâche de s'en ſervir, dans l'eſperance que les ſecours d'argent arriveront avec Don Juan. Mais peut être que ce temporiſement a un autre principe, & qu'il y a des eſprits dans le monde faits de telle ſorte, qu'ils ne ſauroient jamais aller rondement en beſogne, & qui ſongent toûjours à gagner du tems, lors même qu'il s'agit d'aller aux nôces, comme lors qu'il eſt queſtion d'aller à la mort.

En attendant, le Roy mon Maitre a trouvé bon de faire écrire une autre lettre à la Reyne d'Eſpagne elle même ſur ce ſujet, pour venir à bout de cette affaire, malgré les difficultez qui ſe pourront rencontrer icy. Il me ſemble qu'il ne ſeroit mal à propos que Meſſieurs les Etats ſuiviſſent la même voye, & qu'ils fiſſent écrire au Marquis & en même tems à la Reine, afin de preſſer l'affaire. Ces deux lettres etant conceuës en termes obligeans, & au lieu d'aigrir le different, & de groſſir lez difficultez, paroiſſant avoir pour but de pacifier toutes choſes, & de tendre à une prompte concluſion touchant les Ratifications de la Guarantie, pourroient produire un tres bon effet. Voila mon opinion ſur cette affaire : J'ay eu un aſſez long commerce avec les Eſpagnols pour connoitre un peu leur genie, & je ne doute point que je ne vienne à bout de ce que j'ay entrepris, ainſi que je ſuis dêja venu à bout de choſes plus difficiles, pourvû que nous marchions tous d'un même train, ayant affaire à mêmes gens.

Je ne doute pas que vous ne ſoyez comme moy du ſentiment, qu'aprés la paix faite, il ſera neceſſaire de faire nos efforts pour amener les choſes à un échange des places, tant pour eloigner les François de vos frontiers, que pour laiſſer les Eſpagnols en état de ſe mieux defendre contre de nouvelles ſurpriſes & de nouvel-

tack: And this will deſerve your Thoughts upon it; I mean, the manner by which you muſt begin and carry on this Affair. And, I think, the beſt Occaſion of entring into the Buſineſs will be upon the Execution of the Peace; and to repreſent that the Reſtitution of *Burgundy* in the Condition it is in at preſent, is an Offer not agreeable to the Promiſes of the moſt Chriſtian King.

I have deſired Monſieur *Beverning* to diſcourſe you about a ſmall Particular in our laſt Inſtrument of the *Marine*, which does not ſeem to me of any Importance, but by which ſome of your good Friends have undertook to reflect particularly upon me: But having had no News of Monſieur *Beverning* ſince his Departure, I ſhould be glad to know that he ſpoke to you of it, and what you think.

I am, &c.

les invaſions. Cecy merite vos reflexions. Vous penſerez auſſi à la maniere dont il faudra s'y prendre pour entamer & pourſuivre cette affaire. Il me ſemble que l'occaſion la plus propre d'entrer en matiere ſur cela, ſera ſur l'execution de la paix; & de repreſenter, que la reſtitution de Bourgogne *dans l'état ou il eſt à preſent, eſt une offre peu convenable aux promeſſes du Roy tres Chrétien.*

J'ay prié Monſieur Beverning *de vous entretenir ſur une petite particularité touchant nôtre dernier memoire ſur la marine; la choſe ne me paroît pas importante, mais parce que quelques uns de vos bons amis ont pris à tâche de me blamer moy ſeul en particulier: Comme je n'ay point eu de nouvelles de Monſieur* Beverning *depuis ſon depart, je ſeray bien aiſe de ſavoir s'il vous en à parlé, & ce qui vous en ſemble.*

Je ſuis, &c.

To Monſieur de Witt.

London, July 3.
SIR, 1668.

HAving taken ſo much part in your good Fortunes, and the Applauſes given you by the World, it's but reaſonable I ſhould alſo take part in your Loſſes, and tell you with equal Diſpleaſure and Truth, how much I am concerned at your late Miſfortune. I have long obſerved, that your Fatigues for the Publick were eaſed by your domeſtick Entertainments; and inſtead of thoſe Diverſions which others ſeek in Vice and Extravagance, you always placed yours in the innocent Pleaſures of Conjugal and Paternal Affection. I have obſerved alſo, how happily you diſcharged your ſelf of all Affairs of your Family upon a Lady who now lives no more but in the Memory and Eſteem of all thoſe that knew her; and therefore I am but too ſenſible how nearly this Loſs muſt afflict you; and that it is neither juſt nor decent to give you Conſolation upon it ſo ſoon. Therefore I will only ſay, that if it were not for this ſad Occaſion, you would have wanted one great enough to ſhew the Strength of your Mind, which is often apter to ſink under Domeſtick Accidents, than thoſe

A Monſieur *de Witt.*

De Londres le 3
Monſieur, *Juill.* 1668.

A*Yant pris tant de part dans vos proſperitez, & dans les applaudiſſemens que vous recevez de tout le monde; il eſt bien juſte que j'en prenne dans vos diſgraces & dans vos pertes; & que je vous diſe avec autant de douleur que de verité, que j'ay eté vivement touché de la derniere perte que vous venez de faire. Il y a long tems que j'ay remarqué que vôtre domeſtique vous a toujours ſervi d'unique relachement dans les fatigues que vous cauſent les affaires publiques, & qu'au lieu de recourir à ces divertiſſemens qui approchent ſi ſouvent de l'extravagance & du crime, vous faiſiez toûjours conſiſter les vôtres à cultiver les fruits de l'amitié conjugale, & de la tendreſſe paternelle. J'avois remarqué auſſi, avec quelle joye & quelle confiance vous vous étiez dechargé de tous les ſoins de ménage ſur cette vertueuſe epouſe, qui ne vit plus à preſent que dans l'eſtime & le ſouvenir de toutes les perſonnes qui l'ont connue; & par là je ne ſens que trop combien ſa perte vous doit ſenſiblement toucher: ni la bienſeance, ni la raiſon ne ſouffrent point que j'entreprenne de vous conſoler ſi ſubitement. C'eſt pourquoy je vous diray ſeulement,*

thoſe of Court, or of a War: For by theſe a Man is only harden'd every Day, but he is ſoften'd and made more tender by the others. I beg you therefore not to neglect this Occaſion of your Glory; not to forget, in the midſt of your Grief, that you have this long time eſpouſed the Good of your Country, and of *Chriſtendom* it ſelf, in theſe laſt Conjunctures, to which you owe all your Applications and Careſſes. I hope theſe will be at preſent ſome Comfort to you, or at leaſt a Diverſion, as they have formerly been a Fatigue and a Pain.

Having begun this Letter only to condole with you upon this ſad Occaſion, I will not intermix any thing of Buſineſs, only to tell you, that the King my Maſter preſſes me every Day to prepare for my Voyage, which I ſhall delay no longer than my Domeſtick Affairs have made it neceſſary after ſo long an Abſence. In the mean while I aſſure you, I find nothing here that can any way change or ſlacken the Purſuit of our true and common Intereſts, which conſiſt in the Firmneſs of our laſt Alliance. But of this I ſhall tell you more when I ſee you.

I am, Sir, your, &c.

lement, que ſans une ſi triſte occaſion, vous n'auriez pas eu celle d'étaler toute la force de vôtre ame, qui ſuccombe quelquefois plus promptement & plus abſolument ſous les afflictions domeſtiques que ſous le revers de la Republique, ou les diſgraces de la guerre: On ſe familiariſe avec ces dernieres, & on s'y endurcit avec le tems; mais les premieres conſervent toujours le droit de nous attendrir & de nous toucher infiniment. Je vous prieray donc de ne pas negliger cette occaſion de vôtre gloire, & au plus fort de vôtre douleur, de ne point oublier avec quel devoüement, & depuis quel tems vous avez epouſé le bien de vôtre Patrie, & avec le ſien, celuy de la Chrétienté, dans ces dernieres conjonctures; vôtre attachement, vos ſoins, vôtre tendreſſe même luy ſont dûs, puiſque vous devez vous même tout entier à elle. J'eſpere qu'à l'avenir vos veilles & vos fatigues pour la Republiqne vous procureront quelque ſoulagement, ou du moins apporteront quelque diverſion à vos ennuis, au lieu des travaux & de ſueurs qu'elles vous ont couté autrefois.

Ayant commencé cette lettre uniquement dans la veue de me conſoler avec vous, je ne veux point la finir en y mêlant quelque choſe qui ſoit etrangere à vôtre douleur. Je ne vous parleray donc point d'affaires, & je vous diray ſeulement que le Roy mon Maitre me preſſe tous les jours ſur les preparatifs de mon depart; je n'y apporteray d'autres retardements que ceux que mes affaires domeſtiques rendent indiſpenſables aprés une ſi longue abſence. En attendant, je puis vous aſſûrer que je n'ay rien apperçû icy qui puiſſe tant ſoit peu alterer ou rallentir les ſoins de nos veritables & communs intereſts, que je fais conſiſter dans la fermeté & la durée de nôtre derniere Alliance: vous verrez cela plus au long à mon arrivée.

Je ſuis, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R, *Sheen, July* 22. 1668.

THO' I doubt our late Motions may have loſt or delay'd ſome of your Letters, which we have now been ſome time in want of; yet I preſume ours have had their conſtant Courſe to you, though from ſeveral Parts: And though mine have not been frequent, upon the Permiſſion you give me to ſpare my own Eyes and Time when they are otherwiſe taken up, and truſt to my Siſter's entertaining you: Yet upon my return home after three Years Abſence, I could not but give you ſome Account of my coming and Stay here; and of what I can foreſee is like to follow it, both as to my own Particular, and to the publick Affairs, in which *that* ſeems at preſent to be ſo much involved.

After the Concluſion of the *Triple Alliance* and the Peace of *Aix*, I was at an end of my Ambition; having ſeen *Flanders* ſaved, as if it had been by one of the Miracles the Houſe of *Auſtria* has, they ſay, been uſed to; and the general Intereſts of *Chriſtendom* ſecured againſt the Power and Attempts of *France*; and at the ſame time the Conſideration and Honour of his Majeſty and his Crown abroad, raiſed to a Degree it has not been in for ſome Ages paſt, and we had no reaſon to expect it ſhould be in ſome Ages to come, upon the Decline it felt after the Buſineſs of *Chattam*, and the Peace of *Breda* that ſucceeded it. I returned from *Aix* to *Bruſſels* without other Thoughts than of continuing in that Station, till I grew wearier of it than I was like to do very ſuddenly, of a Place, I confeſs I love: But immediately upon my Arrival there, I met with Letters from my Lord *Arlington*, which brought me the King's Orders to continue the Equipage of an Ambaſſador, that I was in, upon my *Aix* Journey, in order to my ſerving his Majeſty in the ſame Character at the *Hague*, whither he was reſolved to ſend me, and to renew upon occaſion of our late Alliances, a Character which the Crown of *England* had diſcontinued in that Country ſince King *James*'s Time. In order hereunto I was left at liberty to take my Leave of the Marquis, and to return into *England* as ſoon as I pleaſed, which I did by the way of *Holland*, and left moſt of my Servants and Horſes at *Utrecht*.

Upon my Arrival here, I was received both by the King and Court a great deal better than I could deſerve or pretend; but People ſeem generally pleaſed with the Councils and Negotiations, in which I have had ſo much part ſince *Chriſtmas* laſt; and I underſtand not Courts ſo ill (how little ſoever I have been uſed to them) as not to know that one ought not to loſe the Advantage of coming home with the common Opinion of ſome Merits or good Hits at one's Back, if one's Buſineſs be *de pouſſer ſa Fortune*: And I am put enough in mind of it upon this Occaſion, by ſeveral of thoſe many new Friends one would think I had at this time of Day, as well as by ſome of my old ones: But I cannot imagine why I ſhould pretend to have deſerved more than my Pay of the King, for which I ſerved him in my late Employments; and if I got Honour by them, 'twas ſo much more than I had to reckon upon. Beſides, I ſhould be ſorry to ask Money of him at a time when for ought I can judge by the Cry of the Court, he wants it more than I do. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador and Baron *d'Iſola*, as well as others of my Friends, would needs be asking a Title for me, and 'tis with Difficulty enough that I have prevented it; but 'tis that I am ſure I never can have a mind to, and if it ſhould ever be offered me, I reſolve it ſhall either begin with you, if you deſire it; or if not, with my Son, which I had much rather. But I ſuppoſe, nothing of this can happen in our Court without Purſuit; and ſo I reckon my ſelf in all theſe Points juſt where I was about ſix Months ago, but only deſigned for another Ambaſſy, and no Man knows how that will end. I am very much preſs'd to diſpatch my Preparations for it, by my Lord Keeper and Lord *Arlington*, who are extreme kind to me, as well as to the Meaſures lately taken by their Miniſtry, and ſeem to value themſelves a great deal upon them. They ſay, all the Buſineſs the King now has, both at home and abroad, will turn upon my Hand in *Holland*, by keeping the *French* from breaking in upon our late Alliances, and the Confidence between us; and by drawing the *Emperor* and Princes of the *Empire* into a common Guaranty of the Peace; and thereupon they are mighty earneſt with me to haſten away. On t'other ſide, the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury ſeem to have more mind to my Company here, than I could expect: For after ſome of them had tryed to hinder the King's Reſolution, of ſending either an Ambaſſador at all into *Holland* (upon Pretence of ſo long Diſuſe of that Character) or me in particular, when *that* could not be carried, they prepared my way by entring upon new Regulations in the Exchequer, among which, thoſe concerning foreign Employments, brought down the Equipage Money of Ambaſſadors from three thouſand Pounds as it has been ſince the King came in, to 1500 Pounds in *France* and *Spain*, and to 1000 Pounds in all other Courts; and their Allowance from 100 Pounds a Week to 10 Pounds a Day in *France* and *Spain*, and to 7 in other Places. Though this be pretended by the Commiſſioners as only a Piece of a general Scheme of Parſimony they find neceſſary in the preſent Condition of the Revenue; yet I underſtand it as calculated juſt at this Time particularly for me; and my Lord *Arlington* confeſſes he thinks it ſo too, and takes part in it as a piece of Envy or Malice to himſelf as well as to me, from ſome who are ſpighted at all, that has lately paſſed between us and *Holland*, and at the Perſons who have been at the Head of thoſe Councils. For my part, I reſent it not only as a thing I have not deſerved, upon an Employment caſt wholly upon me by the King's Choice, and, as he ſeems to think, by the Neceſſity of his Affairs; but as that which I find plainly by the ſhort Experience of my laſt Ambaſſy, will not defray the Expence of another, with any Honour to the King or my ſelf abroad; and though I do not pretend to make my Fortune by theſe Employments, yet I confeſs I do not pretend to ruin it neither. I have therefore been reſolved ſeveral times abſolutely to refuſe this Ambaſſy, unleſs it be upon the Terms all others have had; but my Lord *Arlington* puts ſo much weight upon my going, that he will not hear of it: He ſays, 'tis *That* our good Friends would have, and intend by this Uſage; and that I can no way diſappoint them ſo much as by going, and that this Rule will be broken in three Months time: That I ſhould not conſider ſmall matters of Money in the courſe of my Fortune, and that the King cannot fail of making mine at a Lump one time or other: That there is nothing I may not expect from him upon my return from this Ambaſſy; and that if his Majeſty had not thought me of abſolute Neceſſity to him in *Holland* upon this Conjuncture, he had brought me now into Secretary *Moris*'s Place, which upon my going abroad is deſigned for Sir *John Trevor*. My Lord Keeper is of the ſame Mind, to have me by no means refuſe it (as he ſays) neither for the King's ſake nor my own; and your old Friend Sir *Robert Long* agrees with them both; and ſays, after a Year or two of this Ambaſſy, I cannot fail of either being Secretary of State, or ſent Ambaſſador into *Spain*; which are both certain ways of making any Man's Fortune.

With all this, I confeſs I find it not very eaſy to reſolve, and very much deſire yours and my Brother's Opinion upon it: And that you may the better give it me, I ſhall tell you one Circumſtance which weighs a little with me, though not at all with my Friends here. They are all of Opinion, the Meaſures the King has lately taken cannot be broken nor altered, however they may be ſnarled at by ſome Perſons, upon particular Envy or Intereſt; but I ſee plainly there are others of another Mind. Sir *Thomas Clifford* ſaid to a Friend of mine in Confidence, upon all the Joy that was here at the Concluſion of the *Triple Alliance*; *Well, for all this Noiſe, we muſt yet have another War with the* Dutch *before it be long*. And I ſee plainly already, that he and Sir *George Downing* are endeavouring with all the Induſtry that can be, to engage the *Eaſt-India* Company here in ſuch Demands and Pretenſions upon the *Dutch*, as will never be yielded to on that Side, and will encreaſe a Jealouſy, they will ever have, of our unſteady Councils, and of our leaving ſtill a Door open for ſome new Offences when we ſhall have a Mind to take them. On t'other Side, the *French* will leave no Stone unturned, to break this Confidence between us and *Holland*, which ſpoils all their Meaſures, and without which they had the World before them. If they can, they will undermine it in *Holland* by Jealouſies of the Prince of *Orange*, or any other Artifice, and will ſpare neither Promiſes nor Threats. If I ſhould be able to keep that Side ſtanch, they will ſpare none of the ſame Endeavours here, and will have ſome good Helps that I ſee already, and may have others that do not yet appear. If by any of theſe Ways, or other Accidents, our preſent Meaſures come to change; I am left in *Holland* to a certain Loſs, upon the Terms they would ſend me, though I ſhould be paid, but to a certain Ruin if I ſhould not; which I may well expect from the good Quarter I may reckon upon from ſome in the Treaſury; and when my Ambaſſy ends, I may find a new World here, and all the fine Things I am told of, may prove Caſtles in the Air: There is I know, a great deal to be ſaid for my going, but on t'other Side, I am well as I am, and cannot be ruined but by ſuch an Adventure as this. I beg of you to let me know your Opinion upon the whole; and if I could have the Confidence, I ſhould beg a great deal more earneſtly that I might ſee you here, ſince I cannot get looſe to wait on you there. Till I hear from you, I ſhall let the Talk and the Forms of my Ambaſſy go on, and am confident, however they preſume, yet I can ſpin out the Time of my going till about the End of *Auguſt*, in hopes of ſeeing you here; which will be, I am ſure, the greateſt Satisfaction that can befal,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTERS TO *Sir* William Temple.

From Sir Thomas Clifford.

SIR, *Copenhagen, Octob.* 7, 1665.

I Have received your obliging Letter of the $\frac{20}{30}$th paſt; And the News of this Countrey is like the Commodities, not of equal Value with the more Southern, and ſo you are like to be a Loſer by the Barter: But your Kindneſs is the greater. I hope the King of *Spain*'s Death will no way alter the State of our Affairs with that Crown. I cannot tell you the effect of my Negotiation here; but ſhall in my next give you ſome Hints. The Direction of your Letter brings it ſafe to me; I ſhall adviſe you before I remove. Here came a Report laſt Night, that a Squadron of the *Engliſh* Fleet had taken out of *Fleckery* nine of the *Dutch* Merchant-men, and ran another on Shoar: But I have examin'd it, and find there was no Ground for the Report. Two of their *Eaſt-India* Men are ſtill at *Tunsburg*, near *Chriſtiana* in *Norway*, and two more are returned to *Bergen*: But the ſix Men of War and *Eaſt-India* Man that came here into the *Sound* after the Storm, are put to Sea, and gone toward the *Texel*. The *Eaſt-India* Ship that got into the River of *Elve*, is there unlading, and they are ſending the Goods home in little ſmall Veſſels, under the Convoy only of a little Toy of eight or ten Guns: They go home over the *Watts*; a Privateer lying there would probably make his Market.

Laſt Night ſome *Dutch* Ships going for *Dantzick* arrived here, and boaſted, that their Fleet of ninety Sail, under *De Ruyter*, ſailed upon *Sunday* laſt, the firſt Inſtant, towards *England*, and to the Channel, as they thought, to join with the *French*, but no body gives credit to the Relation.

You ſee what ſhift I make to compleat my Bill of Store; but pray let it not diſhearten you from correſponding: For if I have nothing elſe to ſay, I ſhall be glad of Opportunities to expreſs my ſelf,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

Thomas Clifford.

From the Earl of Clarendon, *Lord High Chancellor.*

SIR, *Oxford, December* 28. 1665.

I Do confeſs I have, ſince we parted, receiv'd three Letters from you, which I ſhould be aſham'd to acknowledge now, if I had been faulty in not doing it ſooner; as I promiſe my ſelf you have been informed from my Lord *Arlington*'s Juſtice and Friendſhip. It is now near three Months, that the Pain of the Gout hath reſtrained me from the Exerciſe of writing; and I am hardly yet returned to it, becauſe not able to put my Head out of Doors, or more than to ſtand, rather than walk in my Chamber: So that I would not have ventur'd to have given you this Trouble; but upon the Abſence of my Lord *Arlington*, (who hath tranſmitted to you conſtantly what we thought jointly:) But upon the Sight of your laſt Letter, which came ſince his Departure; I think it neceſſary to ſay a little to you upon a Particular or two.

I do in the firſt place think and believe the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* to be a very generous Perſon, and a very uſeful Friend to the King our Maſter; and one who will be the beſt Inſtrument to contribute to that firm Friendſhip between the two Crowns, that is neceſſary for the joint Intereſt of both; and therefore we muſt be careful to remove the leaſt Umbrage, which may diſpoſe him to ſuſpect our Prudence with reference to our own Affairs, or our Affection with reference to *Spain*. With reference to our ſelves, it is not poſſible we can be without a Senſe of the almoſt inſupportable Weight that lies upon us, in the carrying on the War againſt the *Dutch*, and preparing for a War againſt *France*: And therefore we cannot but heartily wiſh to be fairly quit of one of them; and would be very glad that any Advance were made to it by *Holland*. I thought always that the Overture made by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, had come from *Don Stephano*, and never heard the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s Name: But it being the very ſame in Terms that the *French* Ambaſſadors had made, there could then be no Proceedings upon it. But we have done all we can to invite the *Dutch* to an Addreſs how privately ſoever: Nor ſhall we make any Demands concerning the Prince of *Orange*, leſt it ſhould do him hurt. If we can bring them off from a Conjunction with *France* (in which *Spain* is more concerned than *England*) I am confident we ſhall inſiſt upon very reaſonable Conditions. We have great Reaſon to commend the Proceedings of the Biſhop of *Munſter*: Nor are we jealous in the leaſt degree of him, or his treating: And as our failing towards him has not proceeded from any Faults of ours, but even from the Hand of God; ſo we ſhall out of hand repair thoſe Omiſſions: And it is but reaſonably expected that the Princes of the Empire ſhould (how ſecretly ſoever) ſupport him from a Diſſolution, leſt before many Months paſt, and the *French* Deſigns are a little more evident, they would be glad to repurchaſe the Advantage of the Biſhop's being in ſuch a Poſt as he now is, at any Price.

There is nothing now ought to be laboured with ſo much Induſtry and Dexterity, as the uniting *England*, *Spain* and *Flanders*, which would give, and which only can give Peace to *Chriſtendom*. I am ſure our Maſter is paſſionately inclined to it, and truly I think *Spain* is well diſpoſed to the main; yet I know not how by the fatal Delay in Diſpatch there (and it may be their Expectation, that in the Straits we are, we ſhall buy their Friendſhip at a Rate we ſhall never pay for it) the Haſte is not made that the Affair required.

quired. My Lord *Sandwich* (who will be gone in twenty Days) I hope will give Life to it.

You ſee how ill my Hand is, tho' never legible, by Shaking and Weakneſs ſomewhat worſe than uſual. God keep you; and I pray let me know, that this is come to your Hands from,

SIR,

Your affectionate Servant,

Clarendon.

From * *Sir* George Savill.

* *Late M. of* Hallifax.

SIR, *Feb.* 5. *N. S.* 1666.

IT is a Sin againſt the Publick, and a Treſpaſs upon you, at this time to clog you with ſuch an idle Correſpondence as mine: But I find I conſider my own Intereſt before yours; being not able to make you an Expreſſion of my Kindneſs at ſo dear a rate as the denying my ſelf the Satisfaction of hearing from you. And therefore I take hold of your Offer, and beg you would ſometimes beſtow a Letter upon me, which ſhall be as welcome for telling me you are well, as it can be for the beſt News it bringeth in relation to the Publick: For which, if I can be concerned, next to what I am for my beſt Friends, it is the utmoſt I will pretend to in that matter. I find his Majeſty of *France* will be an angry Enemy. He doth not declare War, like an *bonnête homme*; and therefore I hope he will not purſue it like a *wiſe one*.

I do not deſpair, but that the *Engliſh* who uſe to go into *France* for their Breeding, may have the Honour once to teach *them* better Manners. The League with *Spain* is a good Circumſtance to make us able to do it: It is ſo ſeaſonably and ſo well done, that I will ſuppoſe you had a Hand in it. In the mean time we have great Alarms the *Monſieur* will invade us, which makes every body prepare for their Entertainment. And I hope they will neither find us ſo little ready, or ſo divided, as perhaps they expect.

I will not make this longer, when I have aſſured you I am,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

George Savill.

From the Biſhop of Munſter.

Munſter, Feb. 12. 1666.

SIR,

THE Favours you have expreſſed to me are ſuch, that nothing can add to my Eſteem of you: However, it was very acceptable to find from yours of the 25th paſt, that your Affection to me ſtill continues. In the mean time I am buſy in preparing an Army againſt Spring; nor do I doubt but ſuch Care is taken of the third Payment, that I may have it all together; at leaſt, that you have prepared 30000 Dollars ready at *Bruſſels*, and

Ab Epiſcopo Monaſterii.

Monaſterii, Feb. 12. 1666.

Generoſe Domine,

D*Ominationem veſtram ita meis rebus faventem reipſa ſemper expertus ſum, ut nullâ quidem conteſtatione meæ deſuper conceptæ exiſtimationi plus addi poſſit; gratiſſimum tamen fuit, ex ejuſdem literis de 25to elapſi menſis Januarii percipere, quod D. V. eundem zelum & affectum continuet. Ego interim non deſino inſtruere & præparare exercitum imminenti jam veri; nec dubito de tertio termino ſic proviſum, ut integrè à meis ſublevari poſſit, aut certè diſpoſitione*

and that 25000 more may be returned with all ſpeed by Exchange to *Cologn:* For it is certain, that by ſmall Sums, and paid by Parcels, nothing can be perform'd worthy of ſuch an Undertaking; and that my Expedition will be as much obſtructed by theſe, as if the Subſidies were wholly delayed. Beſides, I ſhall this Year meet with more Reſiſtance by Enemies unexpected, to whom the Elector of *Brandenburg* will join himſelf. But that I hope will be recompenſed by the Friendſhip of *Sweden*, and his Majeſty's Declaratory Letters communicated to me, and to be kept ſecret. Nor ſhall any thing be more unviolably obſerv'd by me, than the League I have made with his Majeſty, from which nothing ſhall be able to force me. Nor is there any Reaſon why the Offer of a Mediation from the Emperor and Princes, ſhould raiſe any Suſpicions of the contrary, ſince the preſent Conjunctures would not permit me abruptly to refuſe it. And in order to gain time, I have kept that Affair within Preliminaries, relating to the Perſons of the Mediators, the Manner of negotiating, and the Means of Security to be propoſed, being reſolved by any means not to ſeparate my ſelf from his Majeſty; from whoſe Protection I truſt to procure Safety and Satisfaction to my ſelf. I am glad of the Peace between *England* and *Spain* being ſigned at *Madrid*, and that it is ſent into *England* to be ratified. I wiſh the Effects of it be not delayed; and that the *Spaniards* may be ready at the time, againſt whom I hear the *Hollanders* have alſo declared War by the Inſtigation of the *French*.

Your moſt obliged Servant,

Ch. Bernardus.

tione Dis. Vræ. triginta thalerorum millia Bruxellis in paratis præſto ſint, & viginti quinque millia Coloniam cambio quantocius tranſmittantur. Certum enim eſt minutis ſummulis & carptim ſolutis, vix quicquam pro dignitate tantæ rei effici poſſe; nec minus ex his, quàm dilatis ſubſidiis expeditionem meam incommodi cepiſſe. Quæ quidem hoc anno plus reſiſtentiæ & difficultatis à tot inopinatis hoſtibus quibus & Elector Brandenburgicus ſe ſociabit, habitura eſt. Id tamen fiduciâ amicitiæ Sueciæ compenſatum exiſtimo, accedentibus S. Regiæ Majeſtatis declaratoriis literis mihi communicatis, & ſecretò ſervandis. Nihilque mihi unquam erit antiquius aut magis inviolabile noto fœdere cum S. Regiâ Majeſtate ſancito, à quo nullo modo divelli me patiar. Nec eſt, quòd oblatâ Cæſaris & quorundam Principum mediatio umbras aliquas contrariæ ſuſpicionis invehere poſſit; cùm illam præfractè reſpuere nec temporum horum ratio patiatur, nec mihi conſultum fuerit, qui lucrando tempori inde occaſionem nactus, rem omnem hactenus intra præliminaria de ipſis perſonis Mediatorum, de modo tractandi, & mediis ſecuritatis proponendis continui, certus non ſeparare me à S. Regiâ Majeſtate, cujus auſpiciis, & ſatisfactionem, & ſecuritatem me conſecuturum confido. Quòd fœdus Anglo-Hiſpanum Madriti jam tum ſignatum, & ad ratificandum in Angliam tranſmiſſum ſit, libenter accepi; optarem ſanè hujus effectum non deferri, & Hiſpanos tempori paratos eſſe, quibus etiam ab Hollandis bellum Gallorum inſtigatione denunciandum intelligo: Ac hiſce maneo

Dominationis veſtræ addictiſſimus,

Ch. Bernardus.

From Sir George Savill.

SIR, *April* 4. 1666.

THIS muſt carry my Thanks to you for two Letters I received at the ſame time from you, which giveth me a fair Occaſion to ſay a great deal to you; but that I will not treſpaſs upon our Agreement, to omit Ceremony, or any thing that looketh like it. Yet you muſt give me leave to tell you, I think my ſelf as much aſſured of your Kindneſs, by your letting me ſtay in your Thoughts (when you might forget me without Breach of Friendſhip, conſidering the Weight of Buſineſs that lieth upon you) as I could be by any Mark of it you can imagine: And if you will ſuppoſe my Senſe of it anſwerably, and reckon upon my Service accordingly; if it may ever be of uſe to you, you will do me but Right. In the mean time you make me ſenſible of the Inconvenience of living out of the World: Now that I find it impoſſible for me to write three Lines of Senſe in Exchange for your Letters, that are full of every thing which can make them welcome. I am ſo aſhamed you ſhould converſe with a dead Man, that I almoſt wiſh the *French* landed upon our Coaſt, thinking it better to write you a ſad Story than none. How ſoon I may be furniſhed with ſomething of this kind, dependeth upon our Succeſs at Sea, and the Faith of your Biſhop, which may well be ſhaken, if you do not ſupport it with your Bills of Exchange. He is likely to be ſo over-match'd this next Campaign, that I doubt he will be tempted to break Faith with Hereticks, rather than be a Martyr in our Calendar. I ſhould be glad to hear *Spain* would come into our Scales, to help us to weigh down our Enemies; but I fear their ill Luck in the late War hath not left them Spirit enough to fall out with the *French*, though their Intereſt provoketh them to it. Beſides, the Crown is in a Cradle: and a *Spaniſh* Council I imagine to be as ſlow an Aſſembly as a Houſe of Commons. So that we muſt rely upon the Oak and Courage of *England* to do our Buſineſs, there being ſmall Appearance of any thing to help us from abroad.

I believe before this cometh to your Hands, you will be waiting upon Madamoiſelle *Beverwaert*, who is a Teſtimony that this War hath given us no ſuch Antipathy to the *Dutch*, ſince we chuſe one to breed Stateſmen for the next Age. The Captain that went upon ſo peaceable an Errand, and into a Friend's Harbour, had ill Fortune to be ſo roughly ſaluted: But it being a ſingle Act of the Officer, without any Order from his Superiors, it is of no more Conſequence to us than the Sound of it may amount to.

I direct this as you bid me; and though it ſhould not come to you, I aſſure my ſelf you would not impute it to the Omiſſion, but to the ill Fortune of,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

George Savill.

From the Biſhop of Munſter.

May 21. 1666.

SIR,

I Doubt not, but by your good Offices, the Reception of my Envoy the Baron *de Roſenback* at Court will be ſo prepared, as that his Majeſty may have an Account of my Deſigns: And I hope you will continue your Favour ſo far, as the King may be perſuaded that the Neceſſity which forced me to accept the Peace, has not taken any thing from the Profeſſion of that Honour, Duty and Service, I ſhall ever pay him. To which end I have ordered my Agent *Rentorf* to cultivate a ſtrict Friendſhip in my Name, as well as to communicate to you my moſt ſecret Affairs, reſolving to watch all Occaſions for the Service of his Majeſty; in order to which,

Ab Epiſcopo Monaſterii.

Lugderio, Maii 21. 1666.

Generoſe Domine,

NON dubito Officiis Dis. Vræ. aditum in Aulâ Regis ablegato meo Baroni de Roſenback ita præparatum, ut S. Regiæ Majeſtati ratio conſilii mei præbeatur; quod Dom. Vram. ita continuaturam ſpero, ut Rex perſuaſum omnino habeat iſtam neceſſitatem quæ mihi pacis leges impoſuit, nihil prorſus detraxiſſe de animo quo S. Majeſtatis obſervantiæ, gloriæ & utilitati, æternùm devotus ſum. Eumque in finem mandavi Agenti meo Rentorf intimam meo nomine cum Dne. Vrâ. Communicationem mearum rerum, & amicitiam colere, intentus ſemper in occaſiones omnes futuras pro ſervitio S. Majeſtatis; quem in finem copias Brabanticas, & in circulo Burgundico conſcriptas, Domino Marchioni

which, I have ſent back to the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* the *Brabant* Troops, as well as thoſe raiſed in the *Circle* of *Burgundy*, all entire. And now ſome *German* Regiments well armed and exerciſed, are preparing for their March into *Flanders*, of whoſe Valour the *Hollanders* themſelves are Witneſſes, as I believe you know already from the ſaid Marquis. Now ſince it concerns me very much that his Majeſty ſhould know theſe Soldiers are kept in his Service; I ſhould be extremely ſatisfied if you would inform the King of it, at the ſame time that the ſaid Baron *de Roſenback* will be arrived at *London*. And that it be repreſented as a Mark of my eternal Devotion to his Majeſty. In which you will highly oblige me: And in Confidence whereof I remain,

SIR,
Your moſt obliged Servant,
Chr. Bernardus.

Marchioni de Caſtel-Rodrigo integras remiſi: & jam itineri in Belgium Hiſpanicum accinguntur legiones aliquot Germanorum; fortis ſanè & exercitatus miles, de quorum virtute ipſi fœderati Belgæ teſtari poterunt: uti Dom. Vram. jam ex prædicto domino gubernatore latiùs cognoviſſe arbitror. Cum autem meâ plurimum interſit, ut Regiæ Majeſtati ſuæ conſtet militem hunc in ſuo ſervitio conſervari; pergratum mihi foret, ſi Dio. Vra. de eo, facilitandæ intentioni meæ, quamprimum & ſine morâ hoc ipſo tempore quo dictus Baro de Roſenback Londinum appulerit, S. Majeſtatem certiorem faciat, & tanquam indicium ratum æternæ meæ in Regem fidei conteſtetur: Quo me Dio. Vra. ſibi ſummopere obligabit: Et hâc fiduciâ maneo,

Dominationi veſtræ addictiſſimus,
Chr. Bernardus.

From my Lord Arlington.

SIR, *Whitehall, July 30. 1666.*

WHAT I received in yours of the 2d was written to me at large, from him whom I ſuppoſe to be the Author of it, but not exactly with the ſame Circumſtances: Whether his Meaning or his Imagination fail him, is a great Queſtion here. His Name, to ſpeak freely with you, is able to diſcredit any Truth; and againſt the Grain I employ'd him in *Holland*, not to make him the Inſtrument of a Peace, but to ſend us News: However, I do not yet diſcourage him from writing, though I wiſh what he ſaith came from any Hand rather than his. Accordingly, you ſhall do well to handle him: And this is enough upon this Subject, when I have ſo much a better to entertain you upon. Here encloſ'd you have the effective Truth of what I ſent you the Symptoms in my laſt. I durſt not hazard any of my Acquaintance with the putting it into *French*, becauſe of the Sea-Terms wherewith it abounds: But if you can get it well done, and quickly publiſhed, you will do his Majeſty a good Service, and may fairly put the Coſt of it into your Accounts. Moreover, I have promiſ'd his Majeſty to charge you with the writing of ſome ſmall Paper, and publiſhing it in *French*, that may pleaſantly and pertinently awaken the good Patriots in *Holland*, not only to Thoughts and Wiſhes of Peace, but to a reaſonable Application for it; aſſuring them his Majeſty continues ſtill to wiſh it, and would gladly receive any Overtures for it from the *States*, here in his own Kingdom; not expecting leſs from them in this kind, than they did to the Uſurper *Cromwell*. This done in any Form you like beſt, would certainly operate well in *Holland*, and be a Work worthy of your Pen; which, I know, has Sufficiency very much greater. One thing eſpecially it will be good to mind them of, the conſiderable Succours and Advantages they have had by the Conjunction with *France*; which hath not been remarkably viſible in any thing more than in getting their Narratives to be believed in all the Courts of *Chriſtendom*, and helping them to make their Bonfires for their Succeſſes.

His Majeſty is going this Night to viſit the Queen at *Tunbridge*; for which he had not Leiſure till now. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Arlington.

P. S. Let your Emiſſaries give you a particular Account of the Condition of the *Dutch* Fleet gotten into *Zealand*, and of the Readineſs they are in to come out again; with an exact Account of their Strength if it be poſſible. Monſieur *Nypho* will help to convey it ſpeedily to us.

From the Earl of Clarendon.

SIR, *Worceſter-Houſe, Aug.* 2. 1666.

I Have many Excuſes to make you for not acknowledging all your Letters punctually when I received them, which I ſuppoſe would give you ſome Trouble: And I am ſure all I can ſay to you by way of Information or Advice, is conſtantly and abundantly ſupplied by the Diligence of my good Friend my Lord *Arlington*.

The laſt Favour I receiv'd from you was of the 23d of this Month; ſince which Time it hath pleaſed God to give a wonderful Improvement to our Affairs: And yet I am perſuaded that you there know more of the full Extent of the late great Victory than we do. In all Mens view it is very great and noble, and in one reſpect very wonderful, that almoſt the whole Fleet that went from hence, rides now before the Enemies Harbours, without being compelled to ſend any conſiderable Number of their Ships to be repaired: And I believe this Succeſs will change the Meaſures of moſt of the Councils in *Chriſtendom*. I wiſh with all my Heart it may work upon them from whom your Court muſt receive its Orders, to move with a little more Vigour in their Reſolutions; the want of which will at ſome time or other prove fatal to that Monarchy. They have it yet in their Power to ſecure themſelves from ever receiving Prejudice from the *French*; which I take to be the only Bleſſing they are to pray for in this World: But it will not be always in their Power to do ſo.

I preſume my good Friend *Ogniate* is before this time arrived there with good Satisfaction: And I will not deny to you I always wiſhed well to thoſe Tranſactions, the Conceſſions being (in truth) no other than what in Juſtice ought to be granted; except we would declare to the World, that whilſt we have a War with *Holland*, we will have no Peace with *Flanders*. I wiſh with all my Heart that it may be punctually and religiouſly obſerved on our Part, by the exemplary Puniſhment of thoſe Perſons who in the leaſt Degree violate the Protection agreed upon. And though there will be, as you ſay, a great Latitude for them to cover the *Dutch* Trade; yet that cannot be long without Diſcovery, and they will thereby render themſelves infamous to the World, and will ſuffer accordingly. I know the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* will be as jealous in that Affair as poſſible: And *Ogniate*, who was the fitteſt Perſon alive to be ſent on that Errand, will be vigilant to the utmoſt; and I am confident will advertiſe the Marquis upon the leaſt Diſcovery. I know not whether he be enough known to you: But truſt me, he is very worthy of your Friendſhip, which is due to him from all good *Engliſhmen*; having expreſſed the ſame Veneration to the King, and the ſame Civility and Kindneſs to us, who had the Honour at the ſame time to attend his Majeſty, when we were in *Flanders*, as he can do now, when we are at *Whitehall*. And as that Reſpect of his was then of great Uſe and Benefit to his Majeſty; ſo it was apparently ly to his own Prejudice and Diſadvantage: So that if we are not all kind to him, we deſerve no more ſuch Friends. I am,

S I R,

Your affectionate Servant,

Clarendon.

From Sir William Coventry.

S I R, *Septem.* 21. 1667.

SINCE my laſt to you, I have acquainted his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs with your having diſpoſed the blank Paſſes ſent to you; and that the People of thoſe Countries were ſtill deſirous of thoſe Paſſes; though there was another Proviſion made for their Security, by the Agreement with Monſieur *Ogniate*: Whereupon his Majeſty gave Conſent to the ſending over ſome more of them. By this Conveyance I ſend you five of them. More ſhall be ſent hereafter, if you continue to deſire them: But I thought not fit to ſwell this Pacquet too much.

The *French* Fleet hath been in the Channel, and Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet having been driven from their Anchors with a Storm, and by other ſuch Accidents, he did not meet with them at their firſt coming; and now we are uncertain whether they are not gone back again. To morrow will tell us more of that than I can now affirm. The Storm which drove Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet from their Anchors, diſpers'd ſome of the *French* Fleet, and ſeven of them on the Right fell into our White Squadron: One of them, (a Ship call'd the *Ruby*) of fifty four Guns, and five hundred Men, we took; and ſome of our Frigats purſued the reſt, with what Succeſs I know not as yet. I am apt to believe the Body of their Fleet is gone back again towards *Breſt* or *Rochel*. We hear *De Ruyter* is dead, and another Admiral choſen.

This Day the Parliament voted that they will ſupply his Majeſty proportionably to his Occaſions; or Words to that Effect: So our Neighbours will ſee our Hearts do not fail us in all our Miſfortunes. I am,

S I R,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

William Coventry.

From the Duke of Ormonde.

S I R, *Kilkenny, Octob.* 14. 1666.

I Have more of yours to acknowledge than I have by me to take particular Notice of. They were very pertinent Informations as things then went: And ſome of them got hither with ſo much ſpeed, that they out-run any Intelligence I could get out of *England*. To morrow I ſhall be in your Livery, and perhaps try whether your *Bruſſels* Camlet will reſiſt *Iriſh* Rain, as I have known it do that of *Flanders*. I muſt thank you for the Preſent, as coming very ſeaſonably, both in reſpect of the time of the Year, and that for ought I can yet find, my *Michaelmas* Rent would hardly have purchaſed two Cloaks: And that your Stuff will make me, if I ſhall be honeſtly dealt with.

I know both from hence and out of *England*, you are informed of all that paſſes here. The Commiſſioners and their Dependents, I mean Lawyers, and the Train belonging to that Court, have all the Buſineſs, and will have all the Money; and conſequently if they pleaſe, much of the Land contended for, and to be diſtributed. In *England* they are revenging upon us here the falling of their Rents; but I doubt, not repairing themſelves: They have us, and perhaps the King, at an Advantage: The King muſt be ſupplied, and *England* only can do it. I wiſh we could hear of ſome Overtures towards Peace; then would the King be freed from a Neceſſity of conſenting to unreaſonable Things; or we ſhould be the better able to bear the Interdicture of our Trade with *England*: For to that upon the Matter, the forbidding us to ſend our Cattel to their Markets, will amount. I am very really,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

Ormonde.

From Sir William Coventry.

SIR, *Whitehall, Novemb.* 2. 1666.

I Have received the Favour you did me of the 5th, *N. S.* and received with it the Bill of Exchange for Fifty Pounds, which I doubt not, will ſuddenly be paid. I owe ſo many of thoſe Advantages to your Care and Kindneſs, that they become ordinary, and do not leave me any new Expreſſions for my Thanks.

We have great Expectations what the *Swedes* Army at *Bremen*, and the new Confederation againſt them will produce. We hear the Duke of *Savoy*, and the State of *Geneva* are falling out, which probably will not want Partners in its Succeſs: So that the Influence of 66, will extend it ſelf farther than the Puritans Allowance for the Revelations to be fulfilled in, which they confine to *England*.

We are debating ſtill in Parliament which way to raiſe Money, but we draw nearer a Concluſion; and I believe the next Week will bring it to good Maturity. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

W. Coventry.

From the Duke of Ormonde.

SIR, *Dublin, Decemb.* 18. 1666.

YOurs of the $\frac{9}{19}$ paſt found me on my way hither, where I propoſe to ſpend the reſt of the Winter. How the Summer will be ſpent, ſeems very doubtful: Our Preparations for the War would make one think we are ſure of a Peace; which may be well ſaid without any Reflection on the King and his Miniſters.

I am once to thank you for your great Civility to my Nephew *Clancarty*, in whoſe Conſideration you have undertaken to endeavour a Paſs for Colonel *Murphy*, and for the Diſpoſition of the Money the Colonel was ordered (if he thought fit) to put into your Hand. I have by this Poſt written to Sir *John Shaw* to draw it into *England* when he ſhall find it beſt: And I am prepared to pay the Colonel here.

I believe you heard as ſoon of the Suppreſſion, as of the raiſing of the *Scottiſh* Commotion; perhaps equal Credit would not be given in *Holland* to both. It made me haſten hither, and prepare my ſelf to have kept *Chriſtmas* in the North, if the Rebellion had laſted. What Diſcovery will be made, and Juſtice done upon the Offenders, you will receive ſooner Knowledge of out of *England* than from hence. I am very confident they had Well-wiſhers here; which is a good, or rather a bad Step to Correſpondency as that is to Conjunction. Thoſe that think well of *Presbyterians*, diſtinguiſh thoſe Fellows,

lows, and call them *Remonſtraters.* I think, the true Difference is, Theſe *thought* they had Power to change the Government, and the other do wiſh they had.

When you are at leiſure, I wiſh to know what kind of Fort is raiſed at *Charle-Roy*, and what Number of Men, Horſe and Foot, it will contain. I am with all Reality,

S I R,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

Ormonde.

From the Duke of Ormonde.

S I R, *Dublin, Jan. 29. 1667.*

THE Succeſs of your Negotiations gives no Man greater Satisfaction for the Part you had in it, than to me. The happy Conſequences which may reaſonably be expected from the Concluſion of that Treaty, may extend farther and laſt longer, than I have had time ſince I received yours of the 24th Inſtant, to conſider. I confeſs, my firſt Reflections were upon the good Effect it will have at home, and the good Humour it is likely to put the Parliament in at their firſt Meeting; which I look upon as the Foundation of all other Advantages to be derived from it by Reputation, and all the good Effects of that amongſt our Neighbours. I ſhould be glad to hear where or when you are like to fix, that my Letters may be conveyed to you when I think they may be worth your receiving from,

S I R,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

Ormonde.

From my Lord Ambaſſador Coventry.

S I R, *Breda, Aug. 4. N. S. 1667.*

YOURS of the 29th *July* I have received, and thank you for it. I doubt not but by this time you have heard of the ſeveral Treaties of Peace ſigned here the $\frac{21}{31}$ of *July*. We were ſo very buſy in diſpatching away Sir *John Coventry* for *England* with the Treaties, that I had not leiſure till now to give you an Account of it. That betwixt the *States* and us conſiſteth in an abſolute Abolition of all Pretences on either ſide, each to remain Maſters of what they were in Poſſeſſion of the $\frac{10}{20}$ of *May* 1667; what ſince taken, to be reſtored, as to Lands and Fortreſſes: Ships are yet liable till after Publication; when all Hoſtilities are to ceaſe within twelve Days in the Chanel, and ſo proportionably in other Seas; then the whole Treaty of 1662 renew'd, and we both to make uſe of the Articles betwixt *France* and this *State* for contraban Goods, till ſuch time as we can agree of one betwixt our ſelves. The reſt is a reſtoring of the Treaty in 1662, as to all its Articles except the eleventh, wherein our Pretenſions are contained. As to the Act of Navigation, you will hear much Noiſe, that that is repealed. There is no ſuch thing; neither doth the Article about that Matter give the *States* any more Advantage, than as I conceive the Act gave them before. As to the *French*, we reſtore all to each other that each hath taken, and all things done, put in Oblivion. As to *Denmark*, —— the Debt he owed the *Hamburgh* Company, *France* ſtanding very firm to him upon the Point; and their greateſt Argument was, That it was not a Debt contracted by him or his Father: but on the contrary, impoſed on his Father for having aſſiſted the late King: And beſides they gave us our Choice, either to agree thus, or to account for what had been taken on each ſide, and render: The latter was thought the more prejudicial to the King our Maſter; and ſo this hath paſs'd. And there is, I think, the Subſtance of the three Treaties.

How or where this Letter will find you, we know not: For we here believe *Bruſſels* beſieged, and that according to the Faſhion of this Year's Campaign, is little leſs than taken.

All publick Miniſters have, or will have left this Town within a Day or two, except our ſelves. To Morrow Fortnight they all meet here again, expecting the Ratification.

I am, Sir, with very great Sincerity,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

Henry Coventry.

From my Lord Hollis.

SIR, *Breda, July 4. N. S. 1667.*

I Have received yours by my Lord *Stafford*'s Servant, and ſee you have put off your Journey hither in Expectation we might be removing hence; and for which it ſeems the Marquis *de Caſtel-Rodrigo* is pleaſed to expreſs himſelf with ſo much Civility and Kindneſs towards us; for which both my Lord Ambaſſador *Coventry* and my ſelf do return our moſt humble Thanks. But it will not be poſſible that we can remove ſo ſoon; ſo as aſſuredly you will have time enough to do us that Favour, and very gladly we ſhall receive it from you; when we may at leiſure diſcourſe of the preſent Poſture of our Affairs, and make thoſe ſad Reflections which they deſerve; and which will be much fitter for a Conference, than to be ſet down in Paper. I ſhall reſerve them till then, and in the mean time, and ever remain,

SIR,

Your very affectionate, and
moſt humble Servant,

HOLLIS.

From my Lord Ambaſſador Coventry.

SIR, *Breda, Aug.* $\frac{17}{27}$. 1667.

I AM very thankful to you for the Buck you ſent us; and it came very well, and ſo ſeaſonably, that I made uſe of ſome of it the very Morning it came. We have no News to ſend you from hence, but that we are now altogether employed in Jollity, and expect our Ships to give us ſome Sea Phyſick, to purge the Exceſſes we make. Your Health is not only what we drink, but what we pray for. The firſt part hath already been uſeful to digeſt our Veniſon, and the other we reſerve for more important Conſiderations. In Concluſion, we hear more of Drums and Trumpets ſince the Peace, than we did in the War; though I hope this will not be ſo fatal a Noiſe as they make at *Liſle*. I am ſorry both for the want of your Company, and the Reaſon of it. Now our own Peace is done, I could wiſh with all my Heart *Chriſtendom*'s were ſo to.

Sir, I pray believe me to be, what I very ſincerely am,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

Henry Coventry.

From

From my * *Lord* Liſle.

* Late Earl of Leiceſter.

S I R,

September 26. 1667.

SINCE I had your laſt Letter, I have made you no Acknowledgment of it: A Retirement is in ſeveral Reſpects like the Night of one's Life, in the Obſcurity and Darkneſs, and in the Sleepineſs and Doſedneſs; which I mention to put you in mind that I am only by my Poſture of Life apt to be failing towards you.

What is of Court or Aſſemblies near us, is at my Lord *Crofts*'s. Sir *Thomas Ingram* this Summer hath made no Noiſe at all. Old Lady *Devonſhire* keeps up her Feaſts ſtill; and that hath been of late Mr. *Waller*'s chief Theatre: The Aſſembly of Wits at Mr. Comptroller's will ſcarce let him in: And poor Sir *John Denham* is fallen to the Ladies alſo. He is at many of the Meetings at Dinners, talks more than ever he did, and is extremely pleaſed with thoſe that ſeem willing to hear him; and from that Obligation exceedingly praiſes the Dutcheſs of *Monmouth* and my Lady *Cavendiſh*: If he had not the Name of being mad, I believe in moſt Companies he would be thought wittier than ever he was. He ſeems to have few Extravagancies, beſides that of telling Stories of himſelf, which he is always inclined to. Some of his Acquaintance ſay, that extreme Vanity was a Cauſe of his Madneſs, as well as it is an Effect.

All Perſons of Note hereabouts are going to their Winter-Quarters at *London*. The burning of the City begins to be talk'd of as a Story like that of the burning of *Troy*. At *Sheen* we are like to be bare: Lady *Luddal* ſeems uncertain in her Stay; and we hear that when Sir *James Sheen* and his Lady were ready to come from *Ireland*, great Cramps took my Lady in her Limbs: And Sir *James*'s Servants doubt whether we ſhall ſee him this Winter.

I deſire, Sir, your leave to kiſs my Lady *Temple*'s Hands, and my Lady *Giffard*'s Hands, by your Letter. My Daughter and I were in Diſpute which of us two ſhould write this time to *Bruſſels*; and becauſe I was judged to have more Leiſure, it fell to me, and my Lady *Temple* is to have the next from her.

I wiſh you, Sir, all good Succeſſes in your Buſineſs, and am

Your very affectionate Servant,

L I S L E.

From the Earl of Sandwich.

S I R,

Madrid, Septemb. 27. 1667.

THIS begs your Pardon for my not writing by the laſt Poſt, and preſents you my humble Thanks for that Letter I ſhould then have acknowledged, and another of *September* 7. N. S. which, with many Advices very conſiderable and deſirable to be known, gives me one particular Satisfaction, to hear that one Copy of the Treaty is in ſo certain a way of getting home. There are two more gone by Sea, one from *Calais*, *Auguſt* 2. N. S. the other expreſs by a Veſſel from *Rigo* in *Gallicia*, *Auguſt* 31. N. S. deſigned to ſet a Gentleman of my Company aſhore in *Ireland* on the South part; which Courſe I directed as a certain way to avoid the Danger of the Sea, and no very tedious way of Paſſage, I ſuppoſe all theſe likely to arrive in *England* much about a time.

This Place affords not much conſiderable News to return you. Our *Portugal* Adjuſtment keeps the Pace of the accuſtomed *Spaniſh* Gravity (if it proceed forward at all.) They have here removed the Preſident of the *Hazienda*, (or as they call it, *Jubilar'd* him) giving him his Salary ſtill of 6000 Ducats *per annum*, for his own Life, his Wife's, and his eldeſt Son's; and alſo have given him ſome other conſiderable *Mercedes*; and have made *Don Lopez de los*

Rios, Preſident *de Hazienda* in his room. This laſt is *Caſtillo*'s near Kinſman and Creature, the other a near Kinſman of the Duke of *Medina*'s *de las Torres*.

The *Conde de Fwenſalida* is lately dead, (a *Grandee* of *Spain.*) My chief Buſineſs here is a longing Expectation to hear of the Treaty I have made here to be received in *England*, which now I daily ſhall hope for; and as any thing thence, or here, occurs worth your Notice, it ſhall be preſented you by,

S I R,

Your moſt affectionate, and

moſt humble Servant,

Sandwich.

From the Earl of Sandwich.

S I R, *Madrid, Decemb.* $\frac{14}{24}$. 1667.

I HOPE from your Goodneſs to find Pardon for miſſing the other Poſts, but dare not adventure your Patience to fail this alſo, though I am now hurried by Buſineſs, ſo that I have not time ſo largely and conſiderately to write as I deſire. Be pleaſed then to know that Mr. *Godolphin*'s Journey to *Portugal* ſuffered ſo much Delay, until it was found neceſſary that I muſt go in Perſon thither; and then he reſolved to make uſe of the King my Maſter's Leave to return into *England*, and began his Journey for *Bilboa* on *Tueſday* Morning laſt. You know the Value of Mr. *Godolphin* ſo well, that it is needleſs to tell you my Griefs in parting from one of the moſt accompliſh'd, worthy, and generous Friends that ever I met with: And I am heartily glad that your Friendſhip and mine do alſo *Convenire in aliquo tertio*.

My Journey for *Portugal* hath almoſt met with as many or more Calms than Mr. *Godolphin*'s; and, in good earneſt, I am not able to give you any Light, whether it be likely to proceed or not.

The *Spaniards* have reformed two Regiments of *Germans* at *Badajos*; very good Officers they ſay, and are reſolved never to ſerve the *Spaniard* more. The King of *Spain* has had the Small-Pox; but is ſo recovered, as they fear no Danger.

In *Portugal*, *Don Pedro* is made Governour to aſſiſt his Brother in the ſame Nature as his Mother did when ſhe was Regent: And the Addreſſes are made in the ſame manner.

The Queen is returned to a Convent, aſſerting her ſelf to be a Maid; and the King has under his Hand and Oath delivered the ſame. So the Queen purſues the Cauſe among the Church-men to have the Marriage declared null. There are *Cortes* to be called there *January* 1. N. S. On the 7th Inſtant, N. S. the Marquis of *Sande* (the Ambaſſador that brought the Queen) was ſhot and kill'd in the Street with a Carabine, and no body knows who did it.

I wiſh you a very merry *Chriſtmas*, and am moſt affectionately,

S I R,

Your moſt faithful, and

moſt humble Servant,

Sandwich.

P. S. If I go to *Portugal*, pray continue our Correſpondence to Mr. *John Wenden*, a Gentleman worthy of your Favour, and very able and ſecurely my Friend, who does me the Favour to continue in my Houſe, and manages the King's Buſineſs in this Court in my Abſence, and will ſend me your Letters.

From Monſieur Gourville.

Luneburg, Jan. 28. 1668.

S I R,

BY a Copy of the Letter written from the King of *England* to the *States*, I underſtand you are a peaceable Man: And the Memorial you have given to deſire Commiſſioners in order to examine jointly with you into the Means for a good Peace, makes us believe that you deſire in good earneſt to give Repoſe to *Chriſtendom*. You know I have always deſired it; but however it will be the more agreeable to ſee it done by your Hands. In good earneſt, I am glad the King of *England* has made Choice of you for ſo great and important an Affair: When his Majeſty knows your Merits, I aſſure my ſelf you will be always in the greateſt Employments: And I aſſure you, that I ſhall always be making Wiſhes for your Advancement, till I ſee you made Chancellor of *England*. In the mean time I ſhall be ever,

S I R,

Your moſt humble, and

obedient Servant,

Gourville.

P.S. If you have a Deſire to make the Peace, I look upon it as very far advanced; the Princes here ſhew their Deſire of it. I did not think to ſtay in this Country above 8 or 10 Days; yet here I am after four Months. Pray let me know whether you think the Aſſembly will be at *Aix*, and near what time, that I may keep my Lodgings there; and if you will tell me in Confidence the Opinion you have of the Peace, I ſhall be obliged to you: Mine is, that you may make it if you pleaſe; but I am not yet convinced whether you can hinder it, if Monſieur *de Witt* has ſo much Deſire to make it, as many People believe, according to what I am told.

De Monſieur *Gourville.*

A Lunebourg, 28 *Jan.* 1668.

Monſieur,

PAR la copie de la Lettre que ſa Majeſté Britannique a écrit aux Etats des Provinces Unies, J'apprens que vous eſtes un homme pacifique; la memoire que vous avez preſentée pour demander des Commiſſaires pour chercher enſemble les moyens de parvenir à une bonne Paix, doit faire croire que c'eſt tout de bon que vous voulez donner le repos à la Chrétienté. Vous ſçavez comme je l'ay toujours ſouhaité, mais elle me ſera autant plus agreable, de la voir faite de vôtre main: Tout de bon je me rejouis que ſa Majeſté Britannique vous ait choiſi pour une ſi grande & ſi importante affaire. Quand elle connoîtra vôtre merite, Je m'aſſure que vous aurez toûjours les plus grands emplois; & je vous aſſure de la meilleure foy du monde, que jusqu' à ce que je vous voye Chancelier d'Angleterre, je feray toûjours des voeux pour vôtre avancement. Et en attendant, je ſeray toujours plus veritablement que perſonne du monde,

Vôtre tres humble, &

tres obeïſſant Serviteur,

Gourville.

P. S. *Si vous avez bien envie de faire la paix je la tiens fort avancée; les Princes icy temoignent la deſirer: Je ne croyois demeurer en ce païs icy que huit ou dix jours, & m'y voila au bout de quatre mois. Je vous prie de me mander ſi vous croyez que l'on s'aſſemblera à Aix, & à peu prez le temps afin que j'y faſſe retenir ma chambre: Et ſi vous voulez confidemment me mander l'opinion que vous avez de la paix, je vous en ſeray obligé. La mienne eſt que ſi vous la voulez que vous la ferez: Mais je ne ſuis pas ſi convaincu que vous la puiſſiez empêcher, ſi Monſieur de Witt a autant d'envie de la faire comme bien des gens le croyent, ſelon ce que l'on m'en mande.*

From Monſieur Gourville.

Luneburg, Feb.
SIR, 22. 1668.

ALL your modeſt Reaſoning will not hinder me from believing that any other Miniſter the King of *England* could have ſent to the *Hague*, would not have finiſhed in many Months what you have done in four Days. Without Flattery, 'tis a thing you ought to be extremely ſatisfied with. I ſuſpected at firſt, that you had made this Treaty by ſome Concert with the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo;* for tho' the King my Maſter has ſo much Reaſon to be content to ſee him grant what his Majeſty demanded, nevertheleſs the bad Council of the *Spaniards* has put them in a Condition to receive your Work as the Safety of what remained to them of *Flanders.* I never lamented my Abſence from the *Hague* but ſince I knew you were there. I cannot yet tell what time I ſhall be obliged to ſtay here. Monſieur *de Lionne* having encharged me from the King with ſome Orders in this Court, which I have reaſon to believe will accommodate my Affairs. I am ſtrongly perſuaded the King my Maſter will hold to the *Alternative*, Monſieur *de Lionne* having ſent me Word that his Majeſty was content with what you had done at the *Hague*; and that if the Manner of it had been a little more obliging, there were nothing more to be deſired. Theſe Princes mightily deſire the Peace upon your Conditions; the League of the *Rhine* is extremely ſatisfied with it; ſo that in all Appearance, *Spain* may do what they pleaſe; for this time their Country ſhall be ſaved, no thanks to them. I would fain know whether you think of going to *Aix*. I have a great mind to ſee this Negotiation: And I ſhould have nothing to deſire, if I were ſure to find you there. I ſee by this Buſineſs here, that the Peace will be made; or elſe, that there will be a great War; but I rather think the former. And if they will let me come no more to *France*, 'tis there (at *Aix*) I deſign to reſide for the reſt of my Life. I doubt not but they will let me take one turn to *Paris* to ſee if I can make my Peace; but I fear they will raiſe inſupportable Difficulties.

De Monſieur *Gourville.*

A Lunebourg, 22
Monſieur, *Fevr.* 1668.

TOUTE la modeſtie de vôtre raiſonnement ne m'empêchera pas de croire, que tout autre Miniſtre que ſa Majeſté Britannique eut envoyé à la Haye, n'auroit pas fait en bien des mois ce que vous avez achevé en quatre jours. Sans flaterie c'eſt une choſe qui vous doit extremement ſatisfaire. J'ai d'abord ſoupçommé que vous aviez fait ce traité de quelque concert avec Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo: Car encore que le Roy mon Maître ait tant ſujét d'eſtre content de le voir accorder ce qu'il a demandé; neantmoins le mechant conſeil des Eſpagnols les a mis en état de recevoir vôtre ouvrage comme le ſalut de ce qui leur reſtera aux Païs-bas. Je n'avois point regretté mon abſence de la Haye que depuis que je ſçay que vous y eſtes: Je ne ſçaurois encore ſavoir le temps que je ſeray obligé de demeurer icy; Monſieur de Lionne m'ayant chargé de la part du Roy de quelques ordres en cette cour, tant que j'ay lieu de croire que cela accommodera mes affaires. C'eſt pourtant un chemin qui me peut conduire à cette fin: Je ſuis tres fortement perſuadé que le Roy mon Maître ſe tiendra à l'Alternative. Monſieur de Lionne m'a mandé que ſa Majeſté eſtoit contente de ce que vous aviez fait à la Haye; & que ſi la façon en eut eſté un peu plus obligeante, il n'y auroit eu rien à deſirer. Ces Princes icy ſouhaitent fort la Paix aux conditions que vous la voulez faire: La Ligue du Rhin en eſt tres ſatisfaite, ainſi ſelon les apparences les Eſpagnols auront beau faire, on ſauvera leur païs en dêpit d'eux pour cette fois icy. Je voudrois bien ſavoir ſi vous croyez aller à Aix; J'ay fort envie de voir cette negotiation, & je n'aurois rien à deſirer ſi je ſçavois vous y trouver. Je voy par cette affaire icy, que la paix ſe fera, ou que ſe fera une grande guerre; mais tout me fait croire le premier; & ſi on ne veut point de moy en France, je m'en vay prendre mon party pour le reſte de mes jours. Je ne doute point que l'on ne me laiſſe faire un tour à Paris pour voir ſi je pourrois m'accommoder; mais je crains que l'on ne me faſſe des difficultez inſupportables.

I deſire you to believe me always,

S I R,

Your moſt humble and
moſt obedient Servant,

Gourville.

It may be I ſhall ſee you at the *Hague* ſooner than you think.

Je vous ſupplie de me croire touſjours,

Monſieur,

Vôtre tres humble, &
tres obeïſſant Serviteur,

Gourville.

Je pourray peut être vous voir à la Haye plûtot que vous ne penſez.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague Feb. 25. 1668.

S I R,

THE Bearer hereof delivered me the Letter you did me the Honour to write to me from *Antwerp* of the 24th Inſtant: wherein I behold with Pleaſure your Zeal and Diligence for the Advancement of our common Affair; as alſo the good Diſpoſitions that your Offices have already raiſed in the Mind of the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*, and the Appearance of a more ſatisfactory Declaration we ſhall receive upon the common Requeſt to be made him from the King of *Great Britain* and this *State.* I delayed not to communicate and deliberate the Contents of the ſaid Letter, with the *States* Commiſſioners deputed upon the Subject of our laſt Negotiations; and we hope you will judge as we do, that it is abſolutely neceſſary for his Excellence to declare himſelf without farther Delay or Reſerve, agreeably to what is concluded between *England* and this *State*, without deſiring beforehand any Concert more particular than that which is made, ſigned and ratified, between us and our Maſters: For ſince the King of *France* has ſeen by his laſt Conqueſts how weak and negligent the *Spaniards* are, 'tis to be feared, that if the Marquis lets the Month of *March* expire, without plainly declaring himſelf as we deſire, the King of *France* may be very glad, after the Expiration of the ſaid Term, not to be obliged by virtue of his Word given, to make the Peace upon the *Alternative*, but may make uſe of the Time and Diſorder of the *Spaniards*, to ſurprize *Luxenburg*, and a great part of what remains to the King of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*; and to order

De Monſieur *de Witt.*

A la Haye, 25 *Fevr.* 1668.

Monſieur,

LE porteur de celle-cy m'a bien delivré la Lettre qu'il vous a plû me faire l'honneur de m'ecrire d'Anvers le 24me de ce mois; & j'y ay veu avec agrément le zele & la diligence que vous avez apporté pour l'avancement de nôtre affaire commune; comme auſſi les bonnes diſpoſitions que vos offices ont deja fait naître dans l'eſprit de Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, & l'apparence d'une declaration plus ſatisfaiſante que nous recevrons ſur la priere commune qu'on luy va faire de la part du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & de cet Etat. Je n'ay pas tardé de communiquer & deliberer le contenu de la dite lettre avec les Commiſſaires des Etats, deputez ſur le ſujet de nos dernieres negotiations: & nous eſperons que vous jugerez avec nous qu'il eſt abſolument neceſſaire que ſon Excellence ſe declare ſans plus de delay & ſans aucune reſerve conformement à la diſpoſition de ce qui eſt conclu entre l'Angleterre & cet Etat, ſans deſirer au preallable aucun concert plus particulier que celuy qui eſt fait, ſigné & ratifié entre nous & par nos Maîtres. Car puiſque le Roy de France a veu par les derniers progrez, comme les Eſpagnols ſont foibles & negligents; il eſt à apprehender que ſi Monſieur le Marquis laiſſe ecouler le mois de Mars ſans s'eſtre declaré nettement comme nous le deſirons, le Roy de France ne ſoit tres aiſe de n'etre pas obligé apres l'expiration en vertu de ſa parole donnée, de faire la Paix ſur l'Alternative; & qu'il ne ſe ſerve encore du temps & du deſordre des Eſpagnols pour ſurprendre en même façon le Luxenbourg, & une grande partie de ce qui reſte au Roy d'Eſpagne dans le Païs-bas; & pour ſe regler par aprés ſelon les occurrences.

order his Affairs afterwards as Occurrences ſhall happen. The *States General* are obliged, and entirely reſolved, in caſe of Refuſal from the King of *France*, or any Evaſions from that ſide, after it has been inſinuated to him that the Marquis has accepted either part of the *Alternative*; to execute, in the moſt vigorous manner poſſible, what is contained in our third Separate Article; and by conſequence, jointly with *England*, to break into open War againſt *France*, to act in concert, not only for Defence of the *Netherlands*, but alſo, and above all, to attack and inſeſt *France* by Sea, by Deſcents, Invaſions into the Country, and all other ways. But becauſe it may be preſuppoſed in publick, that the King of *France* after having given his Word to the *States*, and afterwards by a circular Letter, not only to the King of *Great Britain* and the ſaid *States*, but alſo to many Princes of *Germany*; will not break a Promiſe ſo ſolemnly made; we cannot by any means enter into Concert and League with *Spain*, before this Caſe effectually arrives: And we think that ſuch a League and Concert made before the Seaſon, would be likely indeed to produce the Effect the Marquis deſires; but which is far from his Majeſty of *England*'s Aim, or that of the *States*; for you cannot but know, that his *Excellence* would prefer the Continuance of the War with our Aſſiſtance, to the Concluſion of the Peace upon the *Alternative*; and his Majeſty, as well as the *States*, prefers this Peace before the Continuance of a War, whereof they muſt bear all the Coſts, and all the Profit be to the King of *Spain*. Now we comprehend very well, that ſuch a Concert and ſuch a League as his *Excellence* deſires, would put the King of *France* upon an abſolute Neceſſity of continuing the War; becauſe if he ſhould comply after ſuch a League made with his Enemies, it would appear publickly, that he was obliged to it by this Bond, and conſequently by his Enemies themſelves. And therefore the Matter is judiciouſly enough propoſed by his *Excellence* for arriving at his End; but ſince it would make us miſs of ours, we hope you will put the Marquis off it, and make him quit all Hopes of engaging us by the Force of his great Genius,

to

rences. Les Etats Generaux ſe trouvent obligez & entierement reſolus, au cas de refus du Roy de France, ou des echappatoires recherchés de ſon côté, apres qu'on luy aura inſinué que Monſieur le Marquis ait accepté l'une ou l'autre partie de l'Alternative, d'executer en la maniere la plus vigoureuſe que faire ſe pourra, le contenu au troiſieme de nos Articles ſeparez; par conſequent de rompre conjointement avec l'Angleterre en guerre ouverte contre la France, d'agir de concert non ſeulement pour la defenſe du Païsbas; mais auſſi & ſur tout d'attaquer & incommoder la France de leurs Forces maritimes; & même par des deſcentes, ou invaſions dans le Païs, & en toute autre maniere: mais d'autant qu'il faut preſuppoſer publiquement, que le Roy de France, aprés avoir donné ſa parole par une lettre circulaire, non ſeulement au Roy de la Grande Bretagne & aux dits Etats, mais auſſi à pluſieurs Princes d'Allemagne, ne voudra pas manquer à une promeſſe ſi ſolennellement donnée; nous ne pourrions en aucune façon entrer en concert & ligue avec l'Eſpagne, avant que ce cas ſoit effectivement arrivé: Et nous jugeons qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue faite devant la ſaiſon, ſeroit fort capable de produire l'effet que Monſieur le Marquis ſouhaite, mais qui eſt tout à fait eloigné du but de ſa Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne, & de leurs Hautes Puiſſances: car il ne peut vous eſtre inconnu que ſon Excellence preferreroit la continuation de la guerre avec nos ſecours, à la concluſion de la Paix ſur l'Alternative. Et ſa Majeſté auſſi bien que leurs Hautes Puiſſances preſerent cette paix à la continuation d'une guerre dont ils ſeroient obligés de porter toutes les depenſes, & dont tout le profit ſeroit pour le Roy d'Eſpagne. Or, nous comprennons fort bien qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue que ſon Excellence deſire, mettroit le Roy de France dans une neceſſité abſolue de continuer la guerre; d'autant que ſe rendant aprés une telle ligue faite avec ſes ennemis, il paroîtroit publiquement qu'il y fût obligé par cette liaiſon, & par conſequent par ſes ennemis mêmes: Et partant l'affaire eſt judicieuſement propoſée par ſon Excellence pour parvenir à ſon but; mais puiſque elle nous feroit perdre le nôtre, nous eſperons que vous en detournerez Monſieur le Marquis, & que vous luy ferez perdre toute eſperance de ne pouvoir pas par ſon grand genie même nous engager comme par gayeté de coeur, ou

nous

to enter of our own accord, where we have no mind to come but upon a fatal Neceſſity. I think his Excellence does wrong to the King of *Great Britain* and the *States*, in not truſting their Affection and their Honour, which are concern'd, as well as their Intereſt, after the Alliance and the Peace they have already made together: But if after his *Excellence* has accepted our Propoſitions, the King of *France* ſhall happen to draw back or ſeek Evaſions, then the King of *Great Britain* and the *States General* entring into the Party, and even into a Rupture with *France*, it will be very juſt and proper to concert with his Excellence after what manner to act in the Territory of the King his Maſter; and yet in the mean while not omit entring into Action without the leaſt loſs of time. Therefore it will be no way neceſſary for me to be upon our Frontiers towards the End propoſed by his Excellence, which beſides will be wholly impoſſible for me; much leſs to ſend any body from hence to *Bruſſels*, ſince the *States Deputies*, who are there at preſent, are the ſame we ſhould chuſe for the End deſired: For I aſſure you I can name no body in whom the *States* as well as I in particular can have greater Confidence, whereof I do not doubt but they will give you Proofs, as well as of their Sincerity and good Conduct. I deſire you therefore, Sir, to uſe them with as much Freedom as me, and I will engage they ſhall do the ſame by you. And if you have been at all ſatisfied with my manner of tranſacting, as I have been extremely with yours, that you will be alſo ſatisfied with that of the ſaid Deputies. For the reſt we approve extremely the Diligence you make on all ſides in ſending to the Miniſters of the King of *England*, and the *States* now at *Paris*: And from your common Offices we promiſe to ourſelves an univerſal Peace in *Chriſtendom*, to the great Advantage of the Publick, and the eternal Glory of your ſelves, which no Man deſires more than he who is,

S I R,

Your moſt humble, and

moſt affectionate Servant,

Jo. de Witt.

nous ne voulons venir qu'au cas d'une fatale neceſſité. Il me ſemble que ſon Excellence feroit tort au Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & aux Etats Generaux, de ne ſe fier pas à leur affection & à leur honneur, dont il y va ſi bien que de leur interêt, aprés la liaiſon & le pas qu'ils ont fait deja enſemble. Mais ſi aprés qu'elle aura accepté nos propoſitions, le Roy de France vient à reculer, ou à chercher des echappatoires; alors le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & les Etats Generaux, entrans dans le party, & même en rupture avec la France, il ſera tres à propos que l'on concerte avec ſon Excellence la maniere dont on agira dans le territoire du Roy ſon Maître; & que pourtant l'on ne laiſſe pas cependant d'entrer en action ſans la moindre perte de temps. Il ne ſera donc nullement neceſſaire que je me trouve ſur nos frontieres pour la fin propoſée par ſon Excellence, ce que d'ailleurs me ſeroit tout à fait impoſſible; & encore bien moins l'on envoye quelqu'un d'icy à Bruſſelles, d'autant que les Deputez des Etats qui s'y trouvent preſentement, ſont ceux-là même que l'on pourroit choiſir pour la fin deſirée; vous pouvant aſſeurer que je ne pouvois nommer perſonne, en qui l'Etat auſſi bien que moy en particulier, puiſſent avoir plus de confiance, dont ils vous donneront ſans doute des preuves auſſi bien que de leur integrité & de leur bonne conduite. Je vous ſupplie donc, Monſieur, d'uſer avec eux de la même franchiſe, dont vous avez uſé envers moy, & je vous demeure garand qu'eux de leur côté en uſeront de même: Et ſi vous avez eſté en quelque façon ſatisfait de ma maniere d'agir, comme je l'ay eſté de la vôtre, que vous le ſerez tout à fait de celle deſdits Deputés de l'Etat. Au reſte, nous approuvons fort les diligences que vous ferez de part & d'autre directement aux Miniſtres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & de cet Etat à Paris; & nous nous promettons de vos Offices communs la paix univerſelle de la Chrêtienté, au grand profit du public, & à la gloire eternelle de vos perſonnes: Laquelle vous ſouhaite avec autant d'affection que perſonne du monde, celuy qui eſt, & qui demeurera à jamais,

Monſieur,

Vôtre tres humble, &

tres affectionné Serviteur,

Joan. de Witt.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, March 5. 1668.

SIR,

'TIS with great Satisfaction that I have learn'd from your Diſpatch of the 2d Inſtant, and by that of the Deputies of this *State*, the proviſional Succeſs it has pleas'd God to grant to your Cares and Application to the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*; And I doubt not but the Conduct you have uſed to diſpoſe thoſe of the Council of State of this Countrey to conform to his Excellence's Opinion, will be applauded by them. I hope, before the Receipt of this, you will have receiv'd from his Excellence a Declaration in Form, and in Writing, couched in clear and ſatisfactory Terms, without any Ambiguity or Obſcurity; and, in ſhort, ſuch as will leave no Occaſion or Pretext to *France* to find any thing to object againſt, but what ſhall put them to a Neceſſity of declaring themſelves plainly on their ſide, upon the Conditions and Articles of our Convention, and ſhall put us out of Doubt and Trouble of what we have to do. For my ſelf, I ſhall endeavour all I can, that this *State* ſhall be put in a Poſture of entring vigorouſly and effectually upon the Defence of *Flanders*, in caſe, after a plain and ſatisfactory Anſwer from his Excellence, the King of *France* ſhall leave us any Apprehenſions of his endeavouring to make farther Progreſſes in this Country, which we cannot ſuppoſe without the Prejudice of ſuſpecting that the ſaid King will falſify his Word given, and the Promiſe ſo ſolemnly made by his publick and circular Letters; which God forbid, and which however common Prudence ſhould make us ſuppoſe to be poſſible, that we might not neglect the Means, whereof we have ſo often diſcourſed, and upon which the *States* have given Order to their Ambaſſadors in *England*, to concert more particularly with the King of *Great Britain* and his Miniſters.

You have farther obliged me by not giving a Copy of my foregoing Diſpatch to the Marquis, ſince in my Opinion he might have made uſe of it to provoke and anger the King of *France*, and oblige him as it were, in point

De Monſieur *de Witt*.

A la Haye, 5 *Mars*, 1668.

Monſieur,

C*'A eſté avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction que j'ay appris par vôtre depêche du* 2d *de ce mois, & par celle de Meſſieurs les* Deputez *de l'Etat, le ſuccez proviſionnel qu'il a plû au bon* Dieu *d'octroyer à vos ſoins & à vôtre direction auprez du* Marquis *de* Caſtel-Rodrigo; *& je ne doute point que la conduite que vous avez tenue pour diſpoſer ceux du conſeil d'Etat de ce païs à ſe conformer au ſentiment de ſon* Excellence *ne produiſe leur applaudiſſement. J'eſpere que devant que celle-cy vous ſera rendue, vous aurez receu de ſon* Excellence *une declaration, dans les formes & par ecrit, couchée en termes clairs & ſatisfaiſants, ſans aucune ambiguité ou obſcurité; & enfin telle qui ne laiſſe aucune occaſion ni même aucun pretexte à la* France *d'y trouver quelque choſe à redire; mais qui la mette en neceſſité de ſe declarer auſſi de ſon côté nettement ſur les conditions & articles de nôtre convention, & nous hors de doute & d'embarras de ce que nous avons à faire. Quant à moy, je ne manqueray pas de tenir la main à ce que l'*Etat *ſe mette tout à fait en poſture de pouvoir accourir vigoureuſement & efficacement à la defenſe du* Païs-bas *en cas qu'aprés une declaration nette & ſatisfaiſante de ſon* Excellence, *le* Roy *de* France *nous laiſſe encore de l'apprehenſion des plus grands progrez que ſa Majeſté voudroit tâcher de faire dans le même païs, ce que nous ne pouvons pas preſuppoſer ſans eſtre preoccupé d'un ſoupçon que ledit* Roy *voudroit bien fauſſer ſa parole donnée, & ſa promeſſe ſi ſolennellement faite par des lettres publiques & circulaires: ce qu'à* Dieu *ne plaiſe; & ce que pourtant la prudence veut que nous nous figurions comme poſſible, pour ne negliger pas les moyens dont nous nous ſommes bien ſouvent entretenus, & ſur leſquels les* Etats *ont donné ordre à leurs Ambaſſadeurs en Angleterre de concerter plus particulierement avec le* Roy *de la* Grande Bretagne *& ſes Miniſtres.*

Vous m'avez encore obligé de n'avoir point donné copie de ma precedente depêche au Marquis; *puiſque à mon jugement, on auroit pu s'en ſervir pour aigrir & picquer le* Roy *de* France, *& pour l'obliger en quelque façon par point d'hon-*

point of Honour, to be obſtinate in the War againſt the Deſire and Intention of the King of *England*, and the *States*; but by giving his Excellence ſo much part therein, as to read to him our ſeparate Articles; that is, what I cannot but entirely approve, as being wholly agreeable to my manner of proceeding, as well as your Precaution, wherewith you kept the common Cauſe from the Danger abovementioned, in not giving him a Copy. For the reſt, I refer my ſelf to what the Deputies of the *States* ſhall have already told you upon the Contents of your former Diſpatch, and to what they ſhall communicate to you from time to time, of the Intentions of *their High and Mightineſſes*, and ſhall ever remain what I am with Paſſion,

SIR,
Your moſt affectionate
and humble Servant,
Jo. de Witt.

d'honneur, à s'opiniâtrer dans la guerre contre le but & ſouhait du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & des Etats Generaux. Mais que vous ayez donné part à ſon Excellence par lecture de nos articles ſeparez, c'eſt ce que je ne puis qu'approuver entierement, comme eſtant fort conforme à ma maniere d'agir & de proceder; auſſi bien que la precaution dont vous avez garanti la cauſe commune du ſudit danger, en ne luy en ayant point donné copie. Au reſte je me remets à ce que Meſſieurs les Deputez de l'Etat vous auront déja dit & temoigné ſur le contenu de vôtre depêche precedente, & à ce qu'ils vous communiqueront de temps en temps de l'intention de leurs Hautes Puiſſances: Et demeureray à jamais celuy qui ſuis avec paſſion,

Monſieur,
Vôtre tres affectionné &
tres humble Serviteur,
Joan. de Witt.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, March
SIR, *16. 1668.*

YOUR Diſpatch of the 11th Inſtant did not come to my Hands till the 14th at Noon, the Courier who brought it having not been diſmiſs'd from *Bruſſels* till the 13th.

I was very glad to ſee you had at laſt diſpoſed the Marquis to diſpatch the Baron of *Bergeyck* for *Aix la Chapelle*, being very much perſuaded that it imports us mightily to have a quick Concluſion of the Peace, or elſe to ſee clearly into the moſt inward Diſpoſitions of the King of *France*, as well as thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Court; and that all Delay is very prejudicial to our Intentions, and to the Intereſts of *Spain*. And that we may be neither ſurprized nor abuſed on either ſide, I think in the preſent Conjuncture, two things are abſolutely neceſſary: The firſt is, that *England* and this *State* will be furniſhed by Sea and Land; and the other, that we take away, not only all lawful Cauſe, but alſo as much as poſſible, all Pretext from *France* to delay

or

De Monſieur *de Witt.*

A la Haye, 16
Monſieur, *Mars*, 1668.

V*OTRE depêche du* 11^{me} *de ce mois ne m'a eſté rendue que le* 14^{me} *apres midy; le courier qui l'a apportée, n'ayant eſté expedié & parti de Bruſſelles que le* 13^{me}.

J'y eſté fort aiſe de voir que vous aviez enfin diſpoſé Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, à depêcher le Baron de Bergeyck promptement vers Aix la Chapelle; eſtant tres perſuadé qu'il nous importe d'avoir une prompte concluſion de la paix, ou de voir clair dans les intentions les plus interieures du Roy de France, auſſi bien que dans celle de la cour d'Eſpagne; & que tout delai eſt fort prejudiciable à nos intentions & aux interêts de l'Eſpagne: Et afin que nous ne puiſſions pas eſtre ſurpris ou abuſés de côté ou d'autre, je juge qu'en la conjoncture preſente deux choſes nous ſont abſolument neceſſaires: dont la premiere eſt que l'Angleterre & cet Etat ſoient bien armés par mer & par terre; & l'autre qu'on ôte non ſeulement toute cauſe legitime, mais auſſi tant que faire ſe pourra,

tout

or avoid the concluding and ſigning the Treaty of Peace.

To ſatisfie on our ſide for the firſt Point, we are reſolved, as ſoon as the Seaſon will permit, to ſend into the Field all our Cavalry, which conſiſts of 7300 Horſe, and proviſionally 25 Regiments of our Foot, for which the chief Rendezvous ſhall be at *Bergopzoom*, or thereabouts; from whence there will be a convenient March in a few Days into moſt part of the King of *Spain*'s Places in the *Netherlands*.

We have alſo given Order for equipping 48 Ships of War, above the Number commonly uſed for Guard and Convoy: And the *States* have already given Order to their Ambaſſadors in *England*, to concert with the King of *Great Britain* and his Miniſters, upon the Number of Ships and Men that each Party ſhall be obliged to have ready, and in what time. Beſides, the Deputies of the *State* have this Day finally agreed with the Miniſters of the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunebourg*, to bring into the Service of this *State* three Regiments of Horſe, and 3000 Foot; and I hope the Treaty will be ſigned to Morrow, or the next Day. And farther, they are going here to augment the old Militia by new Levies, to the Number of 12000 Men, with the Troops of the ſaid Dukes, which are to enter into the Service of the *State*: And I will not fail of helping what I can to the accompliſhing of all this, as ſoon as it can be done by the Conſtitution of the Government. And if you approve all theſe Preparations and Diligences, as I hope you will ſince they ſeem very neceſſary, and no way offenſive, ſince he who really deſires the Peace, will find in it his Support and Advantage; and that theſe Forces ſhall not be employed till the laſt Neceſſity againſt him, that by his Wilfulneſs would diſappoint *Chriſtendom* of the Benefit of it; I deſire you by your Letters to make the Exhortations neceſſary to the King of *England* and his Miniſters, that they may not fail on that ſide to make the like Preparations and Diligences.

As to the ſecond Point, I think it imports much that the Marquis of *Caſtel-*

tout pretexte à la France de delaier ou d'eſquiver la concluſion & la ſignature du traité de paix.

Pour ſatisfaire de nôtre côté au premier point, nous ſommes reſolus de mettre en campagne, auſſitôt que la ſaiſon le pourra permettre, toute nôtre cavallerie, qui conſiſte en ſept mille & trois cens chevaux, & proviſionnellement vingt cinq regimens de nôtre infanterie, pour lequel le principal rendezvous ſera à Bergopzoom & aux environs; place fort commode pour pouvoir de là nous jetter en peu de tems dans la pluſpart des places du Roy d'Eſpagne au Pais-bas.

Auſſi avons nous donné ordre pour l'equipage de quarante & huit vaiſſeaux de guerre par deſſus le nombre qui ſert pour la garde & l'eſcorte ordinaire: Et il y a déja quelque tems que les Etats ont donné ordre à leurs Ambaſſadeurs en Angleterre de concerter avec le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & ſes Miniſtres ſur le Nombre & la quantité des Vaiſſeaux & hommes, que chacun s'obligeroit d'avoir tout prêts & en quel tems. Outre cela les Deputez de l'Etat ſont tombez aujourdhuy finalement d'accord avec les Miniſtres des Ducs de Bronſwich & de Lunebourg, pour faire paſſer au ſervice de cet Etat trois regimens de Cavallerie, & trois mille hommes à pied; & j'eſpere que le traité en pourra eſtre ſigné demain, ou aprés demain; & au ſurplus va-t-on icy encore augmenter la vielle milice par des nouvelles levées juſques au nombre de douze mille hommes, y compris les troupes deſdits Ducs qui paſſeront au ſervice de cet Etat: Et je ne manqueray pas de tenir la main, & de preſſer autant qu'il me ſera poſſible que tout ce que deſſus aye ſon accompliſſement le plûtôt qu'il ſe pourra faire ſelon la conſtitution de ce gouvernement. Et ſi vous approuvez toutes ces preparations & diligences, comme je l'eſpere, & qu'elles me ſemblent fort neceſſaires & nullement offençantes; d'autant que celuy qui voudra la Paix reellement, y trouvera ſon appuy & ſon avantage; & que leur emploi ſera de la derniere neceſſité contre celuy qui par ſon opiniâtreté en voudroit fruſtrer la Chrêtienté: Je vous ſupplie de faire les exhortations neceſſaires par vos lettres au Roy de la Grande Bretagne & à ſes Miniſtres, afin que de ce côté là on ne manque pas de faire des ſemblables preparatifs & les mêmes diligences.

Quant au ſecond point, Je croy qu'il importe grandement que Monſieur le Mar-

Caſtel-Rodrigo ſhould explain himſelf upon which of the two Conditions propoſed by the *Alternative*, he pretends to have accepted; wherein there ſeems the leſs Difficulty, ſince his Excellence will, without doubt, explain himſelf for the abandoning the Places the King of *France* has conquer'd the laſt Campaign, with their Dependances. But then I think it will be our Intereſt and Duty, to endeavour that ſome reaſonable Exchange be made, for Places far in the Heart of *Flanders*, againſt Places lately taken in the *Franche Compté*, or others that ſhall be more for the Advantage of *France*, and leſs for the Inconvenience of *Spain* and us.

Beſides, to take all Pretext from *France* which they may pretend to make upon a Defect of Powers in the ſaid Marquis, either in the principal Matter, or by Default of a Clauſe of Subſtitution, or otherwiſe: I think it will be very neceſſary that the King of *Great Britain* and the *States General* ſhall be obliged to ratifie and accompliſh whatever ſhall be treated and concluded at *Aix*; and ſhall promiſe in the firmeſt manner the King of *France* can deſire, to oblige *Spain* in caſe of Neceſſity to the ſaid Ratification and Accompliſhment, by all their Forces both by Sea and Land: And in ſhort, that in every Occurrence they will do very judiciouſly to obviate all Exceptions and Delays which can be brought to the Prejudice of the Peace. But farther, when we ſhall have brought the King of *France* to an abſolute Neceſſity of either finally concluding or diſcovering his Intention contrary to the Peace: in that Caſe, upon the firſt Step *France* ſhall make to fruſtrate *Chriſtendom* of ſuch a general Good, the King of *Great Britain* and the *States* ſhall without farther Delay, bring all their Forces by Sea and Land, not only for Defence of the *Spaniards*, but alſo for the Intent ſpecified in the third of our Separate Articles, and more amply deduced in my Diſpatch of the 25th of *February* laſt.

For the reſt, if you have received the King of *Great Britain*'s Ratification upon our laſt Marine Treaty, I ſhall wait till you think proper to exchange it; upon which I ſhall endeavour to conform the *States* to your Deſire; whether our Ratification ſhall

Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo s'explique, laquelle des deux conditions propoſées par l'Alternative il entend avoir accepté: En quoy il me ſemble tant moins de difficulté, que c'eſt ſans contredit que ſon Excellence s'expliquera pour l'abandonnement des places que le Roy de France a conquis la campagne paſſée, avec leurs dependances: Mais ce ſera ce me ſemble alors de nôtre interêt & de nôtre devoir de travailler puiſſamment afin que quelque échange raiſonable ſe puiſſe faire des places les plus avancées en Flandre, contre des places nouvellement occupées dans la Franche Compté, ou autres qui ſeront plus en la bienſeance de la France, & moins à l'incommodité de l'Eſpagne & de nous autres.

De plus; pour ôter à la France tout pretexte dont elle ſe pourroit ſervir à raiſon qu'il pourroit y avoir quelque manquement au pouvoir dudit Marquis, ou en la matiere principale, ou par defaut de la clauſe de ſubſtitution ou autrement; il me ſemble qu'il ſera tres neceſſaire que le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & les Etats Generaux ſe faſſent fort de la ratification & de l'accompliſſement de tout ce qui ſera traité & conclu à Aix; & promettent en la maniere la plus forte que le Roy de France le pourra deſirer, d'obliger en cas de beſoin l'Eſpagne à ladite Ratification, & au dit accompliſſement, de toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre: Et enfin, qu'en toute autre occurrence on fera tres judicieuſement d'obvier à toutes les exceptions & delais qui pourroient eſtre apportez au prejudice de la paix. Mais auſſi quand on aura mis par là le Roy de France dans une neceſſité abſolue de proceder outre à la concluſion finale, ou de decouvrir ſon intention contraire à la paix; qu'alors à la premiere demarche que la France feroit pour fruſtrer la Chrêtienté d'un bien ſi ſalutaire, le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & les Etats Generaux feroient agir incontinent & ſans marchander, toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre, non ſeulement pour la defenſe des Eſpagnols, mais auſſi pour la fin ſpecifiée au troiſieme de nos articles ſeparés, & plus amplement deduite en ma depêche du 25 Fevrier paſſé.

Au reſte, j'attendray de vous nouvelles ſi vous avez receu la ratification du Roy de la Grande Bretagne ſur nôtre dernier traité de Marine, que vous jugerez à propos que l'on en faſſe l'échange; ſur quoy je tacheray de diſpoſer les Etats à ſe conformer à vôtre deſir; ſoit que l'on

be ſent to our Commiſſioners now with you; or whether you will pleaſe to ſend your Secretary or your Brother here to the *Hague*; or whether you know any way will pleaſe you better: For in this and every other Occurrence, I ſhall endeavour to follow your Deſires, and ſecond your Intentions, as being not by Form of Complement, but very really,

SIR,

Your, &c.

envoye nôtre ratification és mains de nos commiſſaires qui ſe trouvent preſentement auprez de vous; ſoit que vous envoyez vôtre Secretaire, ou bien Monſieur vôtre Frere icy à la Haye; ou que vous ſcachiez encore quelque autre façon qui ſoit plus à vôtre goût: Car, & en cela, & en toute autre occurrence, je tâcheray de ſuivre vos deſirs, & de ſeconder vos intentions, comme eſtant non par forme de compliment, mais fort reellement,

Monſieur,

Vôtre, &c.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, March 25. 1668.

SIR,

I Received the Honour of yours of the 25th Inſtant, upon which I will tell you in few Words, that I am wholly of your Opinion; as well for what regards the King of *France*'s Diſpoſition to carry on the War, the Inſufficiency of his Offer to reſtore all he may conquer between the firſt of *April* and the fifteenth of *May*, the ſtrained Exceptions againſt the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s Powers, and his Acceptation of the *Alternative*: as chiefly for what regards the Forces to be raiſed with all poſſible Readineſs, and the manner by which we ought to proceed to the Defence of the *Netherlands*, as ſoon as the King of *France* ſhall begin to move againſt them. The *States* are every Day more confirmed in the ſame Sentiments, as their Actions declare, by marching an Army with all Diligence to *Bergopzoom*, and by ſending an Expreſs to the King of *Great Britain* with Intelligence, that they are of Opinion, that in order to ſatisfy the King of *France* upon the Scruples propoſed in Monſieur *de Lionne*'s Paper of the 19th Inſtant, with Promiſes and Aſſurances ſufficient, we muſt let him know diſcreetly, and yet poſitively, that we think his Generoſity will not ſuffer him to ruin a State, or a Miniſter of *Spain*, whom the King of *England* and the *States General* have obliged at his Requeſt, to accept the Conditions preſcrib'd, with a formal Aſſurance, that by that means he ſhould free himſelf

De Monſieur *de Witt.*

A la Haye, 25 *Mars*, 1668.

Monſieur,

J'AY bien receu la lettre dont il vous a plû m'honnorer du 25me de ce mois, ſurquoy je vous diray en peu de mots que je ſuis tout à fait de vôtre opinion, tant à l'egard de la diſpoſition du Roy de France à continuer la guerre, l'inſuffiſance de l'offre de vouloir reſtituer tout ce qu'il pourroit conquerir entre le premier d'Avril & le 15me May; les exceptions recherchées contre les pouvoirs du Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, & contre ſon acceptation de l'alternative; que principalement & ſur tout à l'egard de l'armement que l'on devroit avancer avec toute la promptitude poſſible, & de la maniere de laquelle on devra accourir à la defenſe du Païs-bas, des que le Roy de France commencera à ſe remuer pour l'accabler. Les Etats ont déja approuvé & confirmé encore de jour en jour les mêmes ſentimens par leurs actions; faiſant marcher en toute diligence une armée aux environs de Bergopzoom, & ayant envoyé leur avis par un exprez au Roy de la Grande Bretagne, qu'ils ſont d'opinion qu'auſſi bien que de ſatisfaire au Roy de France ſur les ſcrupules propoſés dans l'ecrit du Sieur de Lionne du 19me de ce mois, avec des aſſeurances & promeſſes ſuffiſantes, il faudra luy faire ſavoir diſcretement, & neantmoins bien poſitivement, que nous jugeons que ſa generoſité ne pourra pas permettre qu'il accable un Etat ou un Miniſtre d'Eſpagne, que le Roy d'Angleterre & les Etats Generaux ont obligé à ſa requiſition d'accepter les conditions preſcrites, avec une aſſeurance formelle que par là il ſe delivreroit

ſelf from all Danger of the War. And at leaſt, that the Honour and good Faith of the King of *Great Britain* and the *States* cannot ſuffer ſuch a *State* or *Miniſter* to be injured without lending him their Service and Aſſiſtance. And by every body's Diſpoſition here I am aſſured, that as ſoon as the Agreement is concluded, we ſhall march to the Aſſiſtance of the *Netherlands*, upon the firſt Step *France* ſhall make to attack them, if the King of *England* will do the like. But to acquit our Conſciences, and let the World ſee the Juſtice of our proceeding, I am entirely of Opinion we muſt make all Advances, and give all due Aſſurances to *France*, to oblige them to the Peace. Upon which, with many other Particulars, I refer you to the Deputies of the *States* to communicate to you; having not time at preſent to enlarge farther, but only to repeat in one Word, that I am truly,

SIR,
Your, &c.
Johan. de Witt.

vreroit de tout danger de la guerre: Et qu'au moins l'honneur & la bonne foy du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & des Etats, ne pourra pas ſouffrir qu'on accable un tel Etat ou un tel Miniſtre, ſans luy prêter leurs ſervices & aſſiſtances: Et je ne vois point de diſpoſition icy, qui ne m'aſſeure que l'oppignoration eſtant conclue, on marchera au ſecours des Païs-bas des la premiere demarche que le Roy de France fera pour l'attaquer, ſi le Roy de la Grande Bretagne en veut faire autant. Mais pour nous ſatisfaire en bonne conſcience; & pour faire voir à tout le monde la juſtice de nôtre procedé, Je ſuis entierement d'opinion qu'il faudra faire toutes les avances, & donner toutes les aſſeurances requiſes à la France, pour parvenir, & pour l'obliger à la paix. Surquoy, comme auſſi ſur pluſieurs autres particularitez, je me remets à ce que les Deputez de l'Etat vous communiqueront plus en detail, n'ayant pas de tems de m'etendre icy plus amplement, mais ſeulement pour repeter en un mot que je ſuis tres veritablement,

Monſieur,
Vôtre, *&c.*
Johan. de Witt.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, March
SIR, 4. 1668.

I Could not immediately anſwer yours of the 2d Inſtant, by reaſon of a Fever I got by a great Cold laſt Night; but towards Noon the Fever leſſening, gives me leave at preſent to tell you, that tho' it is now ſome Days ſince Monſieur *Beverning*'s Departure for *Aix la Chapelle*, yet I do not ſee how in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs it ſhould be more neceſſary for you to reſide in that City than at *Bruſſels*; but on the contrary, that the Affair is now reduced to ſuch a Point, that the Buſineſs which carried you to *Aix*, ought to be treated and finiſh'd in a few Days, in the Place where you are, and in the *Netherlands*; and I think the King of *England*'s Miniſters, and thoſe of the *States* at *Paris*, have negotiated with Addreſs in procuring us an Inſtrument, which

De Monſieur *de Witt.*

A la Haye, 4
Monſieur, *Mars.* 1668.

UN grand rheume qui m'a ſuſcité une fievre la nuit paſſée, a eſté cauſe que je n'ay pas pû vous repondre d'abord à vôtre lettre du 2d *de ce mois: Mais vers le midi la fievre eſtant beaucoup diminuée, me laiſſe preſentement la faculté de vous dire, que quoy qu'il y a dêja quelque jours que Monſieur de Beverning eſt parti pour ſe rendre à Aix la Chapelle, je ne voy pas pourtant que dans la conjoncture preſente des affaires, vôtre ſejour ſoit plus neceſſaire au dit lieu qu'à Bruſſelles; mais que tout au contraire, l'affaire eſt preſentement reduite à un point, que ce pour quoy vous vous fuſſiez tranſporté à Aix, ſe pourra & ſe devra traiter & achever en peu de jours au lieu où vous eſtes & au Païs-bas: Et il me ſemble que Meſſieurs les Miniſtres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & des Etats à Paris, ont negotié adroitement de nous avoir*

which in a few Days will put us in a clear Light upon what we are finally to reſolve and to do; if the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* ſeconds us, as we hope and expect from his Prudence, and from the viſible Intereſt of his Maſter, which obliges him to it. I ſpeak of the Project of the Treaty drawn upon the Foot of the *Alternative*, and concerted between the ſaid Miniſters of our Maſters at *Paris*, and the Commiſſioners of the King of *France*, whereof I am ſure you have received a Copy from Sir *John Trevor*. I think this Project gives us a certain way of obtaining the Peace; or elſe a War, wherein all the *Princes* and *States* of *Chriſtendom* will ſupport us, or at leaſt, commend our Conduct and Proceeding. And I think we muſt proceed in it after this manner: I ſuppoſe before-hand that you and our Deputies with you, will not be at much pains to diſpoſe the Marquis to ſend immediately a Power to Monſieur *Beverning* and Sir *John Trevor*, to ſign in his (the Marquis's) Name, and from the King his Maſter, the Treaty with the King of *France's* Commiſſioners, agreeable to the Project abovemention'd, which I find entirely conformable to our Agreement and ſecret Articles, as Monſieur *Beuninghen* tells us, that he and Sir *John Trevor* made the ſame Judgment of it. Unleſs his Excellency would rather ſign the ſaid Treaty himſelf, and receive the Exchange of it ſigned by the King of *France*. In which Caſe I think there may be only writ on the Top of the Project, *A Treaty of Peace between the Kings of* * Spain *and* France *to prevent diſputing upon the Terms of the Preface*; and beneath, to add the Date. This being done, the aforeſaid Miniſters at *Paris* muſt, in my Opinion, offer the King of *France* to ſign in the King of *Spain's* Name, or (in caſe his Excellency thinks fit to ſign himſelf) to exchange the Treaty ſigned; on condition that *France* will conſent to a reaſonable time to procure the Ratification from the Queen of *Spain*; and above all, the Continuance of the Ceſſation of Arms during the time agreed. I ſee that for granting this Term a little more to the Humour of *France*, you will be more liberal and complaiſant

* *And in the other Inſtrument,* Of *France* and *Spain*.

avoir ſceu procurer un inſtrument qui nous mettra en peu de jours dans une clarté entiere pour reſoudre finalement ce que nous aurons à faire; ſi le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo nous y ſeconde comme nous l'eſperons & l'attendons de ſa prudence & de l'interêt viſible de ſon Maître qui l'y oblige. Je parle du projêt de traité dreſſé ſur le pié de l'alternative & concerté entre les dits Miniſtres de nos Maîtres à Paris & les Commiſſaires du Roy de France, dont je m'aſſeure que vous aurez receu copie de la part de Monſieur Trevor. Il me ſemble que ce projêt nous donne en main un moyen aſſeuré pour avoir la paix, ou une guerre dans laquelle tous les Princes & Etats de la Chrêtienté nous appuyeront, ou au moins loueront nôtre procedé & nôtre conduite. Et voicy comme quoy, à mon avis, nous y pourrions proceder. Je preſuppoſe que vous & Meſſieurs nos Deputez qui ſe trouvent auprés de vous, n'auront pas beaucoup de peine à diſpoſer Monſieur le Marquis d'envoyer incontinent un pouvoir à Meſſieurs van Beuningen. & Trevor, pour ſigner en ſon nom & de la part du Roy ſon Maître, le traité avec les Commiſſaires du Roy de France, conformement au projêt ſuſdit que je trouve entierement conforme à nôtre convention & à nos articles ſecrets; ainſi que le Sieur van Beuningen nous mande auſſi, que luy & Monſieur Trevor en ont rendu ce même jugement. Si ce n'eſt que ſon Excellence ayme mieux de ſigner luy même ledit traité, & d'en recevoir un en échange ſigné de la part du Roy de France, au quel cas il me ſemble que l'on n'auroit qu'à mettre deſſus le projêt, Traité de paix entre les Roys * d'Eſpagne & de France; *pour ne diſputer pas ſur les termes de la preface; & au bas d'ajoûter la date. Cela eſtant fait, il faudra à mon jugement que leſdits Miniſtres à Paris offrent au Roy de France de ſigner au nom du Roy d'Eſpagne, ou bien d'echanger le traité ſigné, ſi ſon Excellence ayt trouvé bon de ſigner luy même; moyennant que la France accorde un terme raiſonable pour procurer la ratification de la Reyne d'Eſpagne, & ſur tout la continuation de la ceſſation d'armes pendant ce terme un peu au gré de la France, vous ſeriez plus liberal ou complaiſant que moy; car au lieu que vous vous contenteriez du terme de 15me de May cy-devant propoſé par*

* Et en l'autre Inſtrument, *De France & d'Eſpagne.*

ſant than I: For whereas you are ſatisfied with the Term till the 15th of *May* already propoſed by Monſieur *de Ruvigny*, I think Reaſon and Decency ſhould oblige to take till the End of *May*. And if the King of *France* refuſes either to ſign on his ſide; or to grant the ſaid Term with the Ceſſation of Arms, I ſhould not ſtick to declare immediately for *Spain*, and act by Sea and Land in Conformity to our third Separate Article.

And ſince it cannot enter into a reaſonable Man's Mind, that the Queen of *Spain* can be ſo blind as not to ratifie the ſaid Treaty, by which a * whole Province is reſtored, and a Minor King delivered from being engaged in a ſecond War with us and *Spain*; I ſhould not be hard at granting the King of *France* whatever he can demand with any Appearance of Reaſon, in a Caſe that will never arrive; chiefly, becauſe many Princes of *Germany* will then declare on our Side, who might elſe (blinded by the Appearances of Reaſon in Monſieur *de Lionne*'s Letter of the 19th paſt) abandon us entirely. The King of *Sweden* or his Miniſter at *London*, do, I think, ſtretch the Cord too far, and he will break it if he does not yield a little. However, we have laſt *Wedneſday* ſent ſuch Orders to our Ambaſſadors, that I doubt not a good Succeſs of this Negotiation.

* *The County of* Burgundy.

For the other Points of your Letter, I muſt refer my ſelf to what you can learn from our Deputies and his Excellency, by Advices from the Ambaſſador *Don Eſtevan de Gamarra*. Therefore I ſhall conclude remaining,

SIR,

Your, &c.

Johan. de Witt.

par Monſieur de Ruvigny, il me ſemble que la raiſon & la bienſeance nous obligeroient bien de prendre juſques au dernier jour de May: Et ſi le Roy de France vient à refuſer ou la ſignature de ſon côté, ou le terme avec la ceſſation d'armes je ne heſiterois point à nous declarer d'abord ſans marchander, pour l'Eſpagne, & agir par mer & par terre en conformité du 3me de nos articles ſeparez.

*Et comme il ne peut tomber dans l'eſprit d'un homme raiſonable, que la Reyne d'Eſpagne pourroit eſtre ſi aveugle que de ne ratifier point le dit traité qui luy fait rendre une * Province entiere, & qui delivre un Roy mineur d'un ſecond accablement de l'Angleterre & de cet Etat; je ne ſerois nullement chiche à accorder au Roy de France tout ce qu'il pourroit demander avec quelque apparence de raiſon, dans un cas qui n'echerra pas. Principalement parceque pluſieurs Princes d'Allemagne alors ſe declareront de noſtre parti, qui ſans cela, aveuglés par les apparences du raiſonnement compris dans la lettre de Monſieur de Lionne du 19me du mois paſſé, nous abandonneroient entierement. Le Roy de Suede, ou ſon Miniſtre à Londres me ſemble trop tendre la corde; & il la rompra s'il ne ſe met un peu à la raiſon: Neantmoins nous avons encore Vendredy paſſé envoyé tels ordres à nos Ambaſſadeurs que je ne doute d'un bon ſuccés de cette negotiation.*

* La Comté de Bourgogne.

Quant aux autres points de vôtre lettre, je ſuis obligé de me remettre à ce que vous pourrez entendre de nos Deputez & de ſon Excellence par les avis de l'Ambaſſadeur Don Eſtevan de Gamarra. C'eſt pourquoy en finiſſant je demeureray comme je ſuis veritablement,

Monſieur,

Vôtre, *&c.*

Johan. de Witt.

From the Elector of Mentz.

Mentz, April 12. 1668.

My Lord,

HAving heard of your Excellency's Arrival at *Aix la Chapelle*, to aſſiſt in his Majeſty of *Great Britain*'s Name

De 'lElecteur de *Mayence*.

A Mayence 12 *Avril*, 1668.

Monſieur,

AYant ſceu l'arrivée de votre Excellence à Aix la Chapelle pour y aſſiſter au nom de ſa Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne

Name at a Negotiation of Peace between the two Crowns, I could not forbear expreſſing my Joy, and the Confidence I have that the Intervention and Authority of ſo great a King, will give much Weight to the Affair, and very much facilitate the Peace; which employing all my Thoughts at preſent, I have diſpatch'd to the ſaid Town of *Aix*, the Baron of *Schonborn* my Nephew, with Orders to render all Offices from me to your Excellency, and to contribute all he can towards a Peace ſo neceſſary to the Repoſe of all *Chriſtendom*. In the mean time I deſire your Excellency to be aſſured, that, as I ſhall always reckon it an Honour to ſerve the King your Maſter, ſo I ſhall never let paſs any Occaſion of ſhewing in particular that I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt humble,

and affectionate Servant,

J. Ph. El. de Mayence.

Bretagne à la negotiation de la paix entre les deux Couronnes; Je n'ay pû m'empecher de luy temoigner ma joye, & la confiance que j'ay que l'intervention & l'autorité d'un Roy ſi puiſſant donnera un poids tres grand à l'affaire, & facilitera de beaucoup la conciliation & le retabliſſement de cette paix: Laquelle faiſant aujourdhuy tous mes ſoins, j'ay depêché à ladite ville d'Aix le Baron de Schonborn mon neveu avec ordre d'offrir & de rendre à vôtre Excellence de ma part, tous les offices, & de contribuer de ſon poſſible pour parvenir à la fin que l'on s'eſt propoſée, pour obtenir une paix ſi neceſſaire au repos de toute la Chrêtienté. Cependant je prie vôtre Excellence d'eſtre aſſeurée que comme je feray toujours gloire de ſervir le Roy ſon Maitre; de même je ne perdray jamais l'occaſion où je pourray temoigner en mon particulier que je ſuis,

Monſieur,

De vôtre Excellence, le tres humble,

& tres affectionné Serviteur,

J. Ph. E. de Mayence.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, March 16. 1668.

SIR,

AFter having writ to you on the 4th, I find my ſelf honour'd by two of yours of the 9th and 14th Inſtant. The Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s manner of tranſacting does infinitely diſpleaſe us; and we believe we have enter'd enough into his Deſigns, to conclude, that his Aim is to delay the ſigning of the Project, and the ſending of the Powers till the *French* begin to be in Motion; and in the mean while to ſign or ſend the Power deſired, and ſummon us by virtue of a former Promiſe, to oppoſe our Arms againſt thoſe of *France*, which will then begin to enter into Action, and by that means ſet us into an open War by Advance. However, to give the ſaid Marquis the ampleſt Aſſurance, and to convince him he is in the wrong, we were willing entirely to agree to your Advice, and to authorize our Deputies to paſs a Promiſe with you in due Form by Writing, inſerting in it the ſame Words

De Monſieur *de Witt.*

A la Haye, 16 *Mars,* 1668.

Monſieur,

A*Prés que je vous ay ecrit le* 4me *je me trouve honoré de vos deux dépêches du* 19me *&* 14me *de ce mois. La maniere d'agir de Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo nous deplaît infiniment; & nous croyons penetrer aſſés ſes visées, pour conclurre que ſon but eſt de delayer ſignature du projet & l'envoy du pouvoir juſques à ce que les François commencent à ſe remuer; & de ſigner en même temps ou d'envoyer le pouvoir deſiré, & de nous ſommer en vertu d'une promeſſe prealable d'oppoſer nos armes contre celles de France qui commenceront alors d'entrer en action, & par ainſi nous mettre en guerre ouverte par proviſion. Neantmoins pour donner au dit Marquis une aſſeurance plus ample, & pour achever de le mettre dans le tort, nous avons bien voulu nous conformer entierement à vôtre avis, & autoriſer nos Deputez à paſſer avec vous la promeſſe en bonne & deüe forme par ecrit; y inſerant les mêmes paroles du troiſieme de nos articles*

Words of our third Separate Article. And I think you have very judiciouſly conſidered, that the Condition of the Promiſe ought to be, not only the Signing of the Project and Powers; but if after the Signing, *&c.* *France* refuſes either to conſent to it, or to continue the Suſpenſion of Arms, we believe we have great Cauſe to complain of the Marquis, that notwithſtanding the ſolemn Promiſe made by the *States General*, and delivered to *Don Eſtevan de Gamarra* in their Reſolution of the 5th of this Month, he has delayed to ſign and diſpatch the Power; ſo that if this had been done at firſt, we had been already out of all Doubt; for either the Concluſion of it would have been purſued at *Paris* with the Suſpenſion of Arms: or, in caſe of Refuſal, *England* and this *State* would already act in earneſt, and with a good Conſcience for *Spain*. And I deſire you to let his Excellency ſee as plainly as poſſible, that if now after the ſigning and ſending the Power to *Paris*, and before the King of *France* can be inform'd of it, he ſhall receive any Diſgrace, it is himſelf he ought to impute it to; for *England* and this *State* will not put into his Hands the Power of involving them in an open War with *France*, unſeaſonably, and againſt their Intention clearly expreſs'd in the Agreement of the 25th Inſtant; which would have happen'd if we had left him the liberty to delay the ſigning or ſending his Power, till he had provoked the *French* to move; or if then ſigning or ſending the Power, he had the Right of employing our Troops againſt thoſe of *France*, before the King of *France* could have had Intelligence of the ſaid ſigning or ſending of the ſaid Power, and by conſequence before the ſaid King could have finiſhed the Treaty, and continued the Suſpenſion of Arms. I hope, and am aſſured, that after this Pace, which is the laſt the *States* are capable of making in this Conjunctre, the Marquis will not delay a Moment the ſigning and ſending of the Peace to *Paris*; but if, contrary to all Appearance, he ſhould be capable of doing ſo, I deſire you to let him know, that neither *England* nor the *States* can aſſiſt one who manifeſtly refuſes, and conſequently that he will be abandoned on all Sides; and alſo that we ſhall find our ſelves under

cles ſeparés; & je juge que vous avez tres judicieuſement conſideré que la condition de la promeſſe doit eſtre non ſeulement la ſignature du projet & des pouvoirs; mais ſi aprés la ſignature, &c. la France refuſe ou d'y conſentir, ou de continuer la ſuſpenſion d'armes: Nous croyons avoir grand ſujet de nous plaindre du Sieur Marquis en ce que non obſtant la promeſſe ſolennelle, faite par les Etats Generaux, & delivrée à Don Eſtevan de Gamarra dans leur reſolution du 5me de ce mois il a delayé de ſigner & de depêcher le pouvoir; d'autant, que ſi cela eut eſté fait d'abord, nous nous trouverions dêja hors de toute obſcurité; car ou la concluſion en auroit eſté ſuivie à Paris, avec la ſuſpenſion d'armes; ou en cas de refus, l'Angleterre & cet Etat agiroit deja de bon coeur & en bonne conſcience pour l'Eſpagne. Et je vous ſupplie de faire voir à ſon Excellence le plus vivement qu'il ſe pourra faire, que ſi à cette heure aprés la ſignature ou l'envoy du pouvoir vers Paris, & avant qu'on en puiſſe avoir averti le Roy de France, il reçoive quelque diſgrace; que ce ſera à ſoy même à qui il le devra imputer: Car l'Angleterre & cet Etat ne peuvent pas luy donner en main un moyen aſſeuré pour les enveloper mal à propos & contre leur intention clairement exprimée dans la convention du 25me de ce mois dans une guerre ouverte avec la France; ce qui ſe feroit ſi on luy laiſſoit la faculté de delayer la ſignature ou l'envoy de ſon pouvoir juſques à ce qu'il auroit provoqué les François de ſe remuer; ou qu'alors ſignant ou envoyant le pouvoir il eut le droit de faire agir nos troupes contre celles de France avant que le Roy de France eut pû avoir nouvelle de ladite ſignature ou de l'envoy dudit pouvoir & par conſequent avant qu'il eut pû faire achever le traité & continuer la ſuſpenſion d'armes: J'eſpere & je me tiens aſſeuré qu'aprés ce pas qui eſt le dernier que les Etats ſont capables de faire en cette conjoncture, Monſieur le Marquis ne delayera plus un moment la ſignature & l'envoy d'un pouvoir vers Paris; mais, ſi contre toute apparence, il fût capable de le faire, je vous ſupplie de lui faire voir comme il faut que ni l'Angleterre ni les Etats, ne peuvent pas aſſiſter un refuſant manifeſte; que par conſequent il ſera abandonné de tous côtés, & qu'auſſi nous nous trouverons neceſſités de le reduire par des moyens plus efficaces à accepter reellement & en effet par

under a Neceſſity to reduce him by more effectual Means, to accept really and effectually by ſigning of the Treaty, the Alternative he has already accepted by a ſeparate Writing. And I even apprehend that by the Delays already paſs'd, the Affair is reduced to a Point not to be redreſs'd; as in truth we ſhall find our ſelves embaraſſed enough, if the King of *France* be already gone from *Paris* to his Army, before the Project ſigned, or the Power be arrived there. I cannot tell by what Politick his Excellency deſires his Conduct ſhould be decryed by all Men, or that his Government ſhould be loſt; for, to think us ſo ill adviſed, that he can engage us in a War againſt *France*, when they on their ſide are earneſt for concluding a Peace, is what I cannot ſuppoſe; and if he thinks *France* will draw back, or refuſe the Suſpenſion, then why he would not let it appear publickly to the World by a ready ſigning on his ſide; this is what I cannot comprehend. In the mean time Monſieur *Colbert* at *Aix*, has loudly made appear the Eaſineſs, and even the Complaiſance of his Maſter, by the Proteſtation he has publickly made, that he has Order to ſign the *Alternative*, without excepting againſt the Preamble of the Marquis's Power upon the Defect of a Faculty to ſubſtitute, or upon any other; whereas on the contrary, the Baron *de Bergeyck* is not authorized to do any thing at all: And I aſſure you, the poſitive Advices we receive of it, make every body's Head turn: Therefore I deſire you ſo much the more to endeavour effectually that the Marquis ſhould finiſh the Affair without any more Delay: For if this laſt Compliance of the *States* does not ſatisfy him, I confeſs to you I ſhall think no farther, but of ſome effectual Means to reduce him to Reaſon, and of ſome Expedients by which the King of *Great Britain* and *their High and Mightineſſes*, may take Meaſures with *France* for preventing the Miſeries of the Neigbourhood; in which I hope you aſſiſt with as much Application, according to the Intent of our Agreement, as I believe you will by all means endeavour to prevent a Caſe ſo deſperate, and ſo deſtructive to *Spain*: And for me I ſhall remain ever with much Paſſion, Sir,

Your, &c.

par la ſignature du traité, l'alternative qu'il a deja accepté par un ecrit ſeparé. Et j'apprehende même que par les delais deja paſſés, l'affaire ne ſoit reduite à un point pour ne pouvoir pas eſtre redreſſée: Comme en verité nous nous trouverions bien embaraſſés, ſi le Roy de France fût deja parti de Paris vers ſon armée, avant que le projet ſigné ou le pouvoir y fût arrivé. Je ne ſay pas par quelle politique ſon Excellence trouve bon de faire decrier ſa conduite par tout le monde, & de perdre le païs de ſon gouvernement; car de nous croire ſi mal aviſés qu'elle nous pourroit engager dans une guerre contre la France, lors qu'elle de ſon côté veut tout de bon conclurre la paix, c'eſt que je ne puis pas preſuppoſer: Et ſi elle juge que la France reculera ou refuſera la ſuſpenſion, pourquoy elle ne l'ayt pas voulu faire paroître publiquement devant tout le monde par une prompte ſignature de ſon côté, c'eſt ce que je ne puis pas comprendre. Cependant Monſieur Colbert à Aix a fait paroître hautement la facilité, voire la complaiſance du Roy ſon Maître, par la proteſtation qu'il fait publiquement, qu'il a ordre de ſigner l'alternative, ſans faire exception ſur le preambule du pouvoir du Marquis, ſur le defaut de la faculté de ſubſtituer, ou autres; là où au contraire Monſieur le Baron de Bergeyck ne ſe trouve autoriſé à rien. Et je vous aſſeure que les avis poſitifs que nous en recevons, font tourner la tête à un chacun: Ce pourquoy je vous ſupplie d'autant plus de tenir la main efficacement à ce que Monſieur le Marquis acheve l'affaire ſans plus de delay: Car ſi cette derniere complaiſance des Etats ne luy ſatisfait pas, je vous avoue que je ne ſongeray plus qu'aux moyens efficaces pour le reduire à la raiſon, & aux expediens, par leſquels le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & leurs Hautes Puiſſances ſe puiſſent entendre avec la France, pour prevenir les malheurs de ſon voiſinage: En quoy j'eſpere que vous cooperez avec autant d'application ſelon l'intention de nôtre convention, que je me tiens aſſuré que vous tacherez par toute ſorte des moyens de prevenir ce cas deſeſperé & ruineux pour l'Eſpagne. Et moy, je demeureray à jamais avec beaucoup de paſſion, Monſieur,

Vôtre tres humble Serviteur,

Johan. de Witt.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, April 27. 1668.

SIR,

YOU ought to be well ſatisfied with your whole Conduct, ſince the Succeſs ſo well anſwers your good Intention, and that your Work has ſo excellent an Agreement with the Foundations you had laid. All *Chriſtendom* owes you the Glory of having firſt diſpoſed the King of *Great Britain*'s Mind to ſo ſtrict an Alliance between his Majeſty and this *State*, for the univerſal Good and Peace of *Europe*. It is upon this Principle you have continued to labour with ſo much Application, and ſo ſucceſsfully with the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*, that it is chiefly to *you* we are obliged for the good Diſpoſition he is in at preſent, and for the Enjoyment of ſo great an Advantage to *Chriſtendom* as reſults from it. I ſpeak of it as a thing we poſſeſs already, becauſe I ſee nothing that can hinder us from it; it being likely that the Baron *de Bergeyck* has already executed the Power we have ſent him; and that the Court of *Madrid*, in order to deliver *Flanders* from its troubleſome Gueſts, will no longer defer to ratify the Treaty. For the reſt, I agree extremely with your Sentiments, and am of Opinion, ſome Exchange of Places ſhould be negotiated immediately after the ſigning of the Treaty.

I writ about it before to Monſieur *Beverning*, ſo that I do not doubt but you have been entertained with it already. I confeſs alſo with you, that this Negotiation will be more conveniently managed afterwards at *Paris* than any where elſe, at leaſt if the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* can reſolve to have Confidence enough in the King of *Great Britain*'s Miniſters, and thoſe of this *State*, to refer to them the Negotiation of an Affair of this Nature: Though, if he conſiders it well, he will find that we both have the ſame Intereſt in it. You have nothing elſe, but to go on your own way upon the Foundation of the Agreement of *January* the 23d, to ſupport the Peace made, by a Guaranty of all who are intereſſed in it, either in general or particular; never fearing

that

A la Haye, 27 Avril, 1668.

Monſieur,

VOUS devez eſtre bien ſatisfait de toute vôtre conduite, puiſque le ſuccez repond ſi parfaitement à vôtre bonne intention, & que vôtre ouvrage a un ſi excellent rapport aux fondemens que vous en aviez jetté. Toute la Chrêtienté vous doit la gloire d'avoir donné la premiere diſpoſition dans l'eſprit du Roy de la Grande Bretagne à une ſi étroite liaiſon entre ſa Majeſté & cet Etat pour le bien & le repos univerſel de l'Europe. Sur ce principe vous avez continué de travailler avec tant d'application & ſi heureuſement auprés de Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, que c'eſt à vous principalement à qui l'on eſt obligé de la bonne diſpoſition en laquelle il ſe trouve preſentement, & de la jouiſſance d'un ſi grand avantage pour la Chrêtienté qui en reſulte. J'en parle comme d'une choſe que nous poſſedons deja, parceque je ne voy rien qui nous en puiſſe fruſtrer, y ayant de l'apparence que des à preſent le Baron de Bergeyck aura executé le pouvoir que nous luy avons porté; & que la Cour de Madrid, pour delivrer les Païsbas de l'importunité de ſes hôtes, ne voudra pas differer de ratifier le traité. Au reſte, je donne fort dans vos ſentimens, & ſuis d'avis que l'on faſſe negotier quelque échange de places incontinent aprés la ſignature du traité.

J'en ay écrit cy-devant à Monſieur Beverning, de ſorte que je ne doute point que vous ne vous en ſoyez deja entretenus. J'avoue auſſi avec vous que cette negotiation ſe fera plus commodement dans la ſuite à Paris qu'ailleurs; au moins ſi Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo peut reſoudre à prendre aſſez de confiance aux Miniſtres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & de cet Etat, pour s'en rapporter à eux de la negotiation d'une affaire de cette nature; quoyque s'il le conſidere bien, il trouvera que nous y avons les uns & les autres preſque le même interêt. Vous n'avez que continuer vôtre route ſur le fondement de la convention du 23 Janvier, pour ſoutenir la paix faite par une guarrantie de tous les intereſsés en general & en particulier; & ne point craindre que ceux qui travailleront au nom de cet Etat avec vous, deconcertent

cette

that thoſe who ſhall negotiate jointly with you in the Name of this *State*, will diſorder the Harmony that has appeared in the whole Courſe of this Negotiation. What they do, is as well from their own Inclination, as in purſuance of their Orders. For me, I ſhall ever ſecond your Zeal with Joy, and ſhall take all Occaſions to ſhew with how much Paſſion and Sincerity I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

cette belle harmonie que l'on a veue en toute la ſuite de cette negotiation. Ils le feront non ſeulement en execution des ordres qu'ils en ont, mais auſſi par inclination. Pour moy, ce ſera toujours avec joye que je ſeconderay vôtre zele, & que je rencontreray les occaſions où je vous puiſſe donner des preuves de la paſſion & ſincerité avec laquelle je ſuis,

Monſieur,

Vôtre tres humble Serviteur,

Johan. de Witt.

From my Lord Arlington.

SIR, *Whitehall, May* 8. 1668.

IF I had written to you laſt Poſt, (as I ſhould have done if there had been time for it) you would have heard me complain much of the Pain I was in not to hear from you in fifteen Days in ſo delicate a Conjuncture of Affairs, which was occaſion'd by contrary Winds. In the mean time we were a little eaſed by Sir *John Trevor*'s Aſſurance to us of the Peace having been ſigned on the 2d, N. S. which has been ſince amply confirmed by two of yours brought together, of the 2d and 8th, N. S. So that now I can with Foundation give you the *Parabien* of this great Work, which you may without Vanity call your own, whatever *Padrinoes* you have had to aſſiſt you in it: And with more Satisfaction, conſidering what Eſcapes you made betwixt the Marquis's Irreſolutions, the Baron *de Bergeyck*'s *Puntillioes*, and Monſieur *Colbert*'s *Emportement*. God be thanked, the great Buſineſs and you are ſo well delivered from theſe Accidents; after which I hope this will find you ſafely arrived at *Bruſſels*, and keeping your ſelf ſtill in the ſame Figure of Equipage to wear the better the Character of his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at the *Hague*; towards which I ſhall ſend you with all ſpeed his final Reſolution and Instructions. In the mean time you will receive by the encloſed, his Mind to the Marquis, recommending to his Excellence the making good with all ſpeed to the Crown of *Sweden* what we and the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors have promiſed to the Count *de Dona*, as you will ſee by this encloſed Act, which we gave him at the Exchange of our Treaty, engaging him in the *Triple Alliance*; the Performance of which the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors and I have already beſpoken of the Count *de Molina* within ſix Weeks time, when we hope the Ratification will be come from *Stockholm*; and the ſaid Ambaſſador obſerving already that the Count *de Molina* calls to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors and us for a Ratification; he admoniſhes us to delay it till the Conditions be performed with him. This, I ſay, is offer'd, but not concluded by us to be ſo obſerved.

His Majeſty had reſolved the Parliament ſhould adjourn on *Monday* laſt, but an unhappy Difference falling out betwixt the Lords and Commons upon a great Point of their Privileges, their Sitting hath been ſpun on to this Day, tho' not without Hopes of our finally riſing to Morrow. Our long talk'd of Miſcarriages have this Week been finiſhed with a very unhappy one in the Queen; after twenty Days going, and raiſing the dejected Hopes of the whole Nation, which even this Miſfortune hath ſomewhat revived. I leave it to Ambaſſador *Patrick* to entertain you upon this Subject, who cannot fail of long Letters by this Poſt. I am with all Truth and Affection,

SIR,

Your very humble Servant,

Arlington.

P. S. You never ſent us any Copy of the Promiſe of Guaranty you ſigned to the Marquis; though you did the Original of that he gave you in exchange of it, with relation to the King our Maſter. When the Count *de Molina* hath preſſed me apart from the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors for his Majeſty's Ratification, I have told him he ought to have ready his Ratification from *Madrid* to exchange with ours; which it will not be amiſs for you to take notice of likewiſe to the Marquis, when he ſhall give you occaſion for it.

From the Elector of Mentz.

Mentz, May
My Lord, 14, 1668.

THE Honour of a general Joy upon the Peace concluded and ſigned between the Crowns, being equally due to the vigorous Interpoſition of his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, and to the wiſe Conduct of your Excellency in an Affair of ſuch Importance to *Chriſtendom*; I deſire to rejoice with you upon the happy Succeſs of it. I hope, the Ratification of this Treaty will be exchang'd in due time on both ſides; and ſhall not fail on my part, of contributing all I can to the Preſervation of the publick Peace, and to ſecond his Majeſty's Intentions; aſſuring your Excellency in the mean time, that the Obligations will never be forgot, which an infinite number of good Chriſtians owe you for your Diligences in accompliſhing the Peace: And that for my particular, I ſhall cheriſh all Occaſions of ſhewing your Excellency the Sincerity of my Affection, and how much I deſire to let you know that I am,

Your Excellency's moſt humble
and moſt affectionate Servant,

De Mayence,
Monſieur, 14 *May*, 1668.

L'*Honneur d'une joye generale ſur la paix conclue & ſignée entre les Couronnes, ſe devant également à la vigoureuſe interpoſition de ſa Majeſté de la Grande Bretagne, & à la ſage maniere dont Vôtre Excellence a ſceu conduire une affaire de telle importance à toute la Chrêtienté; J'ay bien voulu me conjouir avec elle de l'heureux ſuccés qui l'a ſuivi. J'eſpere que la Ratification de ce Traité ſera échangée à ſon terme de part & d'autre; & ne manqueray de contribuer de ma part tout ce que je pourray à la conſervation du repos public, & pour ſeconder les intentions de ſa Majeſté: Aſſûrant cependant vôtre Excellence qu'on n'oubliera jamais les obligations que luy doivent une infinité de bons Chrêtiens pour les ſoins qu'elle a apportés à la conciliation de cette paix; & que pour mon particulier je cheriray les occaſions par leſquelles je luy pourray temoigner la ſincerité de mon affection, & combien je deſire luy faire connoître que je ſuis,*

Monſieur,
De Vôtre Excellence tres humble
& tres affectionné Serviteur,

Jean Philippe El. de Mayence.

From the Duke de Roanez.

From the Camp of Ruysbrouk.
Monſieur, May 29, 1668.

THE Count of *Rembourg* has informed this Morning (being the 27th inſtant) at eleven a Clock, from the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*, of the Arrival of the *Ratification*; to which I ſent anſwer, that I doubted not of what

Au Camp de Ruysbrouk,
Monſieur, 29 May, 1668.

M*onſieur le Compte de Rembourg m'à fait ſçavoir ce matin 27, à onze heures, de la part de Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo, l'arrivée de la ratification: A qui j'ay fait réponſe, que je ne doutois pas de ce qu'il me faiſoit*

what he did me the Honour to write to me, but that I had no News of it from the King: Be pleaſed that I repeat the ſame thing to you, to tell you that I wonder extreamly how any one can complain that I have attack'd their Troops out of the City; ſince theſe Acts of Hoſtility are always allowed till the Publication of the Peace; for it is but yeſterday that one of their Parties attack'd ours, whereof I ſent you the Priſoners back to *Braine le Chateau*; and the ſame day thoſe of *Braine le Chateau* took 10000 *Francs* from the Equipage of one of our Captains. They might better inform you, how I ſend your Priſoners back, without ſuffering them to be diſmounted or plunder'd; that I allow no Pillage that comes to my Knowledge, and that they have diſmounted and ſtript even my own Domeſticks. For what the Marquis of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* has aſſured you, that his Troops on the 27th at Noon, and the 28th or 29th at Night, acted only in the defenſive: If there be any Action for the future, whereof I ſee no Appearance, then I ſhall know by the Iſſue, whether they have yet acted defenſively or offenſively. This is all I can anſwer you upon what is paſt, or to come. In Expectation of the King's Orders for publiſhing the Peace at the Camp, as it has been this Day publiſh'd at *Bruſſels*, you will do me Juſtice to believe that no one is more than I,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

ſoit l'honneur de m'ecrire; mais que je n'en avois aucune nouvelle du côté du Roy. Trouvez bon que je vous repete la même choſe; & que je vous diſe que je ſuis extrememement étonné, que l'on ſe puiſſe plaindre de ce que j'ay fait attaquer leurs troupes hors de la Ville: Puiſque ces ſortes d'actes d'hoſtilité ſont permis juſqu' à la publication de la paix, & que même hier un de leurs parties attaqua les nôtres, dont je renvoyay les priſonniers à Braine le Chateau; & le même jour, ceux du même Braine le Chateau prirent prés de dix mille francs d'equipage à un de nos capitaines. Ils pourroient encore mieux vous informer comme je renvoye leurs priſonniers, ſans permettre qu'on les demonte & qu'on les depouille; que je ne ſouffre point de pillage, qui vienne à ma connoiſſance; & qu'ils ont demonté & depouillé juſqu' à nos domeſtiques. Pour ce que Monſieur le Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo vous a aſſeuré que ſes troupes le 27me aprés midy, & la nuit du 28me ou 29me, n'avoient agi qu'en ſe deffendant; c'eſt une verité dont je tombe d'accord: Si à l'avenir il y a quelque action, à quoy je ne voy point d'apparence, alors je ſauray par l'iſſue s'ils ont encore agi en ſe deffendant ou en attaquant. Voila ce que je vous puis repondre pour ce qui eſt paſsé, & ce qui peut arrivèr, en attendant les ordres du Roy pour faire publier la paix au Camp comme l'on l'a publiée aujourdhuy à Bruſſelles; Vous me ferez juſtice de croire qu'il n'eſt perſonne qui ſoit plus,

Monſieur,

Vôtre tres humble Serviteur,

Le Duc de Roanez.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, July
6. 1668.

SIR,

I Could not receive more agreeable News than what you tell me of your return hither with the Character of Ambaſſador. I am ſure you will not doubt the Truth of what I ſay, when you reflect on the Satisfaction I ought to have, and have already in the Generoſity and Sincerity I have obſerved in all your Proceedings. You have

A la Haye, 6 Juill.
1668.

Monſieur,

JE ne pouvois pas recevoir un avis plus agreable que celuy que vous me donnez de vôtre prochain retour avec la qualité d'Ambaſſadeur: Je m'aſſure que vous ne douterez point de la verité de ce que je viens de dire; quand vous voudrez faire reflexion ſur la ſatisfaction que je dois avoir, & ay en effet, da la generoſité & ſincerité que j'ay remarquées

have reaſon, Sir, to ſay, that it is impoſſible the King of *Great Britain* ſhould not deſign to live in a perfect good Intelligence with this State, when he ſends us a Perſon who ought to be ſo dear to us upon ſo many Conſiderations, honoured with a Character that ſhews the Eſteem and Friendſhip he has for this State: We ſhall endeavour the Continuance of both, by doing all his Majeſty can expect from his moſt faithful Allies; and by the ſame means I ſhall endeavour to give his Majeſty the Marks of that profound Reſpect I have for his Perſon, and the Proofs of thoſe Sentiments I have for your Merit. And as you and I deſire nothing on both ſides, but to preſerve eternally the good Intelligence you have help'd to ſtrengthen, with ſo much Succeſs; I cannot doubt, but we may eaſily avoid whatever is capable of changing it. Permit me, Sir, to ſay, that you ſhall find me always diſpoſed to give all facility to whatever can eſtabliſh the common Intereſt of either State; and as I know I ſhall always find the ſame diſpoſition in you, I cannot but rejoice when I conſider, that I ſhall have to negotiate with a Miniſter who poſſeſſes all the Qualities that can make him ſucceed in whatever he undertakes.

This is all I am permitted to ſay, by an Affliction lately come upon me, having loſt a Wife who was indeed the true half of me; whereof I make no difficulty by this occaſion to inform you, who have had the Goodneſs to tell me, that you take part in my Concerns, as on my ſide I ſhall ever do in all your Intereſts, with that Affection and Sincerity wherewith I am and ſhall remain all my Life,

S I R,

Your moſt humble Servant,

marqué en tout vôtre procedé. Vous avez raiſon de dire, Monſieur, qu'il ne ſe peut, que l'intention du Roy de la Grande Bretagne ne ſoit de vivre dans une parfaitement bonne intelligence avec cet Etat, puiſque il nous envoye une perſonne qui nous doit eſtre chere par tant de conſiderations, revêtu d'un charactere qui marque l'eſtime & l'amitié qu'il a pour cet Etat. Nous tacherons d'en meriter la continuation en faiſant tout ce que ſa Majeſté pourra deſirer de ſes plus fideles Alliez; & par le même moyen je tacheray de luy donner des marques du profond reſpect que j'ay pour la perſonne de ſa Majeſté, & des preuves des ſentimens que j'ay de vôtre merite. Et comme de part & d'autre, nous ne deſirons rien, ni vous ni moy, que de conſerver eternellement la bonne intelligence que vous avez aidé à affermir avec tant de ſuccès; je ne puis pas douter que nous n'evitions ſans peine tout ce qui pourroit eſtre capable de l'alterer. Permettez moy, Monſieur, que je vous diſe encore, que vous me trouverez toujours diſpoſé à donner une derniere facilité à tout ce qui pourra établir l'interêt commun de l'un & de l'autre Etat; & comme je ſay que je trouveray toujours la même diſpoſition en vous, il ne ſe peut que je ne me rejouiſſe quand je conſidere que j'auray à negotier avec un Miniſtre qui poſſede toutes les qualités qui le peuvent faire reuſſir en tout ce qu'il entreprendra.

C'eſt tout ce que me permet de dire preſentement l'affliction qui m'eſt ſurvenue, venant de perdre une femme qui faiſoit en effet la veritable moitié de moy même; dont je ne fais point de difficulté de faire part per cette occaſion, à celuy qui a eu la bonté de me temoigner qu'il en prend beaucoup de part à ce qui me touche; comme de mon côté j'en prendray toujours à tous vos interêts avec toute l'affection & ſincerité avec laquelle je ſuis & demeureray toute ma vie,

Monſieur,

Vôtre tres humble Serviteur,

Jean de Witt.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, July 27, 1668.

S I R,

IN your obliging Letter of the 3d Inſtant, I find ſo many Marks of Affection and Tenderneſs for me, that I cannot defer to return you my moſt humble Thanks, and to tell you, that of all the Conſolations given me in my Affliction, there is none has been more effectual than what I received from you. I there find, it is the Heart that ſpeaks, and that you truly take part in my Affliction, whereof I ſee you know the greatneſs, becauſe you ſo well know the ineſtimable Loſs I have ſuffered. And I dare to ſay, that if any remedy be capable of cloſing the Wound, it will doubtleſs be what your gentle healing Hand has applied to it. I confeſs it is ſomewhat ſenſible becauſe it ſearches the Wound, but it afterwards applies a Balm that eaſes and leſſens the Pain. I receive it as I ought, and ſhall endeavour to profit by all your Conſolations, by combating my Weakneſs with the Strength of your Reaſons, which are dictated to you not only by that *Chriſtian* Philoſophy whereof you make Profeſſion, but by that ſincere Friendſhip wherewith you are pleaſed to honour me. I moſt humbly entreat you to be perſuaded that I perfectly return your Kindneſs, and am impatient for an Occaſion to give you Proofs of it, which as I hope I ſhall find when we have the Hapineſs to enjoy you, ſo I deſire with Paſſon to ſee you here, to let you judge of the Intention of this State, to preſerve faithfully the Alliance that the King of *Great Britain* has pleaſed to make with it, but more particularly, to let you judge of the Inclination I have to contribute thereto all in my ſmall Power; and to remain as long as I live,

Sir, your, &c.

A la Haye, 27 *Juill*. 1668.

Monſieur,

JE trouve dans l'obligeante lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'ecrire du 3me de ce mois, ſtile du lieu, tan de marques d'affection & de tendreſſe pour moy, que je ne puis pas differer de vous dire que de toutes les conſolations que l'on me donne en mon affliction, il n'y en a poiut qui ait eſté plus efficace que celle que je viens de recevoir de vous: J'y reconnois que c'eſt le coeur qui parle, & que vous prenez veritablement part à mon affliction; dont je voy que vous ſavez la grandeur puiſque vous ſavez celle de la perte ineſtimable que j'ay faite: Et j'oſe dire que s'il y a un remede capable de fermer la playe, c'eſt ſans doute celuy qui y applique la main benigne & ſalutaire que vous me prêtez: Elle ſe fait ſentir je l'avoue, parce qu'elle ſonde la playe, mais elle y applique enſuite un baûme qui la doucit & qui en ſoulage la douleur. Je le reçoy comme je dois, & tâcheray de faire mon profit de toutes vos conſolations, en combatant une foibleſſe avec la force de vos raiſons, que vous dicte non ſeulement la Philoſophie Chrêtienne, dont vous faitès profeſſion, mais auſſi la tres ſincere amitié, dont il vous plaît m'honorer. Je vous supplie tres humblement, d'être perſuadé que j'y reponds parfaitement, que je ſuis dans l'impatience de vous en pouvoir donner des preuves; & que comme j'eſpere que j'en trouveray les occaſions, lorſque nous aurons l'avantage de vous poſſeder, je deſire avec paſſion de vous voir icy, pour vous faire juge de l'intention de l'Etat à entretenir fidellement l'allianec qu'il a plû au Roy de la Grande Bretagne faire avec luy; mais bien plus particulierement de l'inclination que j'ay à y contribuer tout ce qui eſt de mon petit pouvoir, & à demeurer tant que je vivray,

Monſieur,

Vôtre tres affectionné &

tres humble Serviteur,

Johan de Witt.

From

From the Lord Keeper Bridgeman.

SIR, *July* 26. 1668.

I Received yours Yeſterday Morning after you were gone hence; and am afraid the Letter which I ſent you from Mr. *Williamſon*, might come unſeaſonably to diſcompoſe you: It not being ſo intended by me; nor I believe the Meſſage from the King to be otherwiſe intended than out of Kindneſs and Reſpect to you to haſten you away; that you might know how important he held your Negotiations might be for his Service at this critical time. And therefore I ſhould be glad that you would take this by the right Handle.

I had a Letter this Night from Sir *Thomas Clifford*; who writes, that they in the Treaſury have a great Deſire to accommodate you: And though it be not in the Privy Seal that you ſhall have three Months Advance beſides the 1000 *l.* yet they will be careful that you receive the Money as it is due. The Draught of the Inſtructions are ſent away to my Lord *Arlington*, and expected back on *Tueſday* Night, and the foreign Committee appointed to ſit on *Wedneſday* to diſpatch them. Really, Sir, I do not think that there is any Intention in preſſing your Departure for *Holland*, but juſt and honourable towards you, and with reſpect to the Greatneſs of the Employment and the Urgency of the King's Affairs at this time to have you at the *Hague*: And (if you will take my Opinion) I would not have you take other Meaſures of it, even for your own ſake. In the mean time, while you do ſtay, you may preſs on the Buſineſs of your Account, tho' I ſhould not adviſe you to retard your Journey upon that ſcore. It may be as well preſſed on by your Lady if ſhe do not accompany you, or elſe by your Solicitors (among whom I will be one) who, if any Obſtructions be, may write to you to remove them: But you will find the Vice-Chamberlain dilatory, and then your Stay at laſt upon this new Buſineſs (for ſo I may call it) may beget a Miſconſtruction. You will pardon the Freedom I take in imparting my own Thoughts to you in this Caſe.

I wiſh you and my Lady (to whom I recommend my humble Service) a happy Journey, and all other Felicities, as I wiſh to my ſelf, who am ever,

Your faithful and very

affectionate Servant,

Orl. Bridgeman, C. S.

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*'s First Embaſſy AT THE HAGUE,

Begun *Auguſt*, 1668.

To the Elector of Mentz.

Hague, Aug. 31.
SIR, *N. S.* 1668.

I DID not receive the Honour of your Highneſs's Letter till ſome time after my Arrival in *England*, with the encloſed for the King my Maſter, which he received with that Eſteem his Majeſty always bears to what comes from your Highneſs; and having promiſed me an Anſwer upon my Return for *Holland*, which has been put off from Day to Day, I have deferred my particular Acknowledgments to your Highneſs till I could value them by the Honour of accompanying a Letter from his Majeſty. I ſend it now encloſed; and deſire your Highneſs to believe, that I reſent as I ought, the Honour you have done me; and that I will preſerve your Highneſs's Letter among the greateſt Marks of Honour to my Family; and ſhall not fail upon all Occaſions to ſhew how much I ſhall cheriſh the Title I pretend to with ſo much Juſtice, of being,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

A l'Electeur de Mayence.

A la Haye, le 31
Monſieur, *Aout, S. N.* 1668.

LA Lettre dont V. A. m'a honoré, & qui eſt datée du 14 *de May, ne m'a été rendue que quelques jours après mon arrivée en Angleterre, avec elle j'ay reçû l'envelopé pour le Roy mon Maître, que je luy ay porté, & qu'il a reçû avec les mêmes marques d'eſtime que ſa Majeſté a toujours fait paroître pour tout ce qui vient de la part de V. A. Le Roy m'ayant promis la reponſe pour le tems de mon retour en Hollande, qui a toujours trainé de jour en jour; J'ay differé de marquer à V. A. ma reconnoiſſance en particulier, juſqu' à ce que j'euſſe l' bonneur d'être porteur d'une Lettre de ſa Majeſté. Je l'envoye à cette beur, & je ſupplie V. A. de croire que je reſſens comme je le dois l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait, & que je conſerveray ſa Lettre, & la conteray parmi les titres & les bonneurs qui elevent la gloire de ma famille. Je ne laiſſeray echaper aucune occaſion de temoigner combien je cheris & cheriray toujours la qualité que je prens avec tant de juſtice de,*

Monſieur,

De V. A. &c.

To

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Sept. 7. S. N.* 1668.

SINCE my laſt I have not ſtirred out, but had the Favour of ſeveral Viſits in my Chamber; among the reſt, one from Monſieur *Meerman* on *Wedneſday*, and one of three Hours from Monſieur *de Witt* Yeſterday. I fell into Talk with the firſt, upon the matter of the *Guinea* Company; who ſaid, my Lord *Holles*, and as I remember, Mr. Secretary *Morris*, had ſpoken of it to him before; but only given him a general Relation, upon which he could not ſufficiently inform the States; That they had likewiſe mentioned ſome other Parts of the Marine Treaty, by which the *Eaſt-India* Company thought themſelves aggrieved, but remember'd nothing particular beſides the Form of Paſſports, in which we might receive what Satisfaction we pleaſed, and the better Definition of what was meant by *a Town inveſted*. I told him, the Buſineſs of *Guinea* was diſtinct from any thing of the Marine Treaty (though he was unwilling to underſtand it ſo) that I was very little inſtructed in the firſt, becauſe his Majeſty's Commands in that Point were only to procure the Reference of it to Commiſſioners for the propoſing Rules by which both Companies ſhould proceed, and thereby preventing the ſaid Company's acting wholly by Rules and Officers of their own, which had been the firſt Occaſions of the unhappy Diſputes between us, and might poſſibly prove ſo again. For the Marine Treaty, I told him I had yet no Inſtructions upon that Subject, but might have in a little time: and thereupon took occaſion of diſcourſing to him at large the whole Buſineſs of Commerce between us, and the Neceſſity of giving us ſome Reaſon and Eaſe in thoſe Matters; upon which, tho' he ſeem'd a little ſtanch, as his Complexion is, and jealous of our great Growth in Trade, by a more parſimonious and induſtrious Genius among us of late, than had formerly been; yet I found, what I ſaid had Impreſſion on him: For he parted with great Profeſſions of contributing all he could towards the Succeſs of all Negotiations between us; and went that Night to communicate all to Monſieur *de Witt*, as I found by our Conference next Day. It began with his having peruſed my Papers about the *Guinea* Company; upon which he deſired to know if I had no other Information than thoſe gave me: For by thoſe, the Matter ſeemed favourable to them, by the Letters of their Director being particular, and with relation to time, and to the Articles of the *Breda* Treaty, by which the new Settlements there were to be govern'd: whereas what concerned our Pretenſions was contained only in ſome looſe Examinations concerning Poſſeſſion or not Poſſeſſion formerly by one or the other, without any reference to the Conſtitutions made by the *Breda* Treaty, and without mentioning in any direct Terms what it was we complained of, or what we deſired.

The Truth is, all the Papers concerning that Matter remitted to me by Mr. Secretary *Morris*, were only the *Guinea* Company's Petition, the Examination of Mr. *Thomas Criſp*, Captain *Merbrooke*, and Mr. *Be'ois*, with a Letter and Proteſt of the Director of the *Dutch Weſt-India* Company. I excuſed my being ſo little informed, upon the Reaſons I had alledged to Monſieur *Meerman*, and preſs'd in the ſame manner the Reference of it to Commiſſioners. He allowed his Majeſty's Conſideration of preventing the two Companies proceeding by Rules or Executions of their own, to be very prudent and neceſſary; and that he knew the *States* would ſecond his Majeſty's good Intention in it: and that when he could find the Matter of Fact and Right but alledged in diſtinct Teſtimonies of known Perſons, he doubted not but he ſhould eaſily find a Compoſure for all theſe Diſputes, and agree upon a conſtant Reglement hereafter. And to this purpoſe he would ſend immediately to enquire among the Officers of their Company for any Papers that may have been remitted to them from our Officers to theirs in *Guinea*; for he could not believe but that Letter and Proteſt of their Director had either been occaſioned by ſome precedent Letters or Demands from ſome Officers of ours, or at leaſt followed by ſome Anſwers, in which our Demands and Rights were aſſerted, as thoſe of the

Dutch were in thoſe Papers of their Director. I anſwer'd all, by inſiſting upon Commiſſioners according to my Inſtruction, and argued its being a Matter much more proper for ſuch to debate and determine, as underſtood the Coaſts, Situations, manner of Trade in thoſe Parts, former Poſſeſſions, and Matters of Fact paſt, than for him and me, how willing ſoever we ſhould be to inform our ſelves, or to find Expedients; and went ſo far upon this Subject, that he ſeemed inclined it ſhould be ſo; at leaſt when the Pretenſions were ſtated, ſo as it might appear what was to be referred to ſuch Commiſſioners. But upon this he fell into the Diſcourſe of what Monſieur *Meerman* had told him, or I had formerly written to him, concerning ſome Exceptions to the Marine Treaty; and how willing the *States* would be to alter the Form or Paſſports, when they knew how we deſired it: And if the King wiſh'd any more particular Definition of what ſhould be eſteemed *a Town inveſted*, he did not doubt we might agree upon that too; having found me always to propoſe only what I thought reaſonable, and to agree to what I found ſo; and he was made after the ſame manner, and ſo I ſhould always find him. I eaſily perceived, that the Thing he would be at, was, upon occaſion of this *Guinea* Matter, to know at once the Bottom of all we pretended, in point of regulating Commerce between us, having, I preſume, heard more than was need perhaps, of all the Noiſe made by the *Eaſt-India* Company upon the Subject of the Marine Treaty, or by their Patrons, either out of Zeal to the Good of our Commerce, or out of Envy at the Succeſs of ſo great a Council and Conduct of his Majeſty, in which they had no Hand, and upon which if we had loſt a little in Trade by changing the Form of the Articles at *Breda* into a Marine Treaty, (wherein I do not conceive how we loſt at all) yet I am ſure it was infinitely recompenſed by the Neceſſity, the unexpected Succeſs, and the great Conſequences of thoſe other Alliances, to which that Circumſtance of the Marine Treaty was made, I thought, but a Sacrifice of Smoak. And this I could not but ſay for his Majeſty's Satisfaction, and your Lordſhip's Vindication, with thoſe other Miniſters, by whoſe Advice that Council was taken and purſued, finding every Day more how highly it is applauded abroad, while it is maliced by ſome, and ſo little eſteemed by others at home; though his Majeſty has reaped already from it, both the whole Honour of giving Peace to Chriſtendom, and perhaps the only Safety of his own Kingdoms, conſidering the Conjunctures in which that Council found us.

But to return to my Conference with Monſieur *de Witt*: Finding him lead me ſo induſtriouſly into a Field wherein I had no Intention to enter, I reſolved however to take the Occaſion, and once for all, to ſay all I had thought, or your Lordſhip had infuſed into me, upon that Subject. And ſo I told him plainly, That I was not yet inſtructed in that Matter of our Exceptions to the Marine Treaty, but believed I might be in a little time; That the Particulars he mentioned were complained of in the Treaty it ſelf, and other Things thought to be admitted, but that I could not enter into any Particulars till I had Inſtructions; but ſince he gave me the Occaſion, I would enter once for all into the general. I diſcourſed over to him the common Intereſt, and indeed Neceſſity, of preſerving perpetual the preſent Alliances between us, eſpecially on their Side, while the Dangers were ſo great from the Ambition and Power, as well as Neighbourhood of *France*; The great Overtures would now be made us from thence to the Prejudice of this Alliance, and at all other Times, whenever they could hope we were ready to receive them. That tho' I could give him no Jealouſy of them now, but on the contrary aſſure him he might be at Eaſe on that Side, and that the King would only have the Honour by it, of ſetting them an Example of his Sincereneſs and Conſtancy, which he would expect they ſhould follow when the Game begun with *them*, as it would after it ended with *him*. Yet I would tell him, that *France* was at all times capable of making us ſuch Offers, and of giving us our preſent Account ſo well, though in Exchange perhaps of Danger to come (in caſe of no new Revolutions) that whenever there ſhould be in *England* a Prince leſs direct, or leſs foreſeeing than his Majeſty, or either a weak or corruptible Miniſtry, I could not anſwer what Meaſures we ſhould take: That, upon this

Ground, I thought they could not do wiſer than to root this Alliance in the very Hearts of the People, and current Genius of the Nation, and not rely wholly upon the preſent Inclinations or Judgment of his Majeſty, or the Diſpoſitions of the Miniſters: For if there were any thing that lay croſs to it in the common Intereſt or Humour of the People, it would be upon all Occaſions breaking out to diſturb it, and whenever *that* ſhould concur with the Diſpoſitions of the Prince, they would be able to make a great Noiſe in the World. I told him, that many Perſons in *England*, either to make way for the *French* Alliance by weakning or breaking this; or elſe perhaps to diſcredit the moſt applauded Councils of the preſent Miniſtry, had made a Noiſe about the Marine Treaty as if it had been a ruining the Nation, and from thence took Occaſion to infuſe into all People as far as they could, that we ſhould never find any Fairneſs, or Directneſs, or Equality, in all we treated with the *Dutch*; but Subtilty, and Hardſhip, and Injuſtice, and when Occaſion was, Obſtinacy and Injury, in all Matters of Commerce between us; while we gave them Reaſon to believe we thought their Friendſhip neceſſary, or very convenient to us. That, I had ever ſince I knew him, maintained the contrary to his Majeſty, aſſured him of the Sincerity I had found in their Proceedings, and been always made confidently believe by them, that his Majeſty ſhould find them ever reaſonable and eaſy in what ſhould be offered in reducing Matters of Commerce to an Equality, and to be reciprocal between us. That it was a ſmall matter, that all my Credit, and perhaps Fortune lay at Stake upon their making this good: But I was ſure it was conſiderable that the very Safety of our Alliance might at one time or other come to lie at Stake upon it too. And therefore for my part, I thought they could not do in the World a wiſer thing, than to give us all reaſonable Satisfaction in theſe Points, by conſenting to any Reglements of Commerce which might import Equality, and be reciprocal between us. That any Equality it ſelf would be the ſame Advantage to them, that a long Arm againſt a ſhort would be between two Men with equal Swords; for conſidering their Parſimony, Induſtry, Neceſſity of turning all their Stock to Trade for want of Land, and Multitude of People; and on the other Side, our native Luxury, want of Order or Application, and our Extent and Cheapneſs of Land, and Eaſe of Taxes, which made People chuſe to turn their Money that way; they could never fail of Advantage enough in any Equality, and upon it would find the ſureſt, the moſt commodious Ally, and the beſt able to protect them that they could have in the World, being without any Ambition or Deſigns among our Neighbours, farther than to keep the Balance of *Chriſtendom*: And yet on the other Side, the only Power that was feared by *France*, and that were able in Conjunction of our Fleets with theirs, to awe them by what they might ſuffer from Sea, into ſome Conſideration of what was fit for them to act at Land.

During this Diſcourſe, which I enlarged the moſt I could to the Purpoſe, reſolving to bend all my Force upon the Effect of it; I found Monſieur *de Witt* very attentive, and willing to let me go on, with Marks in his Countenance of reliſhing, and, as I thought, approving what I ſaid; which made me reſolve to go yet one Point farther, and to the Root of all that could ſpring into any Jealouſies between us. I told him, it was true, that there wanted not ſome among us that would be ſo wiſe to know, that it was impoſſible for us ever to fall into any firm Confidence with the *States* upon their preſent Conſtitution, nor particularly with him, upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Occaſion: That, for my part, I was not at all of that Mind: That though the King could not loſe the Affection he had for his Nephew, yet he was of Opinion he could not expreſs it better than by infuſing into him the Belief, that he could make himſelf no way ſo happy as in the good Will of the *States*, and truſting wholly to them in the Courſe of his Fortunes, and not to private Factions, or foreign Intrigues and Applications. That his Majeſty was of an Opinion himſelf, that Princes were not apt to do themſelves more Hurt, and make themſelves leſs, any way than by affecting too much Power, or ſuch as was directly contrary to the Stomach and Genius of the Country which fell to their Share: And beſides this, I knew his Majeſty was ſo juſt and ſo reaſonable, that though he ſhould take kindly of the *States* any Reſpects they ſhould ſhew his Nephew, yet I did not believe he would offer that to any other King or State, which he ſhould not take well that any other ſhould offer to him; and I did not believe he would ever be put upon any ſuch Deſigns by his Council, or his People's Inclinations. For they who look'd upon the Prince in a Poſſibility of one Day coming to be their King; and that loved a Prince who grounded his Power in the Affections of his People, and loved to rule by Laws, had rather perhaps ſee the Prince of *Orange* happy in the good Will of the *States*, and ſuch moderate Power as they ſhould think conſiſtent with their Government, than of a Humour that aims at any thing that might tend to ſubvert their Civil Conſtitutions: So that I ſaw nothing of Danger to them upon this Chapter, either from the Judgment and Diſpoſition of his Majeſty, or the Humour of the Nation: But was confident, in caſe we could agree upon Matters of Commerce, nothing could ever intervene to break an Alliance that was ſo uſeful to our ſelves, and all *Chriſtendom* beſides. And ſo I left it with him.

Upon this Diſcourſe, Monſieur *de Witt* with very great Signs of Satisfaction told me, That all I ſaid was reaſonable, that he agreed with me perfectly in it: And upon that, ſaid a great deal of the Sympathy he had ever obſerved between us, and how eaſy that would ever make any thing we ſhould fall in Treaty of. That he knew from Monſieur *Meerman*, I had been the occaſion of giving him any Credit in *England* of an honeſt ſincere Man, and he would never loſe mine upon that occaſion by giving the King Cauſe to believe other of him. That he confeſs'd he had often told me, that the States would ever be contented with an Equality with us in Point of Trade; and, that provided they might know what it was we would be at, and that we propoſed nothing but what was equal and reciprocal between us; he would give me his Hand (as he did) that he would uſe all his Endeavours to give us Satisfaction in it; and he thought he knew the Minds of the States ſo well, that he durſt almoſt promiſe it me in their Names by Advance, and without knowing what it was. That for any thing amiſs in the Marine Treaty, he did not ſee how any Complaint could be made of what I had done in it; but that the Ambaſſadors at *Breda* ought to anſwer for that, if there were any thing ill in it, ours being but Word for Word the ſame with theirs, and both Parties Conſent being neceſſary to alter what was then proviſional, as what is now more formally eſtabliſh'd. That, for the Form of the Paſſports, let me but bring one drawn up as we deſire it, and in Terms current with the Forms of their State, and it ſhall be immediately agreed to. That, for defining what Towns ſhall be ſaid to be beſieged, he is very willing that ſhould be done too, ſince it imports the ſame for one as t'other: And even for any other Matters that were thought neceſſary to be added to the Marine Treaty, ſince nothing elſe was deſired to be altered: If his Majeſty would inſtruct me fully in all Points, and that they proved as I ſaid, equal and reciprocal, he would once more undertake we ſhould agree upon them, and deſired me to aſſure his Majeſty ſo much; and he thought, the ſooner I was inſtructed in it, the better: But deſired that no Uſe might be made of this, to encourage either the *Eaſt-India* Company or others, to make new Exceptions or Demands, but only I might be inſtructed in thoſe which had been made already: And that, I ſaid, I durſt promiſe him, for they had been already digeſted before the Council. From this, he fell to diſcourſe of our Alliance, and the Conſiderations we had to ſtrengthen and continue it; and how much he was pleaſed with what I ſaid of the King's Reſolution upon that Point, of his ſhewing them an Example of Conſtancy, and that I could never doubt their following it. And among other things ſaid, the *States* had ſuck'd that in like Milk, which was already paſs'd into the very Fleſh and Subſtance of their Body: And we might be the more confident of it, ſince the Miniſter they employ'd in *France*, and through whoſe Hands all ſuch Matters muſt paſs, and be repreſented to the *States* by the Lights he ſhould give them, was as firm and earneſt upon it as any Man could be: That he knew *France* would try them as well as us, and would not ſay but they might poſſibly gain ſome one of the little Provinces; but for *Holland* in particular, and the Provinces in general, it was not a thing to be thought on. From this he fell to ſpeak of the Prince of *Orange*, and ſeemed very much pleaſed with what I had ſaid on that Subject, both of the King's Diſpoſitions, and the People's Humours and Thoughts, eſpecially that of the King, of doing as he would be done by: He ſaid, the *States* Intentions were to make him Captain-General of their Forces and Admiral too, tho' it was not mention'd; and to this purpoſe they would already have brought him into the Council of State, in order to fit him for thoſe Charges, had it not been for ſome of the Provinces that had hinder'd it upon pretence of more Kindneſs to him, and deſigning greater Matters for him. That it was indeed agreed, thoſe Charges were inconſiſtent with that of *Stadtholder*, which gave as much Authority in the Civil, as the others in the Military Part of the Government. That, conſidering the Smalneſs of their State, and Greatneſs of their Malice, there was an end of their Republick when both was in one Hand. That for his part, if he had been born under a King, he could never have conſented to what his Anceſtors did towards the King of *Spain*; but being born under a Commonwealth, and ſworn to maintain it, he could conſent to nothing that ſhould deſtroy it; and he wonder'd how it had ſubſiſted ſo long in that Danger, which was to be attributed to their conſtant Wars abroad, and to the great Moderation of thoſe Princes, among whom none had Thoughts of it but the laſt, nor would he ever have fallen into them, without having been put upon them by the *French*, who had his Breeding and his Converſation. That, if he had lived, he would have been the ableſt of all the Race; and from thence fell into Commendations of this young Prince's Parts and Diſpoſitions: And ſo this Matter ended.

For the Buſineſs of *Spain*, he was ſcandalized as well as your Lordſhip, at that Queen's ſlight Anſwer, and pleaſed with his Majeſty's Letter upon it. He ſaid, the Talk of *Don John*'s coming began to renew; and that in the mean time, the Marquis neither anſwered upon the *Swediſh* Subſidies, nor preſs'd them upon the Guaranty, becauſe they had refuſed to give it without the Compliance of *Spain* in the other Point. I purſued that no farther, having not yet heard from the Marquis, nor from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here upon it. The Treaty between the Emperor and *Sweden* is not yet ratified, upon a Diſagreement in the private Article about Money to be furniſh'd them by the Emperor, who ſtands upon giving but one hundred and eleven thouſand Dollars a Year, upon ſome Calculations made by ſome certain Quota's upon the ſeveral Parts of the Empire; and the *Swede* demanding one hundred and fifty thouſand, which would make one imagine the *Spaniards* had not one of their five Senſes left, to hazard or delay for ſuch a Sum, a Treaty wherein your Lordſhip will obſerve a particular Clauſe, leaving Room for *Spain* to enter into it as they pleaſe.

While I am writing, I receive this encloſed from the *Swediſh* Envoy here, by which you will ſee how unhappily a poor Ambaſſador is *Embaraſſé* by the Ceremonies that hinder him from ſeeing thoſe that have ſo much mind to it, and with whom he muſt have ſo much to do. What Expedients I ſhall find hereafter, I know not yet; but ſhall let him know, that being *Incognito* till my Entry, *Et ne faiſant pas l'Ambaſſadeur*, if he pleaſes to come and be content, that as *Incognito* I neither receive him nor conduct him out of my Chamber, I ſhall in it give him all the Civilities he expects, as I have hitherto done upon the ſame Pretence of being yet *Incognito*, to all Perſons of Quality that have ſeen me here. Your Lordſhip will tell me if I do well or ill; and in Recompence I ſhall only tell you, that I ſhall not think I do well longer than you eſteem me, what I am ſo much,

Your, &c.

To the Count de Molina.

Hague, Sept. 9.
My Lord, *N. S.* 1668.

AFter a tireſome Paſſage by Sea, the Pleaſure of your Excellency's Letter was not a little neceſſary to divert and relieve me, renewing with the *Spaniſh* Language at leaſt the Memory of my paſt Happineſs at *Bruſſels*. I read the Paper that came with it, and much eſteem the Honour the Marquis does me in ſtill preſerving me in his Memory and Favour, which I ſhall not fail my ſelf of acknowledging with the firſt Occaſion.

I am much pleaſed with what they tell me here, of the good condition of the Army in *Flanders*; and that they begin, with the Money they have received, to recover new Life; if they have too much, I wiſh it were employed in *Sweden*, to bring that Nation into the *Spaniſh* Intereſt.

I pray God to preſerve your Excellency many Years, and give me many Occaſions of ſerving you.

I kiſs your Excellency's Hands, &c.

Al Sennor Molina.

La Haye, Sept. 9.
Exmo. Senr. S. N. 1668.

SEnnor mio, Deſpues de un paſſaje de mar muy enfadoſo, no me era meneſter coſa de menor guſto que la carta de V. E. para recrearme, y con la Lengua Eſpagnola refreſcar al menos la memoria de mis paſſados contentamientos de Bruſſellas. He leydo tan bien el papel adjunto con mucha eſtima de la honra que me haze el Sennor Marques de no haverme olvidado ny echado menos en ſus buenas gracias, lo que le he de agrdecer como devo con la primera occaſion.

Mi huelgo mucho di entender loque me dizen aqui delas lindas tropas que ſe hallan aora en Flandes, y que comiençan a cobrar la vida con el dinero lo que ay de ſobrado, quiſiera mucho que fueſſe en Suecia para enterar los de eſta gente en los intereſſes Eſpanoles.

Guarde de Dios a V. E. los annos que la deſſeo, y me de muchos Occaſiones di ſervir le.

Exmo. Sr.

B. L. M. D. V. E.

Su mayor Servidor.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Hague, Octob.* 2. *N. S.* 1668.

I Received the Honour of two from your Lordſhip, of the 4th and 10th paſt together, in one Packet from Mr. *Williamſon*, about the time of my laſt Diſpatch into *England*, which was the Reaſon of my not anſwering them the ſame Day; beſides that I had written to your Lordſhip a long one about another Subject by that Poſt.

For all that touches the Marine Treaty, I muſt refer to my Lord *Arlington's* Letters by this Ordinary. As to the Point of my treating Envoys, I think it is better to let it reſt as it is, than for your Lordſhip to move any farther in it; and be content we ſhould follow, ſince we are not at preſent of a Humour to lead.

I believe I could order it ſo, as *Spain* and *Sweden*, and this State, ſhould alter the Cuſtom by Conſent with us; but that which I wiſh'd was, that his Majeſty might have ſaid ſingly, he would follow no other Prince's Rules but the old ones which he had uſed, and ſeemed to approve by Sir *George Downing's* Demands, and ſo given me Order at my firſt coming, to give the Hand and Door as all Ambaſſadors did, till the *French* Caprice changed it about eight Years ago: And this I took to have been of more Honour as well as Advantage to his Majeſty; but it ſeems I did not underſtand it right; it may be others would have underſtood it ſo too, if they had ſeen both *Spain*, *Sweden*, and theſe *States*, and all others except *France*, follow his Majeſty's Example, which I could have held a fair Wager of, and is every Bodies Opinion here, as it is many Peoples, that *France* it ſelf would have fallen *in* too, upon the Advantage in Commerce with other Miniſters which would have followed it; for if I had given it, not one Reſident would ever have ſeen the *French* Ambaſſador without it, whereas two or three of them now do both him and me. I am ſure, if *France* underſtand it right, they will take an Occaſion to change it themſelves, and to reap the firſt Profit, and all the Honour as well as Pleaſure of ſeeing us all dance after them both up and down as our Leaders in a Country Dance; and I am ſure I had as lieve be lame as do ſo; and cannot tell why his Majeſty ſhould not think of being in the Head both of the Affairs and Forms in *Chriſtendom*, as well as any of his Neighbour Kings.

I acquainted Monſieur *de Witt* both with the Examinations, and what your Lordſhip writ about the Priſoners from *Surinam*: He is of Opinion, the Complaint lies ſtill on their ſide, as it did at firſt; That Captain *Needham*'s Perſon, who had firſt left my Lord *Willowby* to come to the *Dutch*, and after them to my Lord *Willowby*, made them expect nothing friendly from him: that his Commiſſion was very extraordinary, and to be executed upon *Indians* who were their Subjects; that he knows not what can be done farther than to ſend Offenders to be both examin'd and puniſh'd by their own Prince; that if they were ill uſed by the way, the *Dutch* were very much to blame in that, and 'tis a Thing he abhors (but we have yet only their own Words for that) and he will enquire as far as he can into the whole Matter. In the mean time, I having no Inſtructions upon it, either to complain or demand, had nothing more to do than to acquaint him with it, till I ſhould receive any farther Orders. I hear the ſame here which your Lordſhip does there, of the Marquis *Caſtel-Rodrigo*'s Intentions to paſs through *England* into *Spain*, which I ſhould be glad of: I believe with your Lordſhip, he will have Credit in the Councils of *Spain*, and ſince you would have me think of what I judge fit to be propoſed to him; I will give you my Opinion concerning our Affairs with *Spain*, though I am likely enough to be prejudiced in it, by ſo particular Acquaintance with the Weakneſs of their preſent Conduct, and Diviſion of their Councils, as well as the Conſequences of them; which are, want of Order in their Government, their Armies, their Revenue, and I doubt, at preſent, even of Genius in their Nation, which ever riſes and falls according to that of the Prince or Miniſtry: For, if Men ſee the way to riſe, is by Worth and virtuous Qualities, the Genius of a Nation will run that way, and produce great Subjects. If they can hope to do it by vicious Humours, by little Arts, by warm Purſuits every Man of his own Intereſts; the whole Spirit runs into thoſe Courſes, and perhaps the faſter, from the Propenſion of our Natures rather to Ill than to Good.

After all, I am of Opinion, that our preſent Intereſt, and that of all *Chriſtendom* beſides, in ſome meaſure, is the Defence of *Spain*, and not only in *Flanders*, but in all other Parts where it ſhall not be able to defend it ſelf againſt the Power and Ambition of *France*; from whence alone we have all our preſent Fears, and ſhall find our Dangers upon any farther Growth; for if a great Acceſſion ſhould come to them in *Navarre*, *Catalonia*, *Italy*, during the *Spaniſh* King's Life, or upon his Death, as there will do in *Lorrain* after this old Duke's Life; we ſhould find them more formidable and troubleſome even in our Neighbourhood; as Nouriſhment taken in by one Part increaſes Strength in all, if it be once digeſted. 'Tis true, if for want of Heat or Strength of Nature, it be not digeſted into the very Subſtance of the Body, it will grow weaker rather than ſtronger by it: As we ſee in *Spain*, the Spirit began to fail by the Weakneſs of their Kings and Miniſters. For this Reaſon, and all thoſe which formerly engaged us ſo firmly to bear up *France* and *Holland* againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, I think it is our common Intereſt to bear up *Spain* now againſt *France*, and the more, in reſpect of their being now lower than ever the others were, by Reaſon of the King's tender Life, and the Diſtraction like to enſue his Death, if their Affairs find no ſteady Support from their Neighbours.

If we were what we have been, what we might be, and God knows why we are not, at home; I think our Intereſt were to enter ſingly into a Defenſive League with *Spain*, and might either preſerve their Peace, or elſe hope to make a ſhort War, and with ſuch Advantages as might countervail what our Trade will ſuffer, and the *Dutch* grow, during the Time of our being in War and they in Peace. My Reaſon for making in that Caſe the League ſingle, is becauſe we might thereby reap alone all the Advantages which *Spain* would be able to give for their Defence, which would be great, as low as they are, not only in Point of Trade by their Wools and Logwood, but by great Penſions in yearly Quantities of Salt from *Sardinia* and other Parts, which is much beyond any *French* Salts, and would be the ſame as Money to his Majeſty, conſidering what Quantities his Kingdoms ſpend: And beſides, I doubt not they would offer us conſtant Payments of ready Money; and if we could make War abroad at their Charge, and without preſſing too much the Subject at home, or needing them at every Turn; I know nothing were more glorious, nor perhaps more ſafe and advantageous for us, than to be in Action abroad, eſpecially if it were in Conjunction of three againſt one, and not as we were lately, one againſt three.

This we may be ſure of, that the *Spaniards* will give more for our defenſive League than for all others; will not much care for any others, ſo they may have ours, and in ſhort, will give for it whatever they are able: But the Queſtion is, whether we are able to take ſo vigorous a Council, and I doubt, not: Therefore, the next would be to know, whether we are *ſo*, to enter into their Defence, jointly with *Sweden*, which would either awe the *French* into a Continuance of the Peace, or elſe without doubt make the Party ſtrong enough for the War: And in this caſe, we muſt be content to ſhare with *Sweden* whatever *Spain* can any way give for the Purchaſe of their Defence; and where our Gains are leſs, the Conſideration will be more, of what we may loſe, or the *Dutch* gain in Trade, if a War ſhould break out and laſt: For there would be no other Reflections, ſince the *Swede* I believe would enter into the League upon ſuch Terms as *Spain* could make them: And the *Dutch* would aſk nothing better, than to ſee us all in War, and themſelves in Peace, without Danger of the War ending in the Growth of the *French* Power.

The third Way, is entring into a Defenſive League with *Spain*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*; for in all Caſes I ſuppoſe, we might reckon upon the Emperor, as far as that would ſignify. This I think were certainly to be deſired in what Caſe ſoever we may be, either to accept or decline the other two. But the Ills in this are; Firſt, the unlikelihood of *Holland*'s engaging in it; for I could never ſince my firſt Acquaintance here, find any Diſpoſition towards it; and then the Incapacity of *Spain* to ſatisfy the Pretenſions of Benefit from them, which we might all three pretend; for *Holland* would reſolve to have a Share, if we had any; ſo that the particular Advantage would grow only to *Sweden*, by certain Subſidies or Benefits in Trade from *Spain*: And we and *Holland*, ſhould content our ſelves with the Certainty of preventing a War by ſo powerful a League.

This is all which occurs to me upon this Subject, and which becomes me beſt, that is, to repreſent and not to adviſe. For Matter of propoſing to the Marquis, I ſuppoſe he will know as well as we, that the Propoſals ought to come from him, at leaſt till he deſires to know of us, what we demand upon a Defenſive League, which is certainly the Deſire of *Spain*, either with us ſingly, or in Conjunction with the reſt; and were the more to be wiſh'd, for the preventing the *Spaniards* from falling into a deſperate Council, of agreeing with *France*, and quitting *Flanders* to them, for Advantage on the other Side, and a good deal for Revenge, of their Neighbours preſſing ſo hard upon them, by a diſadvantageous Peace, and afterwards Irreſolution of maintaining that it ſelf, by a Defenſive League.

If the King ſhould think fit to endeavour the diſpoſing of the *Dutch* to enter into it, (which for my part I think they are engaged in by the firſt, as I remember, or the ſecond Article of the Peace at *Aix*, though they do not conceive ſo) I ſhould make ſome Tryals, and give Account of what I find; for I fear we are not growing faſt enough, into a Poſture of making theſe Paces alone, at leaſt by what I could obſerve or hear during my ſhort ſtay in *England*, which was but too much entertained with ill Bodings and Complaints: But, *Quid triſtes Querimoniæ ſi non Supplicio Culpa reciditur? Quid Leges ſine Moribus vanæ proficiunt?* Without great Virtue and Steadineſs in the Government, and Reſolution of going through, with whatſoever is thought fit and juſt, whereby Men may ſee, that the only way to riſe is to deſerve it; all tempering of Factions, taking off Perſons, and ſoothing Parties, is but patching up an ill Houſe: I mean not Virtue, in a peaking, formal *Presbyterian* Senſe, but that which the greateſt Nations of old, ſo politickly favoured and renowned, which conſiſted in thoſe Qualities, that made Men fit for the Service of their Princes and Countries, by ſtrong and healthful Diſpoſitions, both of Bodies and Minds. Your Lordſhip's Pardon for this once, and you ſhall have no more ſuch Troubles as theſe from,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague*, *Oct.* 2. *N. S.* 1668.

SINCE my laſt I have receiv'd your Lordſhip's of the 14th, and in one Letter from Mr. *Williamſon*, an Account of what was reſolved at the Foreign Committee, to whom your Lordſhip's only referred the Determination of what manner, the Amendments of the Marine Treaty ſhould be purſued in; and accordingly I have ſince fallen into the Debate of that Affair in all its Particulars, with Monſieur *de Witt:* And the Differences between us are not great, and ſome of his Exceptions ſeem ſo reaſonable, that I muſt be furniſh'd with Arguments to maintain the Points againſt him, if they muſt be inſiſted on; for I confeſs I can find none of my own.

Upon the firſt he conſents to the Change of the Form of Certificates, and will accept of ſuch as we ſhall draw up, ſo they run equal on both ſides *Mutatis Mutandis:* But to that which the *Eaſt-India* Company ſay, of their Deſire, that Trade may rather be carried on without any Certificate at all; he ſays, he does not ſee how that can be, or to what purpoſe all the Articles are againſt counterband Goods; ſince it is by the Certificate, whereby it is known what the Ship is, and what the Goods are ſhe carries, and thereby all farther Trouble of Search is avoided. He ſays, He ſhould be content, and the Advantage would be theirs, to have all Trade free, and none to ask at Sea what another Ship was, whither it went, or what it carried; but ſince that cannot be, there is no way of avoiding Diſputes, beſides that of Certificates: And indeed I doubt, the Merchants in that conſidered not the main End of the whole Regulation, which was to avoid Quarrels between the Nations; but only their own private Intereſts, in ſaving the Trouble and Charge of Certificates, which made them likewiſe deſire, it might be from the Magiſtrates of the Ports, from whence the Ships parted, and not from the Admiralty.

Upon the ſecond, he conſents to the Propoſal in the Margin, with only the leaving out thoſe two Words [of *India*] ſo as the Rule may be generally to all Places, and not confined to the *Indies*; which I had nothing to ſay againſt, believing thoſe Words fell in, only by the Matter coming from the *Eaſt-India* Company, without Notice of any other Traders.

Upon theſe two Points I had given your Lordſhip the Account formerly of my having at ſeveral Diſcourſes gained his Conſent: And I do not find that any Thing he excepts at in them, is different from what we mean our ſelves.

For the other Points, which are wholly new, and Additions to the Treaty, they coſt us a great deal more Debate, which I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with, but only the Reſult at leaſt, of the Opinion he gave me leave to write to your Lordſhip as his, upon them; though the firſt, ſecond, and fourth were all of more difficult Digeſtion, and ſuch as I doubt would have given ſome work to Commiſſioners in purſuance of the *Breda* Treaty ſo much as to have touch'd: For the Truth is, our Trade in the *Indies* being ſo little, and theirs ſo much, all Equalities of this kind are Gains to us, and Loſs to them.

For the firſt of the four Particulars not provided for in the Marine Treaty, he conſents to the one half of the Period ending with the Word *Government*: But for the other, allowing Liberty to paſs any River or Paſs leading to any Place of Trade, although the other Company have a Fort or Caſtle upon the ſaid River or Paſs; he ſays it cannot poſſibly be, nor would it ever be executed, though the *States* ſhould conſent to it; for in thoſe Paſſes, the very end of either Company's building a Fort or Caſtle, was, to ſecure the Trade of ſuch a Country to themſelves; ſo as they would by this Article loſe all the Benefit of the Expence they had been at: That, if to ſuch Nations, there were any other way found, not under the Reach of their Cannon, that Paſſage ſhould be free: But under a Fort built to the aforeſaid Ends, he did not believe any Orders would compel thoſe in it, either of our Nations or theirs, to ſee the Trade they had ſecured to themſelves, drawn away to the other Nation, by a free Paſſage.

The ſecond Particular I got wholly agreed to, tho' with much Difficulty, as importing, I ſuppoſe, more Advantage to us than any of the reſt, conſidering how many more Nations the *Dutch* trade with than we, by Virtue of ſuch Agreements.

The third was without Difficulty, importing, as we both conceived, no more, than was before provided by the Marine Treaty, and more particularly.

For the fourth, he could not conſent it ſhould extend farther than to Ships belonging to either Company, or to any Nations or People ſubject to either Company, and conſequently under Protection of the ſaid Company, for the making it run, in the Words of our Article, *To any Nations with whom either Comany ſhall trade, and not in Enmity with the other Company*; would occaſion only either Company's ſelling their Paſſports to all the Nations that would buy them, leaving it afterward to diſpute, upon any Accident ſhould arrive, whether ſuch Nation were in Enmity with the other Company or no; the Natives maintaining the Negative, and perhaps the Company the Affirmative, and it may be upon pretence of ſome new Injury, which had lately given the occaſion of the Enmity: And where ſuch Diſputes ſhould be determined, was difficult to find. Beſides, he argued from the common uſe of Nations, that Paſſports operated, only towards thoſe, who were ſubject to ſuch who granted the Paſſports, or elſe by Alliance and Accord between Nations, to ſuch as were one another's Subjects and under their Protection: But how it ſhould extend to other Nations becauſe they were not in Enmity with our Ally, he could not ſee any Reaſon, nor had heard any Example. But on the other ſide, it was ever to be ſuppoſed, that there would be no need at all of Paſſports from the one, to ſuch as were not in Enmity with the other: Nations being to be eſteemed as juſt in their Actions, and not likely to diſturb or ſeize another, without at leaſt pretence of Enmity, which would be a ſort of Piracy at Sea, or Robbery at Land; but in caſe ſuch a Thing ſhould happen, no other Nation concerned themſelves in it, unleſs it were offered to their Subjects, and conſequently to Perſons under their Protection.

I thought his Reaſoning ſeemed good, and beſides, I imagined the Thing was not of Weight; for, where one Company found a Nation, not in actual Enmity with the other, and had a mind to protect their Navigation, they might do it by receiving that Nation into their Protection, and then giving them Paſſports as Subjects to them. Where Nations will not ſubmit to ſuch a Subjection, they muſt protect themſelves. And this was the Reſult of our Conference, which came to no ſort of Agreement on either Side, ſince I neither had Power to do it from his Majeſty, nor he from the *States*: So that we can only repreſent on each Side, what paſs'd, and attend our Orders upon them; and he in the mean time diſpoſe the *States* to his Opinion, when we meet and conclude formally upon them.

When I receive Instructions, I ſuppoſe it will be neceſſary to know the Manner as well as the Matter we are to agree in; that is, whether a new Marine Treaty to be made, with theſe Particulars to be digeſted into the Body of it; or elſe thoſe to be perfected in an Inſtrument by themſelves, as Additions to the Marine Treaty. For the doing it with or without Commiſſioners I can ſay nothing, ſince ſo great Authors are on both Sides; but if both ſeem neceſſary, one to the Subſtance, and the other to the Form, I was thinking whether two or more might not be joined in Commiſſion with me, to treat and conclude it with Commiſſioners of theirs, and thoſe to be acquainted before-hand, with what was to be expected upon this Matter. But I know not how our Expectation of having the Commiſſioners meet at *London*, would be ſatisfied by their meeting at the *Hague*; nor how Forms go in joining Commiſſioners to an Ambaſſador, for a particular Buſineſs; and ſo I leave it.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord, *Hague, Oct. 12. N.S. 1668.*

THough I could not think it became me to interrupt your Grace's Buſineſs or Entertainment, by empty Letters; and I know you have what Share you pleaſe of the conſtant Troubles my Lord *Arlington* receives upon the Account of my Negotiations here: Yet having this encloſed ſent me to convey to your Grace, I was in hopes a good Letter may keep an ill one a little in Countenance, and bear me out in taking this Occaſion of preſerving my ſelf in your Grace's Favour and Memory, which I eſteem among my beſt Poſſeſſions, and ſhould be glad to find ways of continuing them, rather by ſerving than by troubling you. Whilſt I can do nothing towards the firſt, I will do the leſs towards the other, and content my ſelf to aſſure your Grace in the Language of a plain Man, that none can wiſh you happier than I do in the Courſe of your Fortunes and Honours, nor rejoice more in the Preſages I make of both, from thoſe wiſe and generous Diſpoſitions I left you in, of employing thoſe many great Talents and Advantages given you towards his Majeſty's and the Kingdom's true Service and Happineſs. I am ſtill of the Mind, nothing is more neceſſary to both, than the Continuance and Encreaſe of that Harmony which we uſed with ſo much Reaſon to wiſh ſo well to; and which I think has at this time more Operation than that of the Spheres was thought to have, upon the good Temper and Order of the World. For, I believe the Spring of all the Motions or Quiet we are like to ſee round about us, lies in that Point and thoſe Councils which proceed from it.

I beg your Grace's Pardon for this Trouble, which I ſhould not have begun, but to end with my being,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt obedient

and moſt humble Servant.

To

To the Conſtable of Caſtile.

Hague, Oct. 19.
My Lord, *N. S.* 1668.

HAving paſſed ſo much time, and with ſo much Satisfaction to my ſelf, in his Majeſty's Service at *Bruſſels*; 'tis impoſſible for me to loſe the Concern I have ever had for the Intereſt of that Country, or to avoid rejoicing with your Excellency upon your ſucceeding in the Government, wiſhing you all Honour and Satisfaction, as foreſeeing many Advantages to his Catholick Majeſty in ſo prudent a Choice. But, with the Plainneſs that has been always natural to me, I muſt confeſs that it has not been at this time without ſome Regret that I have loſt the Correſpondence of a Governour of *Flanders*, with whom I had contracted ſo great a Friendſhip, and had ſo entire a Confidence; finding my ſelf in ſuch a Conjuncture (after having ſo diſpoſed the *States* of *Holland*) as to be confident of having it in my Power, to do ſomething, if not ſomething very conſiderable for the common Good and Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, as well as for the Intereſt and Safety of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; if there were at preſent a Governour of *Flanders* that had full Powers joined with his own Deſires, and Confidence between us to agree together in the Concert of ſuch a Negotiation. I doubt it will not look prudent to enter farther into ſuch Reaſoning with your Excellency, to whom I am ſo wholly unknown; though perhaps you may have heard at *Bruſſels* that I am not a Man uſed to build Caſtles in the Air, no more than to engage my ſelf unſeaſonably in Affairs of this kind: But your Excellency may believe me, that at this time nothing is more abſolutely neceſſary, nor that more concerns the Intereſt of *Spain*, than that abſolute Powers ſhould be ſent either to your Excellency, or ſome other Miniſter, to treat and conclude with the three Allies, and which is likewiſe as neceſſary for the pretended Satisfaction of the *Swedes*, as for the Advantage (in ſo much greater Proportion) that it may be to *Spain* and the common Intereſt of *Chriſtendom*. The ſame that I ſay on one ſide to your Excellency,

I come

Al Condeſtable de Caſtilla.

De la Haya, Oct. 19.
Ex^mo^ Sen^r^, *S. N.* 1668.

SEnnor mio. Haviendo ſtado tanto tiempo y con tanto guſto a Bruſſellas, de la parte del Rey mi Sennor, no me es poſſible perder el encarecimento que he ſiempre tenido por las coſas y intereſſes deſte pays, ni dexar de dar a V. E. el parabien de ſu llegada a eſte goviermo deſſeandole en ello mucha ſatisfaccion y honra, como augurando a ſu Mageſtad Catolica mucho provecho de tan ſabia eleccion. Pero con la llaneza que me ha ſido ſiempre natural, es meneſter confeſſar, que me peſa mucho en eſte punto de haver perdido la correſpondencia de un Governador de Flandes, con quien he tenido tan eſtrecha amiſtad, y entera confianza; hallandome aora en una conyunctura, y aviendo diſpueſto los Eſtados de aqui de tal manera que me pareçe poder obrar algo, ſino mucho por el bien commun, y por el repoſo de la Chriſtianidad, como por la ſalud y intereſſes de la Monarchia de Eſpanna, ſi eſtuviera aora Governador o Miniſtro en Flandes que tuviera poderes baſtantes y tan bien la voluntad y confiença para concurrir commigo en el concierto de tal negocio. No pareciera de hombre diſcreto de entrar mas adelante en eſtas razones con V. E. a quien ſtoy tan deſconocido; aunque bien pudiera aver entendido a Bruſſellas que no ſoy hombre para dezir diſparates, ni para ponerme fuera de tiempo y occaſion en coſas agenas. Pero crea me V. E. que no ſey que no puede aver otra en eſte tiempo que toca mas a Eſpanna, ny que la ſea tan neceſſaria, que de embiar ſin perder punto o a V. E. o a otro Miniſtro poderes abſolutos para tratar y concluyr con los tres Alliades, loque fuera meneſter, tan bien por la ſatisfaccion pretendida de los Suedeſes, que por la utilitad que con ella ſe puede alcançar mas que proporcionado a la Eſpanna, y al bien commun de la Chriſtianidad. Lo miſmo que digo de una parte a V. E. vengo de deſir de de otra al Miniſtro de Suecia, a qui Reſidente porque bien hecho de ver, que con las ydas y bueltas en Eſpanna y en Suecia ſobre eſtas materias, no ſe hara jamas ſino perder el tiempo y las occaſiones; aunque el primero nunca ſe le velve a los hombres, y muy raramente las poſtreras. A lo menos muy claro eſta, que ſi eſte

hivierno

I come from ſaying on the other, to the *Swediſh* Miniſter Reſident here: For 'tis too plain to be ſeen, that with the Length of the Journies, and Returns from *Spain* and *Sweden*, nothing can be hoped for but the loſs of Time and Occaſions; the firſt of which never returns to mortal Man, and very rarely the other: At leaſt, it is certain that if we do not this Winter make our Advantage of the preſent Poſture of Affairs for the common Good, we are never again to hope for the ſame Occaſion.

I beg of your Excellency, that this Advice may be only to your ſelf, or thoſe in *Spain* who are moſt concerned in it. What is moſt neceſſary I have told your Excellency, is, to haſten the Powers, and that needs no Conſultation, the reſt time will ſhew; and 'tis not neceſſary, the *Spaniſh* Miniſters here ſhould concern themſelves in it till the Powers come. I engage my ſelf to diſpoſe things ſo here, that whenever they arrive, your Excellency ſhall be able to make the Advantage of them, for your Maſter and the Countries you govern. Your Excellency will not look upon this Letter as coming from an Ambaſſador, but from a Man extremely deſiring the publick Good, and that has been a little enlightned by having ſo much part in what has been deſign'd towards it: And I hope will pardon my having entertained you ſo long in a Language that I begin now to forget, and had never learn'd well: But I had no mind what I have here ſaid to your Excellency ſhould paſs through another Hand.

Pray God preſerve your Excellency, and give me the Occaſions of ſerving you.

I kiſs your Excellency's Hands, &c.

hivierno no nos approvechamos de las preſentes por il bien commun, nunca hemos de eſperar las miſmas por el venidero.

Supplico a V. E. que eſte aviſo la ſirve a ſolas, ſi no a los tan bien en Eſpanna qui ſon los mas intereſſados en ellos. Porque lo que es el neceſſario lo vengo de deſir en lo de hazer venir los poderes, en eſto no ſe ha de conſultar; por demas los tiempos lo diran, y no ſe avra di entremeterſe a qui, en el entretanto Miniſtro Eſpannol antes que vengan los poderes, que yo me encargo de diſponer las coſas a qui di manera que llegendo los V. E. avra de approvecharſe d'ellos por el bien de ſu Rey, y de los payſes que govierna. V. E. no ha de interpretar eſto como viniendo di mano de Ambaxador, pero de un hombre muy afficionado al bien commun, y un poco eſclarecido en las coſas corrientes, como aviendo tenido tanta parte en ellas; y me pardone averla entretenido en una lengua que y a commienço a olvida, aviendo le nunca bien apprendido; pero no he querido que V. E. en lo que la digo, avria de tercero.

Guarde Dios a V. E. muchos annos, y me de las occaſiones de ſervirla.

B. L. M. D. V. E.
Su mayor Servidor.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Hague, Nov.* 2. *N. S.* 1668.

I Have had the Honour of your Lordſhip's of the 13th paſt ſome Days by me, and deferred the Acknowledgment of it till this Poſt, that I might make it at a little more Leiſure. I muſt firſt beg ſo much Favour from your Lordſhip, (for I ſhall eſteem it a Kindneſs to me) that you will never conſtrain your ſelf to write to me in Pain or Trouble; but upon all ſuch Occaſions uſe either any other Hand, or any other's Correſpondence with me, to ſend me your

Commands: And in the next place I ſhall deſire your Lordſhip's Belief, that I never took any thing ill in the leaſt, from any Hand, that I knew meant m well; and am very well pleaſed to hear of my Faults from my Friends, as I hope they will ever be to receive my juſt Excuſes, and others I ſhall never deſire to trouble them with. I know your Lordſhip is ſatisfied with what I did in ſhewing that Letter, having given you the Advice of it at the ſame time I promiſed it; and I ſhall make uſe of the prudent Intimation you pleaſe to give me upon that Particular.

Monſieur *de Witt* has ſeveral times ſpoke to me ſince about the *Pavilion*, applauding your Lordſhip's Reſolution, or at leaſt Inclination, to bring it to ſome Certainty; and deſired me to offer to your Lordſhip as moſt advantagious to a good Iſſue in it, that the Expedients he propoſed, you would firſt mention as your own; becauſe, whatever is offered from the contrary Party, is commonly either ſuſpected, or deſpiſed, even for its being *ſo*. I find, a good End of this Matter is the Point he has much at Heart, believing no Quarrel could ever happen between the Nations, if that Occaſion were once out of the way. He ſays, he has never yet ſpoken to any Man, about the Offers and Expedients he propoſed, and knows, they will be ſtomach'd by many here; but he will put all the Strength he has upon it to make them paſs, or any thing elſe, that is at all reaſonable in the Caſe, and doubts not to ſucceed. I ſuppoſe, whatever we have by Accord with them, will not be only ſo much of a gained, inſtead of a diſputed Right; but will engage them to further our Pretence, of ſo much with our Neighbours, and to take part in our Quarrel, if any ſhall be raiſed by any of them with us, upon that Point: And if ſo, we ſhould have ſomething very ſubſtantial for that which methinks is very airy now, and which ſerves only for an Occaſion of Wars, at a time we have no mind to enter into any; and, I doubt, with ſome Reaſon: For if we had a conquering Genius at this time among us, aud Force to ſecond it, nothing could be ſo uſeful to us as this Pretence: But every Pilot that would be ſafe and well, muſt carry Sail as the Weather is abroad, and as the Sides of his Ship are ſtrong or weak to reſiſt it.

I am much pleaſed to find I have the Honour of agreeing with your Lordſhip in all Points that fall into Conſideration, as well this, as that about Envoys, and about the Benefits of a Quadruple League; concerning which I writ my Opinion freely in one to my Lord *Arlington* by the laſt Poſt, being the only thing which can crown the great Work his Majeſty has undertaken, of ſettling the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and giving a Stop to the *French* Career, which about ten Months ſince was in a fair way to over-run us all, one after another; and hangs ſtill like a Cloud over all their Neighbours Heads, leaving every one in doubt when and where it will fall. And till that be compaſs'd, I ſhall hardly be ſecure of *Spain*'s not trinkling at one time or other with *France*, for the Remainder of *Flanders*, at leaſt upon ſuch a Revolution, as would arrive at that King's Death, if not before: Nor of the *French* Parties getting Ground enough again in *Sweden* at one time or other, to turn the Biaſs of that Crown towards the *French* Intereſts, by the Offers of Money, which can beſt be made them on that ſide: Whereas by ſuch a League, *Spain* would find their Account in keeping *Flanders*, and not fear any War which the *French* Pretenſions there might engage them in: *Sweden* would find theirs by ſame certain Subſidies from *Spain*, even in Times of Peace, and by Aſſurance from them and us, of greater in caſe of a War: *Holland* would be broken off, from all Return into any new Meaſures with *France*, and be forced to follow the common Intereſts and Councils of the Alliance: *Spain* and *Sweden* would be both hinder'd from entring into any ſeparate Concert or Treaty without us and *Holland*: The *Emperor*, and Princes of the *Empire*, and Duke of *Lorrain*, would be glad to be admitted into ſuch an Alliance: And his Majeſty would remain Head and Director of a League which would have the Glory of preſerving the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and checking and bounding the *French* Greatneſs, at a time when no other Prince durſt look it in the Face. And in caſe of a War breaking out from *France*, in ſpight of all theſe Defences; I ſuppoſe, conſidering the Strength of the Alliance, and the Temper of our

People at home, bent wholly upon theſe Councils, his Majeſty would have rather Reaſon to deſire, than to apprehend it.

I conceive the way of effecting ſuch a League muſt be, to make a Draught of it with Monſieur *de Witt* here, if he can be finally diſpoſed to it; and that with all the Secrecy in the World, and to proceed in it, as near as is poſſible, with all the Fairneſs and Equality, in the Conſideration and Comprehenſion of each Party's Intereſts, which is the only way to facilitate ſuch Negotiations; and whenever we and Monſieur *de Witt* are agreed in it, then for his Majeſty to take upon him the propoſing it to *Spain*, and trying what private Advantages may be gained from that Crown, in Conſideration of his both propoſing and effecting a Matter ſo much to their Advantage.

All that ſeems to be againſt ſuch a Council, is his Majeſty's preſent want of Treaſure, which renders him in a Condition very unfit to enter into any Action abroad, by provoking *France*.

As to that: Firſt, the End of this Council is Peace, and not War; and ſeems indeed the only way to ſecure it, by letting *France* ſee, they cannot find their Account in a War; for till they do that, they will never leave the Deſigns of it. Then, inſtead of provoking *France*, I ſhould think this would make them much warmer, in their Offers and Applications towards us; when they ſee, that without gaining us, they are abſolutely bound to the Peace: For, to ſay the Truth, our falling at any time into the *French* Intereſts, is the ready way to a War abroad, wherein it may be we ſhall not have any preſent Share, but ſhall pay for our preſent Quiet with dear Intereſt, of the utmoſt Danger, after two or three Years time.

Beſides, tho' our Condition is ill towards the Support of a War, 'tis the moſt imprudent thing we can do perhaps, to own it, if we intend to continue any Commerce abroad; whereas, looking our juſt Debts, both to our Neighbours and our ſelves, boldly in the Face, will, as it does ſometimes with a Merchant, hold up our Credit ſo high, that with good future Manugement and the Strength of that, we may help to re-eſtabliſh our Eſtate; but, if not, nothing can keep us up ſo much, as being cloſely link'd with ſeveral other Traders of better Stock, who will by that means become engaged not to let us ſink. And in caſe of Action, to ſucceed ſuch a Quadruple Alliance, and his Majeſty's Neceſſities keeping him from furniſhing his Part towards the Support of it: 'Tis not to be imagined that *Spain* and *Holland* would not do their utmoſt towards his Supply rather than loſe his Aſſiſtance, and leave him under the Temptation of falling into any new Meaſures with *France*.

After all this, I think, let his Majeſty make what Paces he pleaſe, either bold or tender, in the way he is (for I cannot think of a Change in that with the preſent Conjunctures) I know nothing will be ſo neceſſary, with the Foreſight either of Peace or War, as for his Majeſty not to be found the next Spring without any Money in his Treaſury, or Credit to raiſe it ſpeedily and eaſily, without relying wholly upon his Parliament's Supplies, by any new Burthens upon the Body of the People; for that can hardly be done without long and perhaps croſs Debates of the *Houſe*, which leſſen his Majeſty's Credit with his Neighbours whenever they happen, more than the Supplies granted can raiſe it: And beſides, after ſo great Payments as the Kingdom has continued, ever ſince his Majeſty's Reſtoration, eſpecially during the laſt three Years, though joined with the great Diminution of Money and Trade during the War; I queſtion whether any thing conſiderable can be raiſed in general upon the People, without ſome reaſonable Occaſions of Averſion and Complaints.

But nothing they ſay is more the part of a weak Underſtanding, and unfit for Buſineſs, than to propoſe and enlarge upon Inconveniencies, without ſo much as offering Remedies: And therefore I ſhall ſay, that firſt, methinks, two Propoſals which have been already a-foot, are very conſiderable towards this End; as, the ſelling of ſmall inconſiderable Quit-Rents, where the Sum is hardly worth the Charge of raiſing, and yet by the reaſon of the Trouble to the Tenant by them, they will yield five or ſix, if not ten Years Purchaſe more than greater Rents: If this Council be tied up to theſe Circumſtances, I think it very advantagious, and as prejudicial, if it be ſuffered to go beyond them.

Secondly, The ſelling of the Chimney-Money would, I ſuppoſe, be eaſily granted by the Parliament; would take off the Tax, of all others, moſt diſtaſteful to the Subjects, and if ſold at pretty eaſy and moderate Rates, would be taken kindly of the People, purchaſed readily, and yield a very great Sum; and the moſt equally raiſed that any could be, ſparing no Man's Part, and holding an equal Proportion with every Man's Eſtate: Only this Circumſtance ſhould be in it to make it eaſy, That not only every Man ſhould have the Offer and Pre-emption of his own; but if upon Refuſal it ſhould be ſold to another Hand, yet it ſhall be free for the Owner to buy it of him at any time within a certain Space, as of two or three Years; and the preſent Purchaſer to be content with the Profit he ſhall have made in the mean time, which will prove a great Intereſt for his Capital.

Thirdly, A reducing of the Intereſt which the King pays from ten to eight in the hundred, with which the Bankers may very well be contented, and muſt be, I ſuppoſe, if the King pleaſes, and finds a Courſe to make them ſee their Security cannot fail them: For two in the hundred Gain is, of all Reaſon, enough for them, where the Security they receive is as good as what they give, as it is in this Caſe: For the King's Security to the Banker, is in effect the Banker's Security to his private Creditors; and whenever one fails, the other muſt. Now the Bankers pay but ſix in the hundred at moſt for In-land Money, and leſs for ſome: And I have reaſon to doubt, a very great Trade is driven with them from *Holland* by *Dutch* Merchants, who turn their Money through their Hands, encouraged by the great Intereſt they gain there in lieu of ſo ſmall here, that the *States* have lately refuſed to take the Value of twenty thouſand Pounds *Sterling* of the Duke of *Lunenburg*'s Money at two and a half *per Cent*, and three is the utmoſt that any Man makes. And if the King, by granting good Security, punctual Payments, and the Reputation of good Order in his Revenue, were gotten into Credit, I do not ſee why he might not upon occaſion take up what he pleaſed at ſix *per Cent.* as well as the *States* do here at two and a half.

Fourthly, To enable the King upon any Occaſion to give better Security, I know nothing would do ſo much, as if the Parliament could be diſpoſed to ſettle the Cuſtoms upon him for one Year after his Death, as they are already for his Life; but that being an uncertain Term, Money will not be readily, or without Exaction of Intereſt, lent upon that which may fail next Day: And yet I conceive it to be the largeſt Branch of the Revenue, and in all other Points the moſt certain.

Fifthly, If any thing were ſet on foot in Parliament, towards an Act of Reſumption of Grants of Crown-Lands, ſince a certain time, Uſe might at leaſt be made of it towards drawing ſuch Grantees to a voluntary Compoſition, of holding their Grants at the Rent of a fourth or fifth part of the real Value to the Crown, in Conſideration of having ſuch Grants confirmed by Act of Parliament, or the King's Engagement to conſent to nothing to their Prejudice, after their Conſent to ſuch a Rent and Tenure.

Sixthly, A View may be made at leaſt of what has been gained by any Grants from his Majeſty, above what were really his Majeſty's Intentions to grant: As where the King intended to give five hundred Pounds a Year, and perhaps ſeven or eight, or a thouſand Pounds is made of it: And the ſame of Sums of Money out of certain Benefits granted, towards the raiſing them; and what is found to be beyond the Intention of the King's Grant, to be repaid.

Many ſmaller Particulars might perhaps be thought of; all which, with what has been mention'd, will be made valuable by a good Order in the Management, and a ſtanch Hand in Grants hereafter, till the King be as much before-hand, as he is behind-hand now. I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To

To Mr. * Mountague.

My Lord, *Hague, Jan.* 2. *N. S.* 1669.

IT is an ill Sign of the Dulneſs of this Place, that I muſt have Recourſe to the Complements of the Seaſon for the Occaſion of a Letter; and that I can find very little to ſay from hence, beſides wiſhing your Lordſhip, according to our good old Style, *a merry Chriſtmas.* The *Spaniards* have not yet had ſo much good Nature as to make ours here the merrier, with their two hundred thouſand Crowns: I doubt it has ſome Enchantment or other upon it; and is not to be delivered but in ſome fatal Hour, or by ſome charmed Knight. All is here frozen up; and the Biſhop of *Munſter* may march if he pleaſes; but if he do, as has been ſo much talk'd, will blow his Fingers, unleſs he receives very great Influences from your warmer Climate: For the good Pay of the *States* is in ſo much Credit among their Neighbours, that I believe they will not want what Forces they ſhall have Occaſion for, beſides what they have a-foot.

I ſhould be very glad to hear what becomes of my Lord and Lady of *Northumberland*, and how long they intend their Pilgrimage, ſuppoſing your Lordſhip keeps ſome Correſpondence with them, of which I am out of the way; but very much in that of being,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt

obedient humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Jan.* 18. *N. S.* 1669.

THE Baron *d'Iſola* arriving here Yeſterday, I have this Afternoon had ſome Diſcourſes with him upon the Subject of his Journey, which he profeſſes to be a Deſire of advancing the Treaty of Guaranty, as a thing his Maſter has more Intereſt in than *Spain* it ſelf, which will be better able to ſubſiſt after the Loſs of *Flanders*, than the Empire can. I find he came with Hopes of effecting much by his Eloquence and great Parts, and by making others ſee more of their own Intereſts, than they were willing to do. And ſo the two Themes wherein he came provided, were, to make it evident that *France* would open the War again this Spring, and within ſix Weeks attack either *Burgundy* or *Luxenburg*; and on the other Side, that the Councils of *Spain*, as they are now compoſed, if they ſaw not a ſolid and firm Aſſiſtance from their Neighbours, would fall into the eaſieſt way of ending that Matter, by giving up *Flanders* upon the beſt Terms they could. That they were as a ſick Man, that would not or could not help themſelves, and were ſo to be dealt with by thoſe that were ſo deeply concerned in their Loſs, as theſe *States* in particular ſeem to be: And that after the Diſarming of the Duke of *Lorrain*, which *France* had now reſolved, and the Seizing of *Burgundy*, which would be their next Work; it would be impoſſible to maintain a War in what remains of *Flanders*, when they could do it no longer by Diverſion, after theſe two Inlets into *France* ſtopp'd up. From this we fell into the Story of the *Swediſh* Subſidies, and the Hardſhips put upon *Spain* in that Buſineſs; all which I ſuppoſe your Lordſhip has heard a dozen times already, and are obvious enough, and therefore I ſhall not repeat them, not remembring any thing new in that Diſcourſe: But it ended with *Spain*'s having leſs Reaſon to pay for that Peace than *France*; ſince the Guaranty offer'd would be equal to both, and the Gain of the War had been all on the *French* Side. That for his part, he could truſt little in any Treaty, where the Obligations were not reciprocal;

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* *Late Duke of* Mountague.

and when the Guaranty was given, he did not know whether theſe *States* would not be ſtill apt to ſacrifice any new Conqueſts *France* ſhould make, to any unreaſonable Peace, provided the Danger grew not nearer them: And he had the more Reaſon to believe it, by a Reſolution he was aſſured of, among the *States* of *Holland*, to treat with *France* about diverting their Attempts upon *Flanders*, in caſe of the King of *Spain*'s Death, and leaving all the reſt of that Monarchy open to his Pretenſions.

This was the Subſtance of his firſt Diſcourſe: Upon which I told him, That the friendlieſt Office I could do him at his Arrival, was to tell him, what Men and what Reſolutions he would find here, to the end he might not loſe his Paces by their being at firſt ill directed. That, for their own Intereſt in the Preſervation of *Flanders*, they thought, they underſtood it as well as any other of their Neighbours, and needed no new Lights in that Proſpect, nor new Motions, to engage in its Defence, if they might hope to ſucceed: That this depended upon *Spain*'s good Conduct and Proviſions in *Flanders*, and upon their ſatisfying *Sweden*. That without *Sweden*'s Engagement, *Holland* could do nothing conſiderable in their Defence, lying open to the *French* on one Side, and the Biſhop of *Munſter* on the other; and without *Holland* he might aſſure himſelf, the King would never intereſt himſelf in their Quarrel, but ſeek his Meaſures ſome way elſe: So that the Strength of their whole Aſſiſtance depended upon the engaging of *Sweden*, and that upon Payment of the Subſidies. That I would tell him freely, I thought *Holland* might be induced to give a general Guaranty, according to the Article of the Treaty at *Aix*. That if his Majeſty and *Sweden* would be induced to join with them in it, I thought it was the cheapeſt Bargain that ever any Crown had made. That I believed a Guaranty, without reciprocal Engagements, more to their Advantage, and leſs to ours, than a Defenſive League, which they ſo much deſired: But yet the Conjuncture was ſuch, and the Reſpects that enter'd into it, as I could aſſure him he would fail in the Purſuit of the laſt; and I believed, might ſucceed if he would content himſelf with the other. That, if nothing elſe were in the way, there was not Time left for it, and therefore I would adviſe him, to loſe none about it. That, for what ſhould happen after the King of *Spain*'s Death, I was confident, neither the King nor the *States* would enter into it; but leave thoſe Conſiderations to the Seaſon, in which they ſhould ariſe. That, if *Spain* was reſolved to deſtroy themſelves, *That* was a Thing beyond all our Prevention or Remedy, and ſo only to be bemoaned, and no more to be thought on: If they would be preſerved, they knew the Price, which is, the *Swediſh* Subſidies, and could beſt tell whether it were worth it or no.

This I thought was the beſt way of dealing with a Perſon that had more Wit a great deal than I, and ſo would be ſure to have the better in Argument: And beſides, I thought it fitteſt for a Buſineſs, which it is neceſſary to bring to ſome ſhort Iſſue: And the Baron ſeemed not to reſent it ill, and ſaid, *Well, If you are certain the* Dutch *will not be brought to a League with us, we muſt think of what we can have, and not what we cannot:* And all that remained to be done, was to draw up the Form of a Guaranty, and ſend it to the Conſtable; and let him know, that upon Satisfaction of the *Swediſh* Subſidies, that ſhould be ready for him, and without it we had no more to ſay. I told him I thought he was in the right way, and hoped he would ſucceed in it, and aſſured him of our Endeavours to draw *Sweden* to the ſame Meaſures, and perſuade them, if need were, to ſome little Eaſe in the Terms of Payment. He asked me, in caſe the Subſidies were not paid, and the Guaranty given, and *France* ſhould next March, attack *Burgundy* or *Luxenburg*, what I thought we would do? I told him, I was ever to think, that the King and his Allies, would do upon all Occaſions, what they had engaged. He would have had me join with him, in drawing up an Inſtrument of Guaranty. But I, that had a Mind to excuſe my ſelf, at leaſt, till I received my Inſtruction, adviſed him to propoſe it to Monſieur *de Witt*, with whom he had an Hour aſſigned upon our parting. And ſo our firſt Conference ended.

I am, My Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Hague, Apr. 24. S. N. 1669.*

UPON a late Converſation with Monſieur *de Witt*, though I had ſome Reaſon to be ſurprized, yet I think I had none to take any notice of it; but am very ſure I can have no Reaſon for doing it, to any other Perſon, but to your Lordſhip, of whoſe Friendſhip I have had ſo many Teſtimonies, and with whom I have lived in ſo much Confidence ever ſince our firſt Acquaintance. The preſent Subject is ſo delicate, that I can hardly tell how to touch it my ſelf, or to truſt it in any other Hands but your Lordſhip's, who will better judge whether any Uſe may be made of it, and I am ſure will make no ill one; nor do I expect there can be other, than to gain ſome Light in a Matter wherein I am wholly ignorant, and perhaps your Lordſhip may not have been curious enough to obſerve ſo near; and which 'tis yet very neceſſary for us both, to be as well informed as we can.

Monſieur *de Witt* came to me, as he ſaid, upon a particular Viſit; and as a *Friend*, not a *Miniſter*: But the Occaſion of it at preſent he would confeſs, was, to acquaint me with a Converſation he had lately had with Monſieur *Puffendorf*, a *Swediſh* Agent, who paſſed this way from *Paris* to his own Country: That he had been ſome time at the *French* Court ſince our Meaſures taken by the *Tripple Alliance*, and the Negotiations ſet on foot with the *Spaniards* in Conſequence of them. That the Miniſters in *France* had taken much Pains to perſuade him, that *Sweden* would find their Account very ill in purſuing thoſe Meaſures: That *Spain* would fail them, in what was pretended from them; and that *Holland* alone would not be able to ſupport them, or the Meaſures they had raſhly taken: And to make this good, the Miniſters there had at length told him (but as a Secret only for the Service and Information of the Court of *Sweden*) that *England* would certainly fail them; and was already changed in the Courſe of all thoſe Councils they had taken with *Holland* and *Sweden*, though they did not think fit to let any thing of it appear; and the Secret was yet in very few Hands, either in the *French* or the *Engliſh* Court. That when this Agent ſeemed incredulous of all this Story, and to ſuſpect that it was artificial, and only intended to give an Ombrage or falſe Light to the Court of *Sweden*, and thereby help them to make the firſt falſe Step; Monſieur *Turenne* at laſt, ſhewed him a Letter from Monſieur *Colbert* their Ambaſſador, wherein he gave an Account of the happy Succeſſes he had met with, in his Negotiations at our Court, of the good Diſpoſitions there, and eſpecially thoſe of ſome of our chief Miniſters; upon which he added theſe Words, * *Et je leur ay enfin fait ſentir toute l'Etendue de la Liberalité de ſa Majeſté.*

* *And I have at laſt made them ſenſible of the whole Extent of his Majeſty's Liberality.*

Here Monſieur *de Witt* ſtop'd as if he had no more to ſay, and with a very equal Countenance; though I found he had obſerved mine more narrowly, all the while he was talking, as well as when he ended. For my part, though I thought the Story and the Circumſtances very odd, and knew not what to make of it, yet I believe I look'd innocent, and thereby as unconcerned as he did. I told him, I had Reaſon to be ſurprized at what he had ſaid, but did not know whether we had either of us any, to put much Weight, or draw any great Conſequence from all this Story: That there might be Artifice in it, on ſeveral Hands; and ſome of thoſe it had paſſed through might deceive, and others be deceived; that there might be Miſtake in Mens Apprehenſions of what paſſed in Talk, and the Relations too: That Monſieur *Colbert* might ſay a great deal to value his Services to his Court, and more than he thought himſelf: That the *Swediſh* Agent might be made partial in *France* to their Intereſts, and wiſh his Crown ſtill in them, as moſt beneficial to the Miniſters there that were ſo engaged: That it was at leaſt artificial in the *French* Court, to employ Monſieur *Turenna* to give this notice to the *Swediſh* Agent, and ſhew him Monſieur *Colbert*'s Letter, which had been more proper for a Secretary of State; but that it was likely Monſieur *Turenne*'s ſhewing it and believing it, would have more Credit and more Effect in the Court of *Sweden*.

That farther than this I had nothing to ſay upon it, beſides proteſting to him upon my Honour and Truth, that I knew nothing of it; nor had I Reaſon, by any thing I heard from *England*, to ſuſpect any more than I knew. That I had told him, upon the Negotiation of our laſt Alliance and his Suſpicions of our Inconſtancy in *England*, what I truly thought of the Diſpoſitions and Intentions both of his Majeſty and his Miniſters: That I knew, and all Men confeſſed, their Intereſts were ſo deep in it, as well as the Humour of the whole Kingdom, that it was hard to think I could be deceived. That however, I could anſwer for no Man but my ſelf; and that I would, that if ever theſe Meaſures were broken, it ſhould not be by me; nor would I ever have any part in deſtroying, what I had the Honour of building, ſo much for the Safety, as I conceived, of both our Nations, and the reſt of *Chriſtendom*; and with ſo much Glory and Applauſe to his Majeſty's Councils upon that Occaſion. That I was ſtill of the ſame Mind, and had no more to ſay.

Monſieur *de Witt* ſmiled, and ſaid, what he had told me was but as a Friend and in Converſation; and left me to make what Uſe I pleaſed of it, or none if I thought fit, without drawing it into farther Conſequence: That he had been very ſuſpicious when he firſt enter'd into the Miniſtry, but had been ſo often deceived by it, that he had cured himſelf of that Quality. That he knew very well it had been ſaid among ſome foreign Miniſters here ſome Months ſince, * *Qu'il faut avouer qu'il y a eu pour neuf mois du plus grand Miniſtere du Monde en Angleterre*; as if they believed ſome Change had befallen our Councils before the laſt Year ended. That for his part, who went to the ſubſtantial as near he could, and the plaineſt way; he had made but one Reflection, and kept that as much as he could to himſelf: Which was, that after my Embaſſy hither had been reſolved in *England*, to ſupport and improve the Ends of our laſt Alliances, and to engage the Emperor and chief Princes of the Empire, as well as *Spain*, in the Support of them; he could not but wonder to find me engaged of late by my Orders from Court, ſo warmly in a *Chicane* about ſuch a Trifle as that of *Surinam*; and in ſo many eager Diſputes about the Pretenſions of our *Eaſt-India* Company, which were fitter for Merchants than for Miniſters: And look'd as if we had them more at Heart, than the Purſuit of thoſe publick Intereſts, that were thought ſo neceſſary for *Chriſtendom* at my firſt coming over. But after all, for his part he would go on conſtantly upon the Foot of our laſt Alliance, as the beſt Ground of our common Safety; and believed the *States* would do ſo too, till his Majeſty or his Miniſters ſhould let them plainly ſee, he had changed his Meaſures. And with this, riſing up, he ſeemed not to expect any Anſwer, but to go away in very good Humour: And I was not very deſirous to draw our Diſcourſe into more Length, and ſo it ended.

That it muſt be confeſſed, there has been for 9 *Months the greateſt Miniſtry in the World in* England.

'Tis time this Letter ſhould do ſo too, which I deſire your Lordſhip will burn when you have read it; and to forget it, if you find no Occaſion to think farther of it; and then I ſhall endeavour to do ſo too. I am ſure it ſhould never have begun, if it were not to end with the Profeſſions of that Truth and Paſſion wherewith I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful
and moſt humble Servant.

To my Lord Cavendiſh.

My Lord, *Hague, July* 18. *S. N.* 1669.

THO' I had much rather make your Lordſhip my Complements upon ſome better Fortunes, and upon your Health rather than your Dangers; yet I could not omit doing it at this time, upon ſo honourable a part as all Men allow you to have had in your late Adventure at *Paris*; which I do not only as a private Perſon and Servant of your Lordſhip's, who wiſhes you all Encreaſe of Honour that may not be bought too dear; but withal as a Publick Miniſter, who ought ever to conſider above all Things the Honour of our Nation; and knows, that the Complexion of it in Times of Peace, is very much either mended or ſpoiled in the Eyes of Strangers, by the Actions and Carriage of particular Perſons abroad. I can aſſure your Lordſhip, all that can be ſaid to your Advantage upon this Occaſion, is the common Diſcourſe here; and not diſputed by the *French* themſelves; who ſay, you have been as generous in excuſing your Enemies, as brave in defending your ſelf: The *Dutch* will have it, that you have been the firſt in Exceſs; and ſay, that ſuch a Thing, as ſeven or eight falling upon one, would never have been done in any other Place but *France*, nor ſuffered neither by the reſt of the Company. However, I am of Opinion, if Exceſs may be allowed in any part, it is in that; and therefore rejoice with you in the Honour of both, and with my ſelf in that of my being,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My LORD, *Hague, July* .... 1669.

I Am to acknowledge your Lordſhip's of *July* the Ninth, and have but too much Reaſon to agree with you in deſpairing to ſee this Matter of the Marine Article to be brought to any fair Concluſion, about which I writ at large by laſt Poſt to Sir *John Trevor*; and will tell your Lordſhip more in private, that I very much fear our *Eaſt-India* Merchants have ſome farther meaning in it, than yet we underſtand, and than they deſire we ſhould. For having had this whole Buſineſs run through my Head with more Thought and Application, than ever any other did before; I could not but obſerve many ſeveral Inequalities in their Proceedings, and make ſome Reflections upon them.

As Firſt, That it began immediately upon the finiſhing our Alliances with the *Dutch*; in which none could detract in the leaſt from the Glory abroad, and popular Applauſe at home, of the King's Councils, but by declaiming againſt this Marine Treaty, though at firſt it was only upon the Inequality of the Paſſports: When that Point was eaſily accorded by Monſieur *de Witt*; our Merchants added another, about the Definition of a *beſieged Place*, which was all their Exceptions againſt the Treaty it ſelf, could amount to: But when there were ſome Hopes given by Monſieur *de Witt* in his Letters to me, that this likewiſe might be ſurmounted; they added ſeveral other Articles, untouch'd in the Marine Treaty: And when they ſaw all were like to be gained here, but that one of a free Trade with People not in Subjection, and of paſſing Forts (which Sir *George Downing* had found here was an invincible Point) they then declared, That without this, all the reſt were worth nothing: And upon this ſaid, they have left our Treaty a-ground, now for about eight Months paſt. When we begun firſt to ſtruggle out of it, they ſaid, they only aimed at preventing ſome Innovations, which had been of late Years practiſed by the *Dutch*, againſt the ancient Uſages in thoſe Parts, and many others of the ſame kind, which they had Reaſon to fear: Whereupon the *Dutch* deſired the particular Inſtances of what they either had felt, or thought they had occaſion to fear; that ſo they might redreſs us in particular, and underſtand us in general: Our Merchants inſtanced in *Cochin* and *Cananor*, and I think one other Place, which Monſieur *de Witt* ſaid, was not at all to the Caſe, but to another, provided for, by the defining of a *beſieged Place*: So that I was forced by them here, to preſs ſtill for Inſtances by ſeveral Letters, till the Merchants at laſt ſent a long angry Paper, with very many Recapitulations

lations of Things paſt, and which the *Dutch* ſaid, had been debated and agreed in former Treaties; and therefore ſtill deſired to know, which of the Particulars named, we thought applicable to the preſent Queſtion. Upon which I received Anſwer, That the Practice of the *Dutch*, againſt which they deſired to provide, was but beginning; that they could not, or that it was to no purpoſe to give particular Inſtances, their Apprehenſions being general, of what the *Dutch* intended to impoſe upon us: And that, in ſhort, what we deſired, was for Prevention rather than Remedy; which, they ſaid, made it much harder in the *Dutch* to deny us.

After this Monſieur *de Witt* and I concerted an Article between us, to propoſe to our Principals on either Side, and which I confeſs I thought comprehended our Meaning, as I underſtood it by the Letters I received from your Lordſhip, and the King's other Miniſters; which though it was immediately refuſed at *Amſterdam*, as liable to the Interpretations they ſo much feared, yet was likewiſe rejected by our Merchants too, and another ſent over, yet ſtronger than the firſt, in thoſe Parts wherein the *Dutch* were moſt ſenſible; tho' your Lordſhip ſeemed to think, the Article I had tranſmitted, would reach our Aim, till you propoſed it to them.

Upon the new Debates we engaged in, arrives the News of what we had ſuffered at *Macaſſar*; which our Merchants made to be a formidable Inſtance in the Buſineſs depending, and of far more Conſequence than all they apprehended by *Dutch* Forts and Paſſes; and therefore immediately preſented the King with their Demand of Reſtitution, together with ſome other Particulars which we were fain to diſown immediately, as againſt an expreſs Article of the Treaty at *Breda*: And I had the Blame of propoſing all their Demands to the *Dutch*, though the Paper of them was ſent to me without any Diſtinction.

So ſoon as the Point of *Macaſſar* was yielded us, which I thought would prove the moſt difficult of any, as of moſt Importance, and was, I am ſure, for a great while the moſt conteſted; and after the Project of a general Article was gained from the *Dutch* (againſt all their former Reſolutions) which was grounded upon theſe two Points, That we deſire no Innovations, and will make no particular Inſtances or Complaints, in which they have ever offered us Redreſs: Our Merchants ſeeing the Matter draw near a fair Iſſue, now ſeem reſolved to end all with theſe two Anſwers: That their Reſtitution to *Macaſſar* (as Sir *John Trevor* writes) will be too dear bought, by ſuch an Article as ſhall confirm upon us all the Injuries we have complained of by *Forts*, and *Paſſes*, and *Treaties* too: Whereas the Article as 'tis propoſed by the *Dutch* (however defective) does not extend to any Treaties to come, but only to the paſt; nor do the *Dutch* deſire to ſell us *Macaſſar* at the Price of any ſuch Article; but had much rather reſtore it to us upon coucluding the Treaty, without any ſuch Article at all: Nor do I know yet of the Injuries in particular we have already complained of, either by Forts, Paſſes, or Treaties, beſide this of *Macaſſar*; but contrary, have always been told, what we deſired was rather for Prevention than Remedy. But next rhey ſay (as your Lordſhip tells me) They had rather be left as they are, with their Pretenſions fair and entire, than have them blaſted for ever with a bad Concluſion: Whereas no Concluſion they now make, upon what we have gained, and the Redreſs of what they complained of in the Marine Treaty, though without this conteſted Article) but will leave them and their Pretenſions in the ſame Condition they were before: The ſame Liberty ſtill remaining upon the laſt Article of the Marine Treaty, to appoint Commiſſioners, and alter or add any thing, when both Parties ſhall agree; and will be but like taking ſo much by Advance, upon Account of a greater Debt. So that I am apt to conclude from all theſe Obſervations, that they who influence our Merchants in this Proſecution, either have no Meaning this Treaty ſhould end fairly, and ſo they put it obſtinately upon that ſingle Point, and in that Form which they know will never be granted; or elſe they aim at gaining an Occaſion of raiſing new Diſputes with the *Dutch*, whenever they find a Conjuncture for it; there ſeeming ſome Reaſon for the *Dutch* Opinion, that agreeing upon an Article as ours propoſe it, we may fall into new Conteſts upon the Extent and Interpretation of it whenever we pleaſe. If this laſt End be in the Bottom of this Buſineſs, and it be taken up or countenanced by his Majeſty or his Miniſters, upon Reaſon of State, and we make our Proviſions, and take all our Meaſures accordingly; for ought I know it is a wiſe, and may prove an honourable Council in time, at leaſt if the preſent State of Affairs in *Chriſtendom* ſhould change by any ſudden or unexpected Revolution. But if our Merchants, or thoſe who influence them in this Matter, mean no ſuch thing as a Concluſion of the Treaty; but only by the depending of ſuch Diſputes to leave an Unkindneſs and Weakneſs in our Alliance, which may in time ſhake the Foundations of it, and make way for new Meaſures on one ſide or other, which will in time prove deſtructive to both; I cannot but interpret this as the Effect of their Diſtaſte or Envy at the King's preſent Miniſtry, and the Courſe of his Councils, which have not gained greater Honour abroad, nor perhaps Safety and good Will at home, by any thing, than by our late Alliances ſo renowned here, and thereby the Stop we have given to the Progreſs of the *French* Greatneſs. And therefore it muſt come from the Influence of ſome, who would be glad to ſee not only our Alliance ſhaken or changed abroad, but our Miniſtry at home too; which I ſhall be ſorry to ſee, till the King can find better Hands for himſelf and the Kingdom to place it in: And whenever that happens, as much as I am your Lordſhip's Servant, I ſhall be very well contented, and ſo I dare ſay will you too. If your Lordſhip ſhould imagine any particular Envy or Peek at me or my Employment here, may have contributed to the Difficulties which have ſucceeded in this Buſineſs; and that our Merchants or thoſe that influence them, believe it would thrive better in any other Hand; I will beg of you not to be ſway'd by Conſiderations of Kindneſs to me in a Matter of publick Concernment; nor to fear, that whenever this Employment falls, you ſhall be troubled with me at home, as great Miniſters uſe to be with Men out of Office: For while the King's Buſineſs goes well, 'tis not two Straws matter whether ſuch a Body as I have any Share in it or no.

And there's an end of all the Reflections I have had upon the moſt troubleſome and untoward Buſineſs that, I thank God, I ever had in my Life, or I hope ſhall ever have again: And perhaps I am miſtaken in them all. However, if your Lordſhip can pardon this, you ſhall be ſure not to be troubled in haſte with any more of it from,

My Lord,

Yours &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Aug.* 7. *N. S.* 1669.

I Was very glad to find your Lordſhip in your laſt upon your Journey into the Countrey, becauſe I very much doubt whether the Exerciſe or Diverſions you uſually allow your ſelf, are what your Health requires, and what your Cares and Troubles deſerve. I am ſure, in the Proſpect I have of them, I am ſo far from envying them with all their gay Circumſtances, that I think your Lordſhip has a very hard Bargain of them altogether; unleſs it be one Day made up to you by the Glory and Satisfaction of ſome great Succeſs in the Purſuit you intend of his Majeſty's and the Kingdom's Honour, Safety and Happineſs; which I doubt will need ſome ſtronger Councils than Men ſeem at preſent diſpoſed to: But this is none of my Buſineſs.

I cannot give your Lordſhip any Account of what you ſay is made a great matter of by ſomebody to a private Hand, about the Difficulties intended by *Spain* in the two laſt *Swediſh* Payments, with deſign of making new Demands: I am only in pain at preſent to ſee the firſt Payment finiſhed, which is not yet arrived, but expected by the firſt Courier. When that is done, and the Guaranty delivered by *Sweden*, as well as us and *Holland*, I ſhall be in no great

Fear beſides that of the *Spaniſh* King's Death, or of *Spain* falling into ſome Agreement or other with *France* for the Exchange of *Flanders*, by ſeeing ſo great a War ſtill entailed upon it, and their Neighbours unwilling to ſhare ſo far in their Dangers, as perhaps it were our and the *Dutch* Intereſt to do. I am ſure in the preſent Poſture of that Monarchy, if I were of their Council, I ſhould be of Advice to do it whenever *France* would be content upon it, to quit all Pretence to the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Dominions: And perhaps 'twere wiſe for *France* to get *Flanders* by that or any other quiet Condition: For within two Years after he were well poſſeſs'd of that little Spot of Ground, I doubt no Prince or *State* in *Chriſtendom*, would pretend to diſpute any more with him then, than the *Spaniard* does now. But theſe are Events to be conſider'd by Men in greater Spheres than I am, and perhaps deſerve to be a little more thought on than they are.

I have received and returned a Viſit with the *French* Ambaſſador; ſo that we are upon as good Terms as can be. My Lord *Culpepper* paſſed this way laſt Week; and upon that Occaſion I cannot but deſire your Lordſhip to let me know more particularly from you, how I am to treat any *Engliſh* Lord as to the *Hand* and *Door* in my own Houſe: For though the *French* Example is given me, as to all publick Miniſters, yet there is nothing ſpecified as to other Perſons; and if I am to follow it in this and other Particulars, I deſire to have ſomething from his Majeſty's poſitive Commands to bear me out, as the *French* Ambaſſadors have, and as methinks the Caſe deſerves: Since I am told, the Innovation began in Monſieur *Cominges*'s time in *England*, and that before the Orders he received in it, he gave the Hand to all Gentlemen of Quality in *England*, and to all Perſons of great Quality or Families, though of his own Nation: And that my Lord St. *Albans* ever gave it to all *Engliſh* Lords while he was Ambaſſador at *Paris*: Though it ſeems my Lord *Holles* changed it upon the *French* Ambaſſador's doing ſo in *England*.

I know not what my Father ſaid to your Lordſhip concerning the Trifle you mention in the End of your Letter: And I am ſure you might very well have ſpared your ſelf the Trouble of taking Notice of it; as I may do of giving your Lordſhip any farther Aſſurances of what will never fail you; which is the hearty Paſſion and Truth wherewith I am and ever ſhall be,

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To Sir Charles Wolſely.

S I R, *Hague*, *Aug*. 10. *N. S.* 1669.

I Received ſome time ſince the Favour of a Letter from you of *May* 9th; but hearing by your Son that you had ſoon after left the Town; and finding how ill Fortune one of mine had met with in lying five or ſix Months before it came to your Hands: I omitted the acknowledging yours till I might preſume on finding you ſooner by my Father's Conveyance, to whoſe Care I have committed this, upon Information of his Journey by your Houſe into *Ireland*. Were it not for acquitting my Debt, and aſſuring you of your Son's Health and Welcome here, while it may be any Eaſe to you or Improvement to him, I ſhould have little to bear me out in giving you this Trouble: For the Return of your Complements would but multiply them between us: And that is a ſort of Exerciſe in which I am ſoon out of Breath, as having but a ſmall Stock of thoſe more refined Imaginations which are required to make up any great Abilities in that kind. Therefore I ſhall end an empty ill Letter as ſoon as I can; but not without the Profeſſions of my being,

S I R,
Your moſt humble Servant.

To the Spaniſh Ambaſſador.

Hague, Aug.
13. *N.S.* 1669.

My Lord,

I Was in hopes the Affair now under Debate could have met with no Reply to what I writ yeſterday to your Excellency; But having obſerved the contrary by yours of this Evening; I am obliged to ſay, that I thought, upon our laſt Conference, I had left your Excellency entirely perſuaded, that the *Conſtable* was in the wrong to raiſe a Difficulty about the firſt Payment upon the *Concert* propoſed; becauſe there was no mention of it in the Act ſigned by your Excellency. I ſhall ſay farther, that you have reaſon at preſent, if in that Act you ſhall find (either expreſſed or implied) theſe Words of the Guaranty. *Y los Inſtrumentos neceſſarios dependientes de ella.* If theſe Words are not there, the Party contracting cannot bring them in by any Interpretation of his own, without Conſent of t'other Party, or Sentence of ſome Arbitrator: Beſides, that this of the *Concert*, does not abſolutely or of neceſſity import any thing to the Security of the Guaranty: For, provided we execute it as the Wants of *Spain* require, it is of no Importance whether it be done with ſuch or ſuch a number of Troops, either of one or t'other Nation, ſince that is to be concerted according to the different Intereſts or Conveniences of each Party: And it may happen that the Attack from *France* may be ſo powerful, that it will be neceſſary for each of us to aſſiſt you with all the Forces we can raiſe or equip, according to the general Guaranty, and not according to any Concert of Forces ſpecified in the Treaty.

I do not accuſe *Spain* of any want of Sincerity in all this Affair, but only of Readineſs and Freeneſs to conſent to, and accompliſh what was abſolutely neceſſary for engaging *Sweden* in the preſervation of the Peace. And on t'other ſide, your Excellency cannot accuſe the Sincerity of the King my Maſter; who at the loweſt of your Affairs, and when *Flanders* was deſperate,

A l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne.

De la Haye, le 13
Monſieur, Aout, S. N. 1669.

J'*Avois eſperé que l'affaire dont il s'agit à preſent ne trouveroit plus d'obſtacles, & qu'il n'y auroit point de replique à ce que j'ecrivois hier à V. E. Mais comme j'ay vû le contraire par vôtre Lettre ecrite ce ſoir même, je me crois obligé de dire, qu'il m'avoit paru que le fruit de nôtre derniere conference, avoit été de laiſſer V. E. pleinement perſuadée, que le* Connêtable *de Caſtille avoit tort de ſuſciter une difficulté touchant le premier payement ſur le* Concert *propoſé, puiſqu'il n'en eſt point fait mention dans l'acte ſigné par V. E. J'ajouteray à cela, que vous auriez aujourdhuy raiſon, ſi dans cet Acte vous trouviez ou exprimés ou ſouſentendus les mots de Guarantie,* Y los inſtrumentos neceſſarios dependientes de ella. *Si pareils mots n'y ſont pas, un des partis contractans ne peut pas les y faire entrer par une interpretation de ſa façon, à moins que le conſentement de l'autre parti intervienne, ou que de part & d'autre on convienne de s'en rapporter à la deciſion d'un arbitre: Sans conter que celuy de* Concert *luy même n'importe point abſolument ni neceſſairement à la ſecureté de la Guarantie: Car pourvû que nous l'executions ſelon le beſoin des affaires d'Eſpagne, il importera peu qu'avec un tel ou un tel nombre de troupes, ou que ces troupes appartiennent à une de deux* Nations *plutôt qu'à l'autre; car ſi l'on doit agir de concert, c'eſt ſelon les divers interêts & les differentes commoditez de chacune des* Parties. *Et même il peut arriver, que les invaſions & les attaques de la France ſeroient ſi redoutables, qu'il ſera neceſſaire que chacun de nous raſſemble tout ce qu'il peut de forces ſur pied, ayant egard à l'intention de la Guarantie en general, & non à quelques cas particuliers ſpecifiés dans le traité.*

Je n'accuſe pas l'Eſpagne d'avoir manqué de ſincerité dans tout le cours de cette affaire, mais d'avoir manqué de promptitude & franchiſe à accomplir ce qui leur étoit abſolument neceſſaire pour engager la Suede dans la conſervation de la Paix; ſur cela je diray auſſi à V. E. qu'elle ne peut pas accuſer la ſincerité du Roy mon Maitre; lors que l'etat de vos affaires etoit le plus deploré, & que tous les

deſperate, gave the firſt helping Hand (when the Princes neareſt allied to the Crown of *Spain* would have nothing to do in it;) contracted his Alliances laſt Winter, ſent a Fleet to Sea the Summer following, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Aix la Chapelle*, founded the *Triple Alliance*, and ſollicited other Princes to join in it: And all this, only to begin and procure a Peace, wherein neither his Dominions nor People were concerned; nor (with permiſſion of great Reaſoners) had any Proſpect of future Dangers, but what would concern the Empire and all the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, before his Majeſty or his Kingdoms could be expoſed to it.

For what your Excellency deſires to know, why, Monſieur *Marechal* having ſaid, there would be no Difficulty in concluding and ratifying the *Concert*, there ſhould notwithſtanding prove to be any in doing it at preſent; I will tell you, That the two Miniſters of *Sweden*, in all that has paſſed between us, have not only ſaid, but ſtill perſiſt, that they were ready to enter into the ſaid *Concert*, and intended to do ſo before Monſieur *Marechal* goes from hence (upon which however he is extremely preſſed) but that they never intended to enter into it before the Payment of the firſt Subſidies, which ought to have been made upon the mutual Delivery of the Ratification; ſaying withal, that they would never allow that this Money ought to paſs for Payment of the particular Aids they were to give *Spain* by virtue of the *Triple Alliance*. I have always found them ſo ſtiff upon that Point, that I have been a long time in deſpair of overcoming their Nicety. It remains therefore to *Spain* to conſider whether the Guaranty of three ſuch Powers be worth giving this little Satisfaction to *Sweden*; and whether it would not be more to the purpoſe when the ſecond Term expires, to preſs us then upon the *Concert*, if you ſhall not ſee it finiſhed: But by all means to procure as ſoon as poſſible, that the general Guaranty

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les Païs-bas etoient comme au deſeſpoir, il a le premier mis la main à l'ouvrage (quand les Princes les plus proches de la Couronne d'Eſpagne n'y vouloient pas toucher) tout l'hyver dernier ſa Majeſté a employé à faire traiter ſes Alliances, & à faire equiper une flote qui a paru en mer; L'été ſuivante il a envoyé ſes Ambaſſadeurs à Aix la Chapelle, il a cementé la Triple Alliance, & fait ſolliciter divers Princes de s'y joindre en plus grand nombre: Tout cela dans la veue d'acheminer & de procurer une paix, qui ne rendoit rien à ſes Etats ni à ſes Peuples, puiſque les uns & les autres etoient à couvert des ravages de la guerre. Car malgré tout ce qu'il plait aux grands diſcoureurs d'inſinuer, & de publier; les dangers qui menacent l'Angleterre, & que la Politique a dû prevoir, ces dangers regardoient & l'Empire en particulier, & toute la Chretienté en general de plus prés que ſa Majeſté & ſes Royaumes.

V. E. demande, pourquoy Monſieur Marechal ayant dit qu'il n'y auroit aucune difficulté à conclure & à ratifier le Concert, *il s'y en trouve pourtant aujourdhuy; Je vous diray ſur cela, que les deux Miniſtres de Suede ſur tous les points diſcutez entre eux & nous, non ſeulement nous ont dit, mais ils perſiſtent toujours à dire, qu'ils etoient prets à entrer dans le dit* Concert, *qu'ils avoient même pretendu le faire avant le depart de Monſieur Marechal, quelque preſſé qu'il paroiſſe; que leur penſée n'a jamais été d'attendre à faire cette demarche, que le payement des premiers ſubſides, fixé au tems que l'echange de la Ratification ſeroit delivrée. Ils ajoutent à cela, qu'ils ne conſentiront jamais, que cet argent puiſſe paſſer pour le prix & la recompenſe qu'ils s'engageroient de donner à l'Eſpagne en vertu de la Triple Alliance. Je les ay trouvés ſi roids ſur cet Article, que j'ay deſeſperé il y a long tems de vaincre leur delicateſſe. Il reſte donc pour l'Eſpagne à examiner & à bien peſer, ſi la Guarantie de trois Puiſſances telles que celles qui ſe preſentent, ne vaut pas bien qu'on cede à la Suede la legere* Satisfaction *qu'elle demande. Je voudrois que l'Eſpagne conſiderât, s'il ne ſeroit pas plus à propos d'attendre à nous preſſer ſur le* Concert, *que le terme du ſecond payement fût echeu, ſi tout n'etoit entierement conclu; mais en tout cas de procurer au plutôt que la Guarantie generale*

vous

be put into your Hands: And I do not doubt, but according to the Diſpoſitions I ſee on all Sides, that the *Concert* will quickly follow, though your Excellency ſhould no more concern your ſelf with urging us to what we are drawn by the Intereſt of every particular Party as well as the Publick.

I wiſh your Excellency Health and Happineſs; and am, *&c.*

To the Spaniſh Ambaſſador.

Hague, Aug. 14. *N. S.* 1669.

My Lord,

I Received your Excellency's Letter laſt Night, as I was making my Diſpatches for *England*, in which I immediately encloſed it, that the King my Maſter may ſee, in what this Affair has ended. For the Complaints your Excellency is pleaſed to make of me, as having hinder'd inſtead of advancing an Agreement ſo much deſired; I ſhall not defend my ſelf with Words, if my Actions have not done it; nor think my ſelf obliged whatever has paſſed in this Affair, to give account of it to any body but the King my Maſter. I am not the firſt Miniſter, whoſe Services to *Spain* have had no Returns but of Reproach and Ingratitude, which I ſhall not lay to Heart, ſince our part is only to obey. However, I cannot but think it had been more Prudence in the *Spaniſh* Miniſters to acknowledge all the King my Maſter has treated and done for 18 Months paſt in favour of that Crown, than to accuſe his Majeſty upon every Occaſion, either to have done nothing, or only what he found convenient to himſelf: Since the true way of engaging a generous Mind in new Obligations, is to be thankful for the old, and rather encreaſe than leſſen what a King and a Friend has done, at leaſt with ſo much deſire of ſucceeding well.

Since your Excellency is pleaſed to give ſo wrong a Turn to what I writ with ſo good Intentions, I will ſay nothing to excuſe it, but ſtill repeat what I ſaid before; That to me it ſeems more reaſonable that you ſhould preſs the *Swediſh* Miniſters upon this Agreement,

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vous ſoit miſe en mains. Je ne doute pas, veu les diſpoſitions où je trouve tous les Eſprits, que le Concert *ne ſuive immediatement, & ſans que V. E. ait la peine de nous preſſer d'avantage: En* [illegible] *rencontre nôtre propre interêt ſe trouve joint à celuy du publique.*

Je ſouhaite à V. E. la ſanté & la proſperité qu'elle deſire; & ſuis, &c.

Al Ambaxador de Eſpanna.

De la Haya, Aug. 14. S. N. 1669.

Exmo. Senr.

A *Noche recebi la de V. E. ſtandome en mis diſpachos para la Inglaterra, en los quales la he luego encerrado, para que vea el Rey mi Sennor en que punto a parado eſte negocio. Por lo que ſe va V. E. quexando de mi, como el que atraſava el concierto tan deſſeado, en lugar de encaminarlo; Yo ne me voy defendiendo con razones, ſi las obras no me defienden. Sea lo que fuera de mi, que no tengo de reſponder a ninguno de lo que hago en eſta materia, ſi no al Rey mi Sennor, y no ſoy yo el primero Miniſtro a quien aviendo bien merecido de Eſpanna, ſe lo reconoce con deſagradecenle todos ſus officios; Pero no importa, porque no tenemos nos-otros otra parte en los negocios, ſi no de obediencia. A lo menos me pareçe que los Miniſtros de Eſpanna hizieran mas prudentemente de agradecer al Rey mi Sennor, loque ha negociado y obrado deſpues de anno y medio paſſados en favor de las coſas de eſta Corona, que no de acuſar ſu Mageſtad a cada punto, o de no haver hecho nada, o averlo todo hecho por ſu propria convenientia; porque el verdadero medio para empennar un eſpiritu generoſo en nuevos beneficios, es agradecerle algo de los paſſados, y mas preſte agrandecer que no yr ſiempre diſminuyenod, lo que un Rey amigo a hecho a lo menos con buena voluntad.*

Pueſque V. E. ſe guſta de tomar a tuerto loque yo he eſcritto a derecho, yo no le he de impedir, pero me voy repitiendo, que a mi pareçer tuviera mas razon de appretar los Miniſtros de Suecia ſobre eſte concierto, ſi veyra que no ſe haura acabado al ſegundo termino de los Subſidios;

Agreement, if you think the time of the ſecond Subſidies not yet run out: Becauſe 'tis plain, that the firſt Payment (by your own Act) was to be made upon the ſigning the Ratifications of the Guaranty, without any other Condition; and there being three diſtinct Acts from the three Parties, your Excellency has very artificially made mention both of that of the Guaranty, and the other of Concert; whereas that of the Guaranty ought only to be given to *Spain*; and that of Concert, but communicated as an Agreement between the three Parties enter'd into the *Triple Alliance*. With all this, your Excellency may ſee, that when I ſaid this, I told you at the ſame time, that there was no doubt, after having given the Guaranty, and that the *Swedes* had received their firſt Payment, the Agreement would be concerted too: And this I ſtill believe from the Intereſt the *Swedes* have in it, to ſecure the other Payments; and *Holland* yet more, either to preſerve the Peace, or in caſe a War ſhould happen, to ſecure a ſtrong and powerful Defence from *Flanders*, which next to their own Towns, is what they are neareſt concerned in. I muſt repeat again what I ſaid of his Majeſty, That if the *Swedes* and the *Dutch* can find the way of agreeing this Affair, it will never be laid to the King my Maſter's Charge if they do not ſee a good End of it. But I have enter'd deep enough into the Thoughts of the *Swedes* upon this Point, to be abſolutely of Opinion, That they will never conſent to the Agreement, till they have received their firſt Payment. Monſieur *Marechal* having only heard ſome Expreſſion of your Excellency's upon this Affair, came immediately to deſire I would go to you, and inform my ſelf of the Truth of it, and bring a poſitive Anſwer from you; ſwearing, that if this were your Reſolution, the *Swedes* could very well content themſelves without the Money: And that for his Part, he was reſolved to leave the *Hague* to morrow; and about four or five Days ago, Monſieur *Appleboom* ſent his Secretary to tell me, he had heard ſomething to this purpoſe, of your Excellency; and to complain of it. But if you can otherwiſe diſpoſe both the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, as to

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Subſidios; porque es coſa evidente por ſu proprio acto, que el primero pagamiento ſe ha de cumplir con la extradition de las ratificationes de la guarencia ſin otra condicion; y que ſiendo tres actos diſtinctos de las tres partes; por eſto V. E. a hecho mencion de los actos de guarentia, y otro de concierto como V. E. va concluyendo aora con mucha agudeza, porque el acto de concierto no ſe devia dar a la Eſpanna como el de la guarentia, ſi no communicarla ſolamente como un acuerdo entre las partes de la Triple Aliança. Con todo eſto muy bien pudiera ver V. E. que en diziendo eſto he dicho tan bien que no havia duda, que deſpues de haver dado las guarentias, y recebido la Suecia el dinero del primero termino, ſe acabara el concierto, y lo creo tan bien porque veo a la Suecia intereſſada en ello por aſſeguarſe de los otros terminos, y tan bien por lo que eſpera en ſuccediendo la guerra y la Olanda ſta aun mas intereſſada para aſſegurar tanto mas la paz, o en caſo de guerra une fuerte y baſtante defenſa del pays, baxo como tocando les muy apretadamente y mas que otra coſa deſpues de ſus proprias villas. Y lo que he dicho del Rey mi Sennor, lo digo otra vez que accordando ſe la Suecia y la Olanda en las particularidades del Concierto, no tendra a ſu Mageſtad de no accabarlo. Pero aviendome yo harto eſcudrinnado los ſentimentos de los Suecos en eſte negocio, ſoy enteramente del pareçer que nunca han de tocar al Concierto antes de haver recebido el primero termino; porque el Sennor Marechal aviendo entendido ſolamente alguna coſita que V. E. avia dicho a eſte propoſito, me venia luego ſupplicar de yr me a V. E. di informar me dello, y tirar una reſpueſta caregorica ſobra eſta materia; jurando tal fueſſa la reſolution de V. E. que la Suecia ſe paſſaria muy bien del dinero; y que para el ſtava determinado de ſalir la mannana de la Haya. Y no ay mas que quatro o cinco dias que el Sennor Appleboom me ha empiado ſu Secretario para quexarſe de la miſma manera di haver la ſegunda vez entendido tal coſa de V. E. en ello. Pero ſi puede diſponer y los Suecos y los Olandezes de otra manera (como me pareçe immaginar en ſu carta) para mi me huelgare de ſu ſucceſſo, y mucho he de alabar ſus diligentias, aunque tan poco ſe contenta de las mias.

No

me it ſeems by your Letter, you imagine; I ſhall extremely rejoice at your Succeſs, and applaud your Diligence; though you are ſo little pleaſed with mine.

I cannot tell how I came to engage ſo far in a Language I know ſo imperfectly: If you do underſtand me, 'tis all I deſire. God preſerve your Excellency many Years. I kiſs your Excellency's Hands, and am

Your moſt humble Servant.

No ſe como me he empannado tan adelante en mi geregonça de Eſpannol. V. E. le ha de pardonnar, con que le hecha de entender, baſta. Guarde Dios a V. E. los annos que la deſſeo.

B. L. M. D. V. E. &c.

Aouſt, ... 1669.

Sentence donée ſur l'Affaire de Portugal & de la Hollande, par l'Ambaſſadeur de l'Angleterre, à qui les deux Parties avoient remis la Deciſion finale de leurs Differences, non pas comme Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, mais comme Chevalier Temple.

Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur de Portugal & Monſieur le Penſionnaire de Witt, ayants trouvé à propos de communiquer à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre les Points qui ont eſté ſi long tems en diſpute ſur l'Accommodement propoſé entre le Portugal & la Hollande;

Le dit Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre a trouvé ſur la premiere Conference avec les deux Parties, que la principale Difficulté qui reſtoit à demeler, eſtoit ſur la maniere de faire les deux Millions cinq cent mille Cruzados qui eſtoient accordés par le Portugal à la Hollande, payables à dix Payements egaux; c'eſt à dire, deux cent mille Cruzados par an.

Le dit Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre avoit auſſi remarqué, dans la meſme Conference que les deux Parties eſtoient d'accord que leſdits Payements ſe feroient par les Droits du Sel de Setuval, & qu'à cet Effet chacun d'eux avoit propoſè ſon Expedient, par lequel ledit Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre voyoit que Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur de Portugal ſe propoſoit que leſdits Payements entiers ſe feroient par l'Aſſignation deſdits Droits du Sel de Setuval pour le terme de dixſept ou dixhuit ans: Et que Monſieur le Penſionnaire de Witt ſe faiſoit fort que ladite debte ſe pourroit entierement ſatisfaire ſelon ſon Expedient par leſdits Droits au Sel de Setuval dans le terme de vingt & deux, ou vingt & trois ans.

Ledit Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre ayant auſſi remarqué que l'accommodement ſur aucun deſdits Expedients eſtoit deſeſperé pour les Difficultez ſur la maniere de payer les intereſts, dont les deux Parties ne pouvoient aucunement venir au bout, a trouvé bon de propoſer comme un Expedient entre deux: Que le Portugal aſſigneroit à la Hollande les droits du Sel de Setuval pour l'eſpace de vingt ans en ſatisfaction entiere de ladite debte; ſi le Portugal ne trouvoit pas que la Hollande eut receu ſa ſatisfaction entiere en moindre tems; & qu'en tel cas ledit terme ſeroit retranché aprés telle ſatisfaction achevée.

Ledit Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre ayant propoſé cet Expedient à chacun des deux Parties, Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur de Portugal a pris du tems pour le conſiderer; & Monſieur le Penſionnaire l'a accepté ſur la condition ſuivante; Sçavoir, ſi dans aucune année dudit terme, leſdits droits du Sel de Setuval ne monteront pas à la valeur de cent cinquante mille Cruzados, qu'en ce cas le Portugal dans l'année ſuivante ſuppleera en Sel valeur de ce qu'on trouvera avoir manqué à ladite l'année precedente: Et à fin que les Payements ſe pourroient parachever en *moindre temps, le Portugal s'obligeroit de ne hauſſer pas le prix du Sel pour les Hollandois, ni de l'abaiſſer pour les autres.*

Ledit Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre ayant communiqué le meſme ſoir à l'Ambaſſadeur de Portugal ladite Acceptation ſous la Condition mentionnée, il s'accorda à l'Expedient de l'Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, & auſſi à la Condition du Penſionnaire, pour ce qui eſtoit de ni hauſſer ni abaiſſer le prix du Sel: Mais pour l'autre partie de la Condition, il la refuſoit entierement, à cauſe que la Hollande eſtant aſſeurée par là de recevoir en Sel tout ce qui manqueroit chaque année ſur les Droits du Sel à l'accompliſſement de cent cinquante mille Cruzados, ſe pouvoit departir de tirer dudit Setuval ſi grande quantité du Sel, qu'elle eſtoit accoutumée de tirer chaque année par le paſſé: Et que par là le Royaume de Portugal ſe trouveroit appauvri à faut dudit debit ordinaire du Sel, & le Prince ſe trouveroit chargé d'autant qu'il plairoit à la Hollande ſur les manquements des Droits annuels.

Sur ces Entrefaits les deux Parties eſtant entrées encore dans une Conference avec l'Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, & ne s'y pouvant pas accorder non plus que dans la precedente, ſur aucun des Expedients propoſés; ils ont à la fin trouvé bon de convenir enſemble que la deciſion finale de toute cette diſpute, ſe feroit par l'Arbitrage abſolu dudit Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, pourveu que l'Ambaſſadeur de Portugal conſentiroit que la valeur du Sel ſe regleroit entierement par les Cruzados, ſans aucun egard à la valeur des Reys ſur laquelle il y a eu auſſi beaucoup de Controverſe entre les deux Parties.

En vertu de cette Convention, ledit Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre ayant meurement conſideré tout ce que deſſus, & auſſi l'intereſt de ces deux Nations, auſſi bien que de leurs Voiſins & Alliez, que cette affaire ſi long tems debattue, ſe puiſſe enfin terminer à l'aimable, & ne tirer pas aigreur entre les deux Nations par des Diſputes ulterieures; declare & juge que le premier Expedient propoſé par ledit Ambaſſadeur touchant les vingt années ayant eſté deja accepté par les deux Parties, demeurera ferme & valable avec ces Conditions, que la Hollande ſera obligée de tirer de Setuval toutes les années durant ledit terme, autant de Sel qu'elle a tiré dans aucune de dix années dernierement paſſées: Mais, qu'en cas que par ledit debit du Sel, les droits à Setuval ne monteront pas pourtant juſques à cent cinquante mille Cruzados dans aucune année dudit terme de vingt ans; que le Portugal ſuppleera en Sel l'année ſuivante ce qui aura manqué à ladite ſomme, pourveu que ledit manquement n'excede pas la valeur de trente mille Cruzados.

Ledit Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre juge auſſi equitable que la Hollande ne pretendra autre ſatisfaction de la Debte, hormis leſdits droits du Sel de Setuval pour ledit terme de vingt années.

Que la Valeur du Sel ſera contée par Cruzados, ſans egard à quelque autre monoye puiſqu'il n'y a eu mention dans le Traité d'aucun autre eſpece.

Et qu'en cas que le Portugal trouvera à propos de ſe decharger de quelque part de la debte par quelque autre moyen; la Hollande retranchera auſſi ledit terme en proportion.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Sept.* 2. *N. S.* 1669.

HAving received his Majeſty's Letter to the *Conſtable* from your Lordſhip's Hands, I thought it was fit for me to return his Anſwer by the ſame way: And, that not having Matter enough to furniſh two Letters this Ordinary; your Lordſhip would be content to receive the whole Trouble of what I have to ſay, ſince you were of courſe to have a Part of it.

I received at the ſame Time with this for his Majeſty, the other for myſelf; and the ſame Expreſs brought another for the *States*; I doubt, all in the ſame Style; by which your Lordſhip will underſtand the ill State of our general Buſineſs here. Monſieur *Marechal* came yeſterday to viſit me, and told me, his Errand was to know, whether I could propoſe any new way of drawing their Satisfaction from *Spain*; if not, whether I would give any Hopes of their having it from

his Majeſty and the *States*: And if neither of theſe, what I could propoſe as the beſt way * *Pour ſortir de cette Affaire de la meilleure Grace, & ſans trop de Bruit*: I told him, For the firſt, I was at an end of my own Invention, but ſhould not fail however of conſulting with the *Dutch* Commiſſioners, whom I had not ſeen ſince our Anſwer from the *Conſtable*. For the ſecond, I knew he was ſo ſenſible of *Sweden*'s having no Right to demand of us more than our good Offices in this Particular, that he would never think fit to preſs us any farther; and thoſe he ſhould not fail of. For the laſt, it was a Point I was very loth to think of; but when it was neceſſary, I would join with him in that Conſideration, but would fain believe, the Affair was not yet deſperate. He fell into great Complaints of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters here; and of their laying ſeveral Diſcourſes to his Charge which he never made; particularly, of their being willing to take a verbal Engagement from *Spain* for thirty thouſand Crowns a Month in time of War; which he proteſted was contrary to his Orders, that were, to ſtand firmly upon having Aſſurance for the whole ſixty thouſand pretended from his Majeſty and the *States*, and leave us to find our Security from *Spain*, with whom they had not had any thing to do in the whole Buſineſs: But he ſaid, he would tell me in Confidence, that they had repreſented the Impoſſibility of this Pretenſion to their Court, and the Neceſſity of taking the Aſſurances for thirty thouſand from *Spain*; and expect Anſwer upon this Point by the very firſt Letters: And in caſe of their Court's conſenting to it, he was in hopes all Difficulties would be overcome; for we might finiſh the Concert before the Payment of the Money, and give the *Spaniſh* Miniſters Aſſurance of our ſigning it ſuddenly after: And though *Holland* had hitherto declared againſt aſſuring any part of the ſixty thouſand Crowns without real Security from *Spain*, yet his Majeſty having reſolved to aſſure *Sweden* of his Part, *Holland* could not avoid following his Meaſure and Example.

I eaſily perceived the firſt part of this Diſcourſe was brought in, only to uſher the laſt; and to ſound me about his Majeſty's Intention in this Point: And ſo I told him, I did not remember to have heard his Majeſty had ever declared any ſuch Reſolution. That there were indeed ſeveral Projects framed by ſeveral Hands about that time, ſome of which contained what he ſaid: But I asked him whether he had ever ſeen any of them ſigned? He confeſſed he had not, but their Court ever look'd upon it as a Thing agreed to by his Majeſty. I ſaid I wondered at it, becauſe they could not but conſider his Majeſty as very little more concerned in this Affair than themſelves: And being ſo, it would be very hard for him to engage in the Defence of *Spain*, without any Hopes of Reimburſement for his own Part; and withal to furniſh *Sweden* with ſo great a Share of the Subſidies they expected upon a bare Promiſe from *Spain*, of repaying it after the War ended. That, for my Part, having not then been in *England*, I would not affirm, his Majeſty had not agreed to it, becauſe he ſeemed to affirm he had: But if he had not, I thought it would be a very hard Thing to expect it from him. He replied, He would not diſpute whether it were hard or no, but was ſure, in *Sweden* they made no manner of doubt upon it; and, that in his Inſtruction, which mentions their ſolliciting our and *Holland*'s aſſuring the whole Sum, there are theſe Words, *The King of* England *having conſented to aſſure one fourth Part*. That if there were a Queſtion upon this, though their Court ſhould conſent to accept an Act from *Spain* for thirty thouſand, yet he ſaw there would be another Difficulty leſs ſurmountable than all the reſt; and ſo look'd upon the Affair as deſperate. But having frankly communicated to me his Inſtructions whenever I deſired it; he entreated me freely to communicate mine to him upon this Particular, that they might know what to truſt to. I told him frankly that I had none upon it; that his Majeſty, being ſo near, had only order'd me, that when they and *Holland* ſhould be agreed about the Particulars of the Concert, that I ſhould communicate it to him, and ſhould receive a ſudden Anſwer upon it.

We broke up this Conference very friendly; reſolving only that I ſhould diſcourſe with Monſieur *de Witt* upon the whole State of our Affair, while they

* To get out of this Affair, with the beſt Grace, and without too much Noiſe.

they expected their next Orders from *Sweden*, after which we ſhould all have a Conference together, and take our laſt Meaſures.

This Day Monſieur *de Witt* came to me upon the ſame Occaſion; ſhewing me the *Conſtable*'s Letter to the *States*, which contained nothing more than mine from him, beſides deſiring them to employ their good Offices towards the Miniſters of *England* and *Sweden* for the Accompliſhment of this Affair. After having asked me two or three times what I thought was to be done; and I proteſting I knew not; at laſt he ſaid, That though he was never for plaiſtring upon an ill Wall, and he was confident, if *Sweden* truſted to *Spain* for the thirty thouſand Crowns a Month, they would never be paid; and ſo their Aſſiſtance would fail in caſe of a War, unleſs *Spain* gave ſuch a Security as might certainly raiſe the Money: Yet conſidering that the very Reputation of this Buſineſs concluded, might very well prevent a War, might hinder *Spain*'s taking their Meaſures with *France* to our Diſadvantage; and in caſe of a War, *Sweden*'s having received the Subſidies already due, would hinder them from taking any Meaſures with *France*, though they ſhould not furniſh their Aſſiſtance to *Spain* for want of the future Subſidies: For his Part, he could wiſh the Thing done; and though it had ever been againſt his Opinion, yet if his Majeſty ſhould think fit to aſſure *Sweden* of a fourth Part, he believed the *States* would be induced to do the ſame, rather than endanger the breaking of the Buſineſs.

After I had deduced to him the great Differences there were in his Majeſty's Concernment and theirs upon this Matter; and how hard it were for his Majeſty that had his Seas and Fleets to defend him, to contribute in all Points as much as they who had the *French* Armies at their Gates, ſo ſoon as *Flanders* was over-run: And finding him ſtill firm, as I have done ſo often before, that this State could never go other than even Paces with us in this Matter, nor look upon themſelves as nearer concerned in the Greatneſs of *France* than other Neighbours, till they ſaw the Danger fall directly this way: I at laſt told him plainly what I had told Monſieur *Marechal* before, concerning my Inſtruction: Which he received with his uſual Temper, and ſaid, We muſt refer all to a Conference with the *Swediſh* Miniſters; and in the mean Time each of us ſhould think what Expedient is to be found in the Caſe.

Concerning our Buſineſs of *Surinam*, I am in great Hope yet to come to ſome good End of it, though they will not hear of it in point of Right as to his Majeſty's Interceſſion: But that it is fit to give his Majeſty greater Teſtimonies of their Deference than in ſuch a Matter as this, is already the declared Opinion of Mr. *V. B.* the *Penſioner* of *Haerlaem*, and ſome others I have purſued: And Monſieur *de Witt* promiſes me, if thoſe two will ſecond him, he will endeavour to bring the Province of *Holland* to it, this Aſſembly; and then we may deal with *Zealand* I hope well enough by one way or other. The Paper Mr. *V. B.* has made me expect two or three Poſts, upon the account of the Places we have ſpecified in the *Indies*, he promiſes ſhall not fail me by the next Poſt; and ſhould have come ſooner, but that he was reſolved to be the moſt exactly informed that could be in all Particulars.

Monſieur *de Witt* has writ to thoſe of the *Eaſt-India* Company at *Amſterdam* in purſuit of your Lordſhip's Letter, and Sir *John Worden*'s Deſire, concerning one *Cary* coming over to offer an End of a Suit upon the Pretenſions of *Courtin*'s Heir: Their Anſwer is, That I might be ſecure they will give no Money for an End of that Buſineſs, ſince all farther Pretenſions are clearly cut off by the Treaty at *Breda*: And I find Monſieur *de Witt* is of the ſame Opinion.

Yeſterday died Monſieur *Weymenum*, a great Man in this *State*, but very little bewailed.

I believe your Lordſhip may hear Reports of Diſcontents growing, and Parties changing here: But I doubt it is not in Diſcourſe farther than among thoſe that are in the Skirts of Buſineſs; which makes me hope there may be no more Ground for all that is ſo laviſhly talk'd of here, and of the ſame kind among us in *England*: If it ſhould be otherwiſe, I am at leaſt glad to be ignorant of it; being of ſo much Diſreputation abroad to our Councils: And all the Perſons in Conſideration here, I am ſure are ſorry for what they hear of it, profeſſing to be as much concerned in our Union as their own; and placing all their Hopes of taking any conſtant Meaſures with us, upon the Steddineſs of his Majeſty's late Councils, and the Diſpoſitions of our preſent Miniſters, before whoſe time Monſieur *de Wit* ſays, * *Que ce n'eſtoit que Fluctuation dans les Conſeils d'Angleterre.*

I am,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To the Conſtable of Caſtile.

Hague, Sept. 4.
My Lord, *N. S.* 1669.

I Sent the other Day in the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Pacquet, a Letter from the King my Maſter to your Excellency in Favour of Monſieur *Taaf*; and am obliged to ſecond that Affair by all my good Offices, tho' I hope they will not be neceſſary; and I hope that this Gentleman ſhall not be reckoned the leſs capable to ſerve his Maſter, for having already well ſerved his Friend.

I cannot let paſs this Occaſion, without repreſenting to your Excellency the undoubted Neceſſity there is, to give Order with all ſpeed for the Payment of the 200000 Crowns to the Miniſters of *Sweden*, who have expected them with ſo much Patience, and are ready to deliver into the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors Hands the Ratifications of the Guaranty, jointly with me and the *States General*. They aſſure me alſo, that they are ready to enter into a particular Concert of Forces, as ſoon as this Affair is finiſh'd; but are reſolved not to mix one with t'other; and are ſo ill ſatisfied with ſome Difficulties that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador has raiſed upon this Matter, that I believe it will not be poſſible to keep them here two Days longer; if your Excellency ſends them an Anſwer not according to the Act ſigned by the ſaid Ambaſſador, and ſince ratified by the King of *Spain*; that is to ſay, to order the Payment of the Money upon the mutual Delivery of the Guaranty. This is what they told me two Days ſince; and may perhaps ruin an Affair that has been ſo long negotiated, and brought into the Port through ſo many Difficulties.

Au Connetable de Caſtille.

De la Haye, le 4 Sept.
Monſieur, S. N. 1669.

J'Envoyai l'autre jour dans le Pacquet de Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, une lettre du Roy mon maître à V. E. en faveur de Monſieur Taaf; je me crois obligé de l'aider de tous mes bons offices, mais je croy qu'ils ne luy ſont pas neceſſaires; & que ce Gentilhomme n'en ſera pas jugé moins digne & moins capable de ſervir ſon Maître, pour avoir ſi bien ſervi ſon ami.

Je ne puis laiſſer paſſer cette occaſion ſans repreſenter à V. E. qu'il eſt d'une neceſſité indiſpenſable d'expedier inceſſamment des ordres pour faire toucher aux Miniſtres de Suede les 200000 *écus qu'ils ont juſqu'icy attendus avec tant de patience. Ils ſont prêts de delivrer entre les mains de l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne les* Ratifications *de la Guarantie conjointement avec moy & les Etats Generaux. Ils m'ont auſſi aſſuré qu'ils etoient tout prêts à entrer dans un* Concert *particulier pour fournir un ſecours de Forces, que pour cela ils n'attendoient que de voir finir cette premiere affaire; & qu'ils etoient reſolus de ne point mêler l'une avec l'autre. Ils ſont au reſte ſi mal ſatisfaits de quelques difficultez que Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne leur a fait ſur ce premier article, que je ne croy pas qu'il ſoit poſſible de les retenir deux jours icy aprés que V. E. ſe ſera expliquée ſur cette affaire, & que nous aurons reçu ſa reponſe, ſuppoſé que cette reponſe ne s'accorde pas à l'acte ſigné par le dit Ambaſſadeur, & depuis ratifié par le Roy d'Eſpagne, c'eſt aſavoir de faire conter l'argent ſur l'*Extradition *de la Guarantie. Voila ce qu'ils m'ont dit depuis deux jours, & ce qui pourroit bien faire aller en fumée une affaire ſi long tems negociée, & menée au port à travers tant de difficultez.*

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* *That there was nothing but wavering in the Councils of* England.

Your Excellency will judge better than any body, how you can anſwer to the Court of *Spain*, and to all *Chriſtendom*, the Loſs of ſo great an Occaſion for eſtabliſhing the Security of the one, and the Repoſe of the other. For all this depends upon your Reſolutions, to which the three Confederates, as well as ſo many others, will entirely attribute any Misfortune that ſhall arrive. And as I have not failed ſince the Beginning of this Affair to contribute all my Cares to it, ſo I would not be wanting towards the End, to repreſent the preſſing Neceſſity of this Conjuncture. It is left to your Excellency to make what uſe of it you pleaſe; from whoſe Conduct every one will form Preſages, good or ill, to the Affairs of *Spain*.

I am your Excellency's, &c.

V. E. ſentira mieux que perſonne, qu'elle ſe rend reſponſable & à la Couronne d'Eſpagne, & à toute la Chrêtienté de la perte d'une ſi grande occaſion, qui eſtabliſſoit la ſureté de l'une, & le repos de l'autre. Car, c'eſt de vos reſolutions que tout cela va dependre, & c'eſt auſſi ſur elles ſeules que les trois Confederez, ainſi que tant d'autres, vont rejetter les malheurs qui ſuivront du peu de ſuccés de nos negotiations. Comme des le commencement je n'ay epargné ni veilles ni ſoins pour cette grande affaire, je n'ay pas voulu manquer ſur la fin à faire une derniere demarche, qui eſt, de repreſenter à V. E. toute l'importance des conjonctures qui s'offrent encore à nous, mais qui ſont prêtes à nous echapper. Ce ſera à V. E. à en uſer comme il luy plaira: On tirera des meſures qu'il va prendre, des preſages certains pour le bon ou le mauvais etat des affaires d'Eſpagne.

Je ſuis de V. E. &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Oct.* 11. *N. S.* 1669.

I Have this Day received your Lordſhip's of the 21ſt paſt, and having none by me from Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, ſhall preſume to return in an Anſwer to your Lordſhip's that little I have to ſay by this Poſt: For all at preſent is here at a ſtand in our Buſineſs of the Alliance; and when it will proceed again, depends wholly upon his Majeſty, do what I can. Since the laſt Poſt, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Baron *d'Iſola*, Monſieur *Marechal*, and Monſieur *de Witt*, have been ſeverally with me to know what I will propoſe, or what I will conſent to for an Expedient in this Matter. The two firſt would fain have ſomething from me to work upon; and I entertain them with Complaints of the *Spaniſh* ill Uſage towards us, having propoſed at *London* not only to indemnify us, in what they projected there concerning his Majeſty's engaging to the *Swede*, but likewiſe a Share of his own Charge likely to ariſe upon a War: All which, ever ſince the Peace they have been content to forget, and now would put us upon a Neceſſity of engaging to advance the *Swediſh* Subſidies. I farther repreſented to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Imprudence of their Councils, in raiſing this Difficulty in the firſt Payment to the *Swedes*, by the Eaſineſs whereof they might have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Guaranty, and thereby enter'd into Confidence with *Sweden*; ſecured them from thinking of any other Meaſures, and purſued the Finiſhings of our Work by any particular Concerts, without Danger or Unkindneſs.

I urged all this ſo far, that though the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador perſiſted in affirming, that the Orders from *Spain* to the *Conſtable*, as well as to himſelf, were poſitive in the Caſe of not paying the Money without the particular Concert; yet he at laſt joined with me very freely in blaming the Weakneſs and Unhappineſs of the *Spaniſh* Councils upon theſe Particulars; and wondring how the Marquis *Caſtel-Rodrigo* could ſuffer the Diſpatch of ſuch Orders. The next Morning the Baron *d'Iſola* came to me, and entertain'd me with long Diſcourſes of what paſs'd between him and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, in conſequence of what I had ſaid the Night before: And the Sum of all was, as I imagined, to ſound me whether I would be induced to enter the Concert upon the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors promiſing me an Indemnity from *Spain* for the hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns a Month inſiſted upon by the *Swedes* to be ſecured to them from the King. Upon this Inſinuation I reſolved to take no Hold at all; becauſe if his Majeſty ſhould ever reſolve to promiſe the Advance of the hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns in caſe of a War; I thought it would be better truſting to gain his Satisfaction by negotiating in *Spain* to this purpoſe, upon the Grounds given of ſo many Overtures by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters both at *London*, *Bruſſels*, and here, than by taking a Promiſe or Inſtrument here from this Ambaſſador (as the Baron ſays) beyond his Power, and eſpecially whoſe ſecrecy in it we cannot much reckon upon: Whereas the publiſhing any ſuch thing may have ill Conſequences of Jealouſy between us and the *Dutch*. Therefore I contented my ſelf to tell the Baron, that I was at the end of my Line, and could proceed no farther than I had done already: That his Majeſty had order'd me to give the Guaranty in Conjunction with the other Confederates, upon Payment of two hundred thouſand Crowns, according to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's own Act: That he thought the *Spaniards* had no Right to preſs us upon the particular Concert, which yet he would be ready to conſider of when the Confederates thought fit; and in the mean time was very ſincerely reſolved to perform the Guaranty if there ſhould be occaſion for it.

Monſieur *Marechal* preſs'd me ſomething harder upon entring into a Conference with him and the *Dutch* Deputies, which I promis'd before my laſt, but have excuſed till *Monday* next, in the mean time to prepare Matter for it. He deſired to know if I had yet any Powers to promiſe the hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns projected at *London* (as he ever inſiſts) to be ſecured by his Majeſty; without which he did not ſee any Thing to be done here: I told him directly, I had not. He then asked me to what End we ſhould confer, ſince without that, the Concert could not be framed, nor conſequently the preſent Money paid: And complained that the want of this Concert was of preſent Prejudice to them alone, though it depended equally upon the Conſent of the other Confederates. I anſwer'd him, That till I received new Orders, he ſhould never find me vary from thoſe I had ſo often told him; which were, to ſee firſt in what Propoſals *Sweden* and *Holland* could agree, and then repreſent it to his Majeſty, whoſe Anſwer could be of no long Delay: And that I ſuppoſe will be the Fruit of our Conference. He ſaid, He thought *They* and *Holland* were agreed upon all Points but one, that is, in the number and kind of Forces, according to the firſt projected Concert, and in *Holland*'s aſſuring them a fourth Part of the Sixty thouſand Crowns.

That which they differed upon was; That whereas *Spain* offered a Promiſe of the other Thirty thouſand Crowns; they expected we and *Holland* ſhould likewiſe warrant that Payment, becauſe their Engagement for Sixteen thouſand Men upon the Concert, would be to us and not to *Spain*; and it was no Reaſon, if *Spain* failed of that Payment, they ſhould yet ſtand engaged to us for the whole number of Men. I told him, I doubted much, that if this Point were ſtill between them, they were not very near agreeing: And he ſaid, He would ſpeak with Monſieur *de Witt* once more upon it before the Conference. But I doubt this will not hinder them from coming to ſome Propoſal to be made his Majeſty of ſomething they ſhall agree in.

I am, &c.

To

To the Prince of Tuſcany.

Hague, Dec. 5.
N. S. 1669.

S I R,

I Should not have deferred the Acknowledgments I owe your Highneſs for the Honour of your Letter, if I had not been purſued with a great Illneſs at the time I received it: And I would not acquit my ſelf of this Duty by any other Hand but my own, becauſe I am ſure there is none ſo pleaſed, or ſo ready to engage in the Occaſions of your Service. I am extreme glad of your Highneſs's happy Arrival at *Florence*; where I wiſh you all the Felicities that ought to be deſtined as they are due, to ſo great a Merit: And I hope, that after the glorious Fatigues which have hitherto been the Diverſion of your Highneſs, you will now find Pleaſure in the ſoftneſs of Repoſe.

For my ſelf, I ſhall never think I am happy till I have paid my Reſpects to your Highneſs in your own Court; and I envy no Man at preſent but my Lord *Falconbridge*, who is going on an Embaſſy into ſo fine a Climate, and among ſuch Converſations as thoſe of *Italy*, where Wit and Weather are equally clear; while I languiſh in a Country where we breath nothing but Miſts, and diſcourſe of nothing but Buſineſs.

To confirm this laſt, I cannot end my Letter without telling your Highneſs, That after ſo many Shocks the *Triple Alliance* has born for ſome time, and ſo many Preſages of its Death; there is within theſe two Days ſome appearance of its Recovery, unleſs any unexpected Accident ſhould occaſion a Relapſe.

Juſtice is ſo eſſential among the Qualities of a great Prince, that I will not doubt but your Highneſs does me that of believing me always with equal Paſſion and Truth,

S I R,
Your Highneſs's, &c.

Au Prince de Toſcane.

La Haye, le 5
Dec. S. N. 1669.

Monſieur,

J*E n'aurois pas perdu un moment à marquer la reconnoiſſance que je dois à V. A. de l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait par ſa Lettre, ſi dans le même tems qu'elle me fût rendue, je n'euſſe été attaqué d'une violente maladie. Je n'ay pas voulu, je l'avouerai, m'acquitter de ce devoir par une main étrangere, & cela vient de ce qu'il me ſemble, qu'il n'y a que la mienne qui ſente autant de plaiſir, & s'employe avec autant d'affection, dès qu'il eſt queſtion de quelque choſe qui regarde V. A. & ſon Service. Je prens beaucoup de part à l'heureuſe arrivée de V. A. à Florence; je ſouhaite qu'elle y goute toutes les proſperitez deues & ſans doute deſtinées à un merite comme le ſien. J'eſpere, qu' aprés les glorieuſes fatigues qui ont fait juſqu' icy les divertiſſemens de V. A. elle va trouver quelque plaiſir dans les douceurs du repos.*

Pour moy je ne ſeray jamais content de la fortune, que je n'ay fait la reverence à V. A. dans ſa propre Cour; & à l'heure qu'il eſt, le ſeul homme que j'envie dans le monde, c'eſt My Lord Falconbridge, que ſon Ambaſſade va conduire dans un ſi beau Climat, & où il va gouter tous les charmes attachez aux delicates & ſpirituelles converſations d'Italie; il trouvera là les jours & les eſprits egalement purs & brillans; & pour moy, mon partage eſt de languir dans un pais où l'on ne reſpire que des brouillards, & où l'on ne fait que parler d'affaires.

J'ay deja un peu contracté de ce Genie; & pour le prouver à V. A. c'eſt que je ne ſçaurois achever ma Lettre ſans luy dire, qu' aprés tant de ſecouſſes que la Triple Alliance *a ſouffertes depuis quelque tems, & tant de ſiniſtres preſages qui ont annoncé ſa mort, il y a pourtant depuis deux jours quelque apparence qu'il va revivre, à moins qu'un accident inopiné ne cauſe ſa rechûte.*

La juſtice eſt une de ces qualitez ſi eſſentielles à un grand Prince, que je ne veux pas même ſoupçonner que V. A. me refuſe celle de me croire toujours ce que je ſuis avec tant de paſſion & de verité, &c.

To the Conſtable of Caſtile.

Hague, Dec. 5.
My Lord, N. S. 1669.

THough it will be difficult to add any thing to the Arguments uſed in my laſt Letter, and in other Memorials ſent ſo frequently to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, upon the Subject of the Payment already due to the Crown of *Sweden*, and ſo ſolemnly ſtipulated by the Act of *May* 9, ſigned by the ſaid Ambaſſador, and afterwards ratified by the Queen Regent: However I would not fail in this important Conjuncture, to make this laſt Effort to diſpoſe your Excellency to the quick Execution of a Council ſo juſt and neceſſary to the Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, as well as the Preſervation of *Spain*; and of ſuch Importance to the Honour of your Excellency, who never can defend your ſelf againſt the Complaints of having by little Scruples loſt the Succeſs of ſo great an Affair, and neglected the Fruits of an Alliance whereof all *Chriſtendom* hath ſpoke with ſo much Applauſe, and hoped from it ſo much Felicity.

I do not deſire to importune your Excellency by a Repetition of things already ſaid; and I have nothing new to add, but the Conſideration of Monſieur *Marechal* the Miniſter of *Sweden*'s Departure, after long Impatience, and much Diſcontent at the Proceedings of *Spain*, in all the Negotiations where he has intervened for eight or nine Months paſt. Before he went he demanded back from me the Act of Guaranty ſigned by *Sweden*, and placed in my Hands with the other Acts to be conſigned into the Hands of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, upon Payment of the 200000 Crowns to *Sweden*: And in the mean time, he conſented entirely, that I ſhould give back to the ſaid Ambaſſador his Act of the 9th of *May*, by which he was obliged to the ſaid Payment upon the conſigning of the ſaid Guaranties: But I uſed all my Endeavours to keep the ſaid Guaranty of *Sweden* ſome time longer in my Hands, hoping your Excellency would yet in a few Days acknowledge the
Obliga-

Au Connetable de Caſtille.

De la Haye, le 5
Monſieur, Dec. S. N. 1669.

QUoyqu'il ſoit bien difficile d'ajouter quelque choſe aux raiſons dont je me ſuis ſervi dans ma derniere Lettre à V. E. & qui d'ailleurs ſont repandues & ont eté repetées en tant de divers memoires envoyés à Monſieur l'Embaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, touchant le payement deja deu à la Couronne de Suede, & ſi ſolennement accordé & ſtipulé par l'Acte du 9 de May, qui a eté ſigné par le dit Ambaſſadeur, & ratifié depuis par la Reine Regente: Je n'ay pourtant pas voulu dans une conjoncture ſi importante negliger de faire un dernier effort, afin de tacher à diſpoſer V. E. à une prompte execution dans une affaire ſi juſte, ſi neceſſaire d'ailleurs au repos de la Chrêtienté, auſſi bien qu'à la conſervation de l'Eſpagne; j'ajouteray, ſi importante à l'honneur de V. E. Peut etre ſera-t-il hors de vôtre pouvoir de parer aux reproches & aux plaintes d'avoir par de petits ſcrupules renoncé au ſuccés d'une ſi grande affaire, & negligé les fruits d'une Alliance dont la Chrêtienté a parlé avec de ſi grands applaudiſſemens, & dont elle ſe promettoit tant de joye & de proſperité.

Je n'ay pas deſſein d'importuner V. E. par la repetition de choſes deja cent fois dites; & tout ce que je puis ajouter de nouveau, roule ſur le depart de Monſieur Marechal, le Miniſtre de la Suede, qui aprés bien des impatiences, aprés tant de pourparlers inutiles, enfin mécontent de l'Eſpagne autant qu'on le peut être, & ayant ſur le cœur l'inutilité des negotiations où on l'a fait intervenir, & qui ont conſumé neuf mois, preſſe ſon depart, & va tout reveler au Roy ſon Maître; il me redemande avant ſon retour l'Acte de Guarantie ſigné par la Suede, & remis entre mes mains avec les autres actes, pour être enſuite depoſé entre les mains de Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, lors que les 200000 écus auront eté payés à la Couronne de Suede. En même tems il m'a declaré qu'il conſentoit pleinement que l'Acte du 9 de May fait par le dit Ambaſſadeur, & dans lequel il s'obligeoit au dit payement, ſur la remiſe des Guaranties, & lequel acte j'ay auſſi entre les mains; que cet acte, dis je, fût rendu à l'Am-

baſſadeur

Obligation and Neceſſity of advancing this Satisfaction to *Sweden*, ſo long due and demanded. And as yet I have it in my Power to deliver the three ſaid Guaranties to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, as ſoon as he ſhall have given the ſaid Money to the *Swediſh* Reſident here: But if this Affair be delayed till Monſieur *Marechal* has repreſented it to the King his Maſter, as he was reſolved to do upon his Departure; or till the *Swediſh* Miniſter's Reſident here ſhall have received an Anſwer to the Diſpatches they ſent about three Weeks ago, upon the Spight and Deſpair they were in at the bad Succeſs of this Affair: In either of theſe Caſes, I leave your Excellency to judge, whether there will be any Hopes that the *Swediſh* Court, ſower'd by the ill Treatment and angry Repreſentations of their Miniſters, will then give us the means, we poſſeſs at preſent, to finiſh this great Work: And how neceſſary it will be to follow the late Impreſſions made in that Court as ſoon as poſſible, by new ones to their entire Satisfaction. For, as ſoon as *Spain* ſhall be in poſſeſſion of the Guaranties of all the Confederates, one may ſay, that not only all the Appearances are ſafe, but alſo that the Subſtance it ſelf is finiſhed. And if any Forms remain towards the laſt Perfection of the Work, there muſt be time given to concert them, without hazarding the groſs of the Affair.

I deſire your Excellency to conſider, that ſuch Occaſions as you have at preſent in your Hands, are not uſually given twice to Men, and that they commonly loſe their Force by a ſlowneſs in laying hold of them. But I cannot apprehend ſo ſad an Effect from the Prudence and good Intentions of your Excellency: At leaſt, I ſhall comfort my ſelf that I have done my

baſſadeur d'Eſpagne. J'ay fait de grands efforts pour retenir encore quelques jours la dite Guarantie entre mes mains, dans l'eſperance que V. E. informée de tout en peu de jours, ſentiroit la juſtice & la neceſſité de ſatisfaire la Suede; il y a long tems que la choſe luy été promiſe, par conſequent il y a long tems qu'elle luy eſt deue; elle a eté ſouvent demandée, elle l'eſt encore aujourdhuy, & à l'heure que j'ecris je ſuis en pouvoir de livrer les trois Guaranties à Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, auſſi tôt qu'il aura fait mettre l'argent au Miniſtre de Suede, qui eſt encore icy. Mais, ſupposé que l'affaire ſoit ou negligée ou retardée juſqu' à ce que le Miniſtre ait envoyé ſon memoire & ſa relation à la cour de ſon Maître, & qu'il l'ait inſtruit de la ſituation où toutes choſes etoient au moment de ſon depart. Supposé même que par les delais on donne le tems aux Miniſtres de Suede de recevoir la reponſe aux memoires qu'ils envoyerent il y a trois ſemaines tout remplis du depit & du deſeſpoir de voir le projet ſe reduire à rien. L'une ou l'autre de ces deux choſes ſupposées (& V. E. voit qu'on les peut ſuppoſer toutes deux) il eſt aisé de juger que la Cour de Suede, aigrie de l'Eſpagne par toutes les choſes que ſes Miniſtres luy auront repreſentées, ne voudra plus nous continuer le moyen que nous avons encore de finir ce grand ouvrage. V. E. voit donc de quel importance il eſt de pourſuivre les dernieres impreſſions que la Suede a eues juſq' icy, par la nouvelle d'une prompte & entiere concluſion. Car auſſi tôt que l'Eſpagne ſera en poſſeſſion des Guaranties de tous les Confederez, on pourra dire que non ſeulement toutes les apparences ſeront ſauvées, mais qu'on aura même pourvû au fond de la choſe. Que s'il manquoit quelques formalitez à la perfection de cet ouvrage, il ne faudra que du tems; car comme tout ſera diſposé à une entiere concluſion, on ajuſtera tout à loiſir, ſans que le gros de l'affaire ſoit en danger.

Je prie V. E. de faire reflexion, que des circonſtances pareilles à celles que vous avez preſentement comme ſous la main, n'ont pas accoutumé de s'offrir deux fois à une même perſonne, & que c'eſt leur laiſſer perdre de leur force, que de differer à s'en ſaiſir. Mais la prudence & les bonnes intentions de V. E. me raſſurent contre le crainte du'n evenement ſi funeſte. J'aurois du moins la conſolation my utmoſt Duty towards preventing ſo great a Miſfortune to *Chriſtendom.*

I am,

My Lord, your, &c.

lation d'un homme qui a fait ſon devoir, & qui n'a rien oublié pour épargner un ſi grand malheur à la Chrétienté.

Je ſuis, &c.

To Mr. Cary.

S I R, *Hague, Decemb. 6. N. S. 1669.*

I Very much wonder to hear from Mr. *Andros* the Difficulties you make in delivering the Tin according to my laſt Order; and that you thereby occaſion ſo much Prejudice to the King's Service, which I thought you would have advanced all you could, when I writ to you to deſire your Care in that Buſineſs. But that you may underſtand what you call my Commiſſion to you; I will let you know that I had no Power to give any Orders at all about that Matter, but in Purſuance of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury's Commands; and therefore new Orders being arrived from them by Major *Andros*, they are to be obey'd in what concerns the Tin Buſineſs. I deſire you once again to comply with him readily in the Delivery of the Tin, according to the laſt Letter wrote you upon that Subject; and do abſolutely diſown you in all Difficulties you ſhall make upon Pretence of any Order from me: And if you continue to delay it any longer, ſhall upon the firſt Notice of it write effectually to the *Conſtable* to do his Majeſty Juſtice in it, and me in particular, who neither expected nor deſerved this Dealing from you.

Your Servant.

To Major Andros.

S I R, *Hague, Decemb. 6. N. S. 1669.*

SINCE the writing of this I received yours of the 4th, complaining ſtill of Mr. *Cary*'s Refuſal to deliver the Tin; whereupon I have written him the encloſed Letter, which is as much as I can ſay in it: If he continues his Impertinence ſtill, I ſuppoſe 'twill be at his own Coſt, ſince your Proteſt: And if you will ſend me Word what are the Ways of proceeding againſt him, I ſhall write either to the Conſtable, or to the Governor of *Oſtend*, or Sir *Mark Ognate* at *Bruges*, to favour your Diſpatch. I am,

S I R,

Your Servant.

To the Prince Regent of Portugal.

Hague, Dec. 8.
S I R, *N. S. 1669.*

THO' nothing could happen more acceptable to me, than the Occaſion which the *Portugal* Ambaſſador lately gave me, not only of promoting the Peace ſo much deſired between *Portugal* and this State, (both Friends and Conſederates of the King my

Principi Portugaliæ.

Hagæ Comitis, Dec. 8.
Seren. Princeps. S. N. 1669.

Quanquam nihil mihi gratius iſtâ occaſione accidere potuiſſet quam mihi nuper præbuit Dominus Legatus Portugalliæ, non modò exoptatam utrinque concordiam & finem litium inter Portugalliæ & Fœderati Belgii Status (utroſque Regi Domino meo Amicos adeò & Con-

my Maſter) but alſo of ſhewing ſome little Mark of my great Devotion for the Queen my Miſtreſs; yet, I confeſs, my Satisfaction was much encreaſed by your Royal Highneſs's Letter, when I found how acceptable that ſmall Service was to you. I do not in the leaſt pretend to deſerve the Thanks your Royal Highneſs is pleaſed to give me, at leaſt, not upon any other account, than that of deſiring by all means to ſeek other and greater Occaſions of being ſerviceable to your Royal Highneſs, and to the Affairs of *Portugal*; and in ſo doing I may have ſome better Pretence to your Royal Higneſs's Favour, wherewith you are pleaſed to honour me.

I wiſh your Royal Highneſs all Health, and am,

S I R, &c.

& Confæderatos) promovendi, ſed & eodem nomine, immenſi erga Reginam Dominam meam obſequii, ſaltem exiguum aliquod ſpecimen exhibendi; auctam tamen & cumulatam planè ex literis A. V. R. oblectationem meam fuiſſe confiteor, cum illi tam acceptum extitiſſe iſtud qualecunque officium ſummâ cum voluptate percepiſſem. Ego me autem nec gratias, quas mihi dignata eſt A. V. R. meruiſſe præfero, ſaltem non alio nomine quam ſummi iſtius quo teneor deſiderii ulteriores aliquas & majores occaſiones conſequendi, quibus devotiſſimum prorſus in A. V. R. & res Portugalliæ ſtudium meum teſtari potero, benevolentiamque iſtam cujus teſtimonio me tam eximiè ornatum voluit, omni meliore modo demereri.

Valeat interim A. V. R. meque ſemper inter præcipuos Gloriæ ſuæ Cultores, rebuſque ſuis addictiſſimos æſtimare velit.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R, *Hague, Dec.* 10. *N. S.* 1669.

I Received yeſterday yours of the 23d paſt, together with his Majeſty's Inſtructions of the 22d; and could have wiſh'd Mr. *Werden* had brought them with him for a Reſerve, though not to have been communicated till the laſt Minute of his Stay, and the Deſpair of all other Trials, for by that means we might have kept the Buſineſs entire; whereas now, though it may recover ſome Life, yet I much doubt whether it ever can, the Strength and Health of its firſt Conſtitution: For beſides ſo great and ſo many Jealouſies as are enter'd into it on all ſides, I count Monſieur *Marechal*'s going away a very ill Accident; and can yet make no gueſs how Monſieur *Appleboome* will acquit himſelf whenever we ſhall come to the Payment of the Subſidies, though Monſieur *Marechal* was ſo forward as to make it ſure: But Mr. *Werden* can tell you how different ſorts of Men they are; and for ought I ſee, all Buſineſſes depend upon the Qualities of the Men that manage them; which (conſidering the ill Succeſs of this) is all I ſhall ſay in Anſwer of your Compliment to me; That, 'tis in very good Hands.

I gave you an Account in my laſt, of the bold Advance the *Dutch* had made to the *Conſtable*, of ſigning their Part of their Concert alone immediately upon the Payment of the two hundred thouſand Crowns. We expect every Day the Anſwer to this Propoſition; and finding one Clauſe of my Inſtructions to command the ſuppreſſing them, in caſe I find either before or after their Arrival, that the Money would be paid according to the Treaty of *May* laſt; I thought it agreeable to what I conceive of his Majeſty's Intentions, for me to take no Notice of them, till I ſee what this Return from the *Conſtable* will produce; and in caſe it be followed by the Payment of the Money, to expect his Majeſty's farther Orders before I proceed upon them. If the *Conſtable* ſtill inſiſt to have the Concert jointly ſigned, I ſhall then fall into the Conſideration of it with the *Swedes* and *Dutch* Miniſters, and endeavour to bring it to an Iſſue, according to his Majeſty's Inſtructions, but ſo as not to proſtitute our Offer till we have Aſſurance that no more Difficulties will be made by *Spain*; nor any Changes deſired in that Concert which has ſo long been framed, and in which I have not obſerved the leaſt Inclination in any of the Miniſters here to admit of any Alterations. I ſuppoſe it is not his Majeſty's Intention I ſhould conſent to the Concert, but in Conjunction with the *Swede* as well as the *Dutch*, in caſe the firſt ſhould not be induced to it, or raiſe new Difficulties; and according to this Apprehenſion I ſhall proceed. In all which Points I am more diſtinct, that you may find whether I underſtand his Majeſty's Meaning right, and may pleaſe accordingly to inform and direct me: For the Paces, as they are much more difficult, ſo they ought to be much more cautious in a Miniſter, when his Inſtructions are numerous and particular, as mine are grown in this Affair. And you may be very confident, when they are once given they ſhall be punctually obſerved to the beſt that I can underſtand them. And in that it ſelf, I thank God, I have not yet failed; and deſire nothing of my Maſter and my Friends more than that I may be the firſt to hear of it when I do.

I did encloſe the laſt Memorial I ſent the *States* upon the Buſineſs of *Surinam*; and ſpoke with Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* ſince my laſt upon it. He proteſts, that for his part he is of Opinion (and ſo are moſt of his Province) to give us juſt what we aſk in that matter; but that we muſt excuſe the Delays of their Conſtitution, when the Diſſent of one Province makes the Reſolutions of all the other lame. He confeſs'd, that though *Zealand* had conſented to what I mentioned in two of my late Letters, yet they had order'd their Deputies to delay the Concluſion of it for a while, ſo as they had been forced to write once more to convince them of the Neceſſity which *Holland* thought there was to diſpatch it ſpeedily as well as effectually: And he hoped for a ſudden and good Anſwer from them.

The Miniſters here have been earneſt with me to propoſe to his Majeſty, to go the ſame or equal Pace with them in laying Impoſitions upon the *French* Commodities; which they think would prove the greateſt Parſimony that either of us could uſe, and be a greater Blow to *France* than Armies could give. And they ſay, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould reſolve upon it, they would go as far as he pleaſed in it; whereas, without that, they muſt be ſomething tenderer than they would be.

They would fain engage me likewiſe to propoſe to his Majeſty their joining with us in equal Proportion of Ships and Men for the carrying on a War againſt *Algiers*: But I ſuppoſe their End is, that they may be comprehended likewiſe in a Peace with them, which may perhaps be our fartheſt Aim: And ſo I tell them this might have been a welcome Propoſal when we began to ſet out our Fleet; but can ſignify little, now the Action ſeems near an end: However, that ſuch things are fitter to be propoſed by their own Ambaſſador in *England* than by me: And I mention them, that you may be prepared, in caſe he receive Inſtructions to propoſe them there. I am always as becomes me, *&c.*

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR, *Hague, Dec.* 13. *N. S.* 1669.

THO' I had Liberty given me by your laſt of the 2d paſt, to make uſe of my late Inſtructions as ſoon as I pleaſed; the *Conſtable*'s poſitive Anſwer having ſatisfied you what we were to expect from thence: Yet the Advance having ſince been made from the *Dutch*, by the Offer I acquainted you with to the *Conſtable*; I reſolved ſtill to purſue what I intended in my laſt, in ſuppreſſing wholly this Inſtruction, till I ſaw the *Conſtable*'s Anſwer to the *States* Letter, and what Hopes that would furniſh us with of obtaining the Payment of the preſent Money without engaging his Majeſty in the Concert before his Meaſures were taken more fully with *Spain*. But yeſterday the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador came to tell me, That he had received a Letter from their Agent *Fonſeca* which aſſures him, that Orders were already ſent me to ſign the Concert; and that his Majeſty told him ſo at the ſame time when he received News of *Don Juan de Toledo*'s Death. I told him, the Authority was too good to be diſputed

puted: And therefore I confeſs'd I had received Orders to make a farther Advance for the Satisfaction of *Spain* and the Confederates, than his Majeſty had yet thought fit to do, or eſteemed himſelf at all obliged to: But I deſired them to believe there was nothing to give them any the leaſt Hopes of his Majeſty's charging himſelf with any part of the *Swediſh* Subſidies. That if they, and *Sweden*, and *Holland*, could agreed upon that Point, ſo as to diſpoſe *Sweden* to ſign the firſt Concert that was propoſed at the ſame time with the Guaranty; his Majeſty would go very far towards the Concluſion of the whole Matter. But I aſſured him at the ſame time, that tho' I were agreed with *Sweden* and *Holland* to make him an Offer of the Concert, yet we would not do any thing towards it till he had Powers to conſign the Money immediately, without any new Diſpatches and Difficulties from *Bruſſels*.

I found the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador had immediately upon Receipt of his Letters from *England* ſent an Extract of them to Monſieur *de Witt*, as the Baron *d'Iſola* had done to Monſieur *Applebome*, who were both in Pain till they knew the Truth from me, and ſent to me to that Purpoſe: And knowing the Ambaſſador would be as diligent to inform the *Conſtable* as them, and conſequently influence any Anſwer not already given to the *Dutch* Letter; I reſolved to go and talk with them both upon the Buſineſs, and concert with them what Courſe to hold in the Progreſs of it. I could not get a time of ſpeaking with Monſieur *de Witt* to Day, but did with Monſieur *Applebome*; and much to the ſame Purpoſe as I had Yeſterday to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, but plainer, and in more Confidence: All that I could get from him was, That he would read over that firſt Concert to Day, and conſider whether he could ſign it: That it was true, Monſieur *Marechal* had offered to ſign ſomething like it, but containing in the ſame Act the Security of their future Subſidies, which they were to inſiſt upon before they ſign it. I told him, all the Difference would be, that whereas they contented themſelves before with *Spain*'s Promiſe of one half, to take it now for three Parts, if the *Spaniards* would be perſuaded to it; and they had the ſame Security for one as for the t'other, (which I knew they reckon'd upon) of not furniſhing more Troops than in Proportion to the Money they received. He ſeemed a good deal unſatisfied that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador had received the Advice from *England*, before the Anſwer was returned from the *Conſtable*: For ſince we will make no part of the Security for their future Subſidies, I find they would very fain touch the two hundred thouſand Crowns before they give the Concert, which they might then ſell dearer to *Spain*, or at leaſt make it the Price of their Satisfaction growing due by the two next Payments of the four hundred eighty thouſand Crowns already due. All ended between us with this Promiſe, of acquainting me with his Reſolution, ſo ſoon as he had conſidered it, and the Propoſal of a Conference upon it with Monſieur *de Witt*. I find now the want I always feared of Monſieur *Marechal*, who is not to be retrieved; ſo that we muſt make our beſt of what we have, and do all we can to put him out of his Pace.

The Baron *d'Iſola* came to me this Afternoon; and his Buſineſs I found was, to perſuade me to ſign Monſieur *Marechal* Projects, and thereby charge his Majeſty with the fifteen thouſand Crowns to *Sweden*, but upon a Promiſe from the *Conſtable*, of *Spain* ſupplying his Majeſty with the Sums we ſhould furniſh upon that Engagement. But I cut him off ſhort in that and all other Expedients; and told him, if his Majeſty were induced to ſign the Concert, as it was more than they had any Reaſon to expect from him, ſo it was all they were to hope in this matter; and therefore I deſired him to reckon upon it, and take their Meaſures accordingly. I ſuppoſe by what he ſaid, his Intentions are to go away for *Bruſſels* within a Day or two, and bring us a poſitive Reſolution of what we are to expect from thence as to the immediate Payment, and their Promiſe to *Sweden* of three Parts of the future Subſidies: But he will firſt endeavour to know Monſieur *Applebome*'s Mind, who will at leaſt be ſtiff in this, that the Promiſe be made by *Spain* to the Confederates, and not directly to *Sweden*.

Since my laſt, the *Lunenburg* Envoy came to deſire me, that I would let his Majeſty know, how much his Maſters eſteemed themſelves honoured by the

Overtures his Majeſty made them of entring into an Alliance, of which he was the Head: That thereupon they had order'd him to attend here ever ſince, in hopes of ſome farther Propoſals towards the engaging them in it: But that his Maſters hearing no farther from hence; and finding that by the ill Poſture of our *Triple Alliance*, other Princes of *Germany* were ſeeking other Meaſures, they had commanded him to return (which he ſhould do about three Weeks hence) but firſt to endeavour by my Hand to give his Majeſty the beſt Teſtimonies of their Affections to his Service, and good Intentions towards the Ends he had ſo glorioſly engaged in. I promiſed him to perform the Meſſage, and employed the reſt of my Diſcourſe in convincing him, how much more the Princes of *Germany* were concerned in the Defence of *Flanders* than his Majeſty; and that however, if his Maſters had any Expectations beſides their own Intereſts towards engaging them, they ought to be from *Holland* and not from us; ſince the moſt important Uſe of their Troops would be to awe the Biſhop of *Munſter*, who might otherwiſe be able by the *French* Aſſiſtances to divert all, or the greateſt part of the *Dutch* Forces that way, and thereby leave *Flanders* open to the *French*. He confeſs'd both theſe Points; and I promiſed to do him any good Offices I could towards the *Dutch* Miniſters.

The Deputies of the *States* came this Day to me, to aſſure me of their Deſires and Reſolutions to ſatisfy his Majeſty in the Buſineſs of *Surinam*, but that they could not yet come to a final Concluſion, and therefore deſired me to have Patience for a little longer time, after which I might aſſure my ſelf of a good End in it. They pretended Monſieur *de Witt*'s and their chief Miniſters being ſo much taken up at this time; but upon Diſcourſe confeſs'd, the *Zealanders* aim to have their next Ships arrive from *Surinam*. Upon which I fell into ſome Heat with them; and told them, I would never ſend ſuch a Meſſage to his Majeſty, ſuch Delays being fitter for Law-ſuits than publick Negotiations: At laſt concluded, that becauſe I would a little conſider their Miniſters being ſo much taken up at this Pinch, about Levies and other Affairs agitating in the *States* of *Holland*; I was content to ſtay ſix Days longer for their Reſolution in this Matter, upon Condition I ſhould have it in that time to his Majeſty's Satisfaction. To make ſhort of a long Conference; this they agreed to at laſt, and I will hope may keep their words, ſince there was one of the *Zealand* Deputies among them.

The Task you give me in the End of your Letter, is, as you ſay, a hard one; for whatſoever is planted of that kind, will not grow long or well, but out of a good Root at home; however, I ſhall venture at it here all I can; and dare undertake it ſhall not thrive worſe in this, than in other Neighbour Soils.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My LORD, *Hague, Dec. 24. N. S. 1669.*

THough Monſieur *Overkirk* wants nothing to make him welcome every where, but eſpecially at the *Hague*, yet I confeſs he was the more ſo to me, by a Letter he brought me from your Lordſhip; whereby I found my ſelf to be not altogether forgotten where I deſire moſt to be remember'd, and would deſerve it if I could. I am very ſenſible that the Right you ſay he has done me there, may rather prove an ill Office than a good; but however I am not the leſs obliged by his good meaning, nor the more touched by their ill; who are not content I ſhould gain a little Eſteem, whilſt I am content to gain nothing elſe; and where I ſhould not care for that neither, but that I believe it to be the beſt way any Miniſter can take towards the Advantage of his Maſter's Service. Whilſt your Lordſhip hath neither Share nor Belief in the ill Offices are done me, I ſhall very eaſily neglect what comes from other Hands, and content my ſelf with not deſerving them, and with the Aſſurance, that

Time will do me Right; and that your Lordſhip will not loſe your Confidence of me, till you have told me of ſome one Action in my whole Life, that you thought did not become a Man you were inclined to think well of. And ſo I will leave that Subject.

I agree with your Lordſhip in being ſorry that Mr. *Werden* did not ſtay to ſee the Effect of his Majeſty's laſt Reſolution in the great Buſineſs here: And though the ill or no Entertainments of this Place might excuſe his haſte of returning; yet I believe he would have been content a little to delay it, if he had expected any thing new from *England*: And for my Part, I wiſh nothing more than ſome true Witneſs of my Carriage where-ever I am employ'd; which I doubt not he would have proved, without encreaſing, any more than leſſening my Faults. I ſhall do neither by thoſe of the *Spaniards*, which your Lordſ[illegible] has ſo much Reaſon to cenſure and reproach; nor ſhould I be leſs amazed at them, but that I look upon them as the uſual Diſtractions of weak and diſeaſed Bodies. 'Tis certain, they have deſerved ſo little of us, that we have no Reaſon at all to concern our ſelves in their Intereſts or Dangers, unleſs we find they will have very ſtrong and neceſſary Conſequences upon our own; and in that caſe our growing angry with them will only ſerve to hurt our ſelves; and we had better help them to mend their Faults, than force them by Deſpair or Hardſhips to encreaſe them. Moſt of the Miniſters here not knowing what to make of their late Conduct in the Difficulties upon the *Swediſh* Money; nor ſeeing well which way to turn themſelves, in caſe *Spain* ſhould take its Meaſures with *France* by an Exchange of *Flanders*; begin to confeſs they have dealt too roughly with them, in impoſing not only the Laws of a hard Peace upon them, but the *Swediſh* Subſidies at the ſame time; and ever ſince refuſing them their Guaranty till thoſe were paid; and ſeem to wiſh they had either accepted the firſt Propoſal I was ſent hither to make them upon that Occaſion, or elſe endeavoured a Defenſive League with them after the Concluſion of the Peace at *Aix*; I mean, if it might have been done in Conjunction with us: For I think, while we are content to hold firm with them, it were no great Matter to undertake they ſhall never take any Meaſures without us, either there or any where elſe: Though I know there are Reports in *France* that would make us believe it, if we are apt to thoſe Impreſſions.

For their detaining us ſo long upon the Point of *Surinam*, it muſt be attributed to the Conſtitution of this *State*, where the Obſtinacy of any one Province can keep off a Reſolution of the *States General* as long as they pleaſe: And that happens often where (as in this Caſe) the Matter touches one Province by a particular Intereſt, and the reſt only by a general one: For, I am ſure, the Province of *Holland* and the other five were many Months ago reſolved, not only to give us in Subſtance the Satisfaction we demanded, but in our own Forms too; till they found that *Zealand* would neither be perſuaded *ni Gourmandè* into the ſame Reſolution; which hath made it hang ſo long, and go over at laſt defective as to what we expected about one of our own Ships, though as they contend, full as to what we can in any way ground upon our Articles. For their great Arming, which it ſeems makes more Noiſe with you and in *France* than it does here; I ſhall not need give your Lordſhip the particular of it; becauſe that is done with the other current News by my Secretary Mr. *Blaithwait* every Week to Mr. *Williamſon*; and ſhall only mark what may perhaps have eſcaped your Lordſhip, That there are yet no actual Levies here agreed upon, but only Officers choſen, Agreements made with them, and Security taken for their bringing in their Men at a certain Warning when they ſhall be called upon by the *States*: So as the Execution of what is hitherto but prepared, will depend upon the clearer Diſcovery of the *French* or the *Munſter* Intentions to open a War; both which are expected here, and equally feared; the Difference not being great between the Danger of *Flanders* and their own: So that I can only anſwer your Lordſhip's Queſtion about the *States* meaning in this Point; That it is, *Qu'on ne les trouve pas ſans Vert le Printems qui vient*; and that if it muſt prove a Year of Action, they will not be found without Arms in their Hands, for the better making either of Peace or War. 'Tis a hard Attempt what your Lordſhip mentions, to defend their Neighbours in ſpight of their Teeth; yet I believe, in Caſe *Spain* ſhould come to an Exchange with *France*, and any of the Towns of *Flanders* ſhould refuſe to obey it; either not to be *ſold* like Slaves (as they call it) by the *Spaniards*, or not to be *uſed* like Slaves by the *French*; you would ſee this *State* protect them with all their Forces; and blow up any ſuch *Ends* of a War in *Flanders*, rather than venture it at home; and perhaps endeavour to unite any ſuch new Member into the Body of their *State*, by giving them an eighth Voice in their Generality, in caſe it ſhould be ſuch a Place as *Antwerp*, or *Ghent*, or *Bruges*, where they might eaſily come with their Arms to defend it: And they have Notice of ſome ſuch Diſcourſes already afoot in theſe Parts, which they neglect not to foment, as a Proviſion againſt ſuch a Blow from *Spain*. In caſe all they can do ſhould not be of Force to prevent the falling of *Flanders* into the *French* Hands; I believe their laſt Reſource may be to endeavour being received as a Circle into the Empire: But in all theſe Tranſactions, their chiefeſt Care will be, to ſtrengthen their Union all they can with us, and to embark us in what they now eſteem the common Cauſe, of ſtopping the Growth of the *French* Greatneſs. For though they ſay, and with Truth, That we engaged them firſt in the Purſuit of theſe Meaſures, and the whole Courſe of their preſent Councils; yet they would be much at Eaſe to ſee us now as warm and as deep in them, as they are themſelves, and would fain give us the Honour of Leading in them all.

The Diſcourſe your Lordſhip will poſſibly hear about Changes or Decays in the Credit of the Miniſtry here; I believe have no farther Source than an Endeavour in the City of *Amſterdam* to make themſelves more conſider'd than as a ſimple Town in the Provinces; ſince they pay half of all that is laid upon the Province of *Holland*, as *Holland* does upon all that is levied on the Seven Provinces; which makes them believe they ought at leaſt in ſome Degree be conſidered in the Province, as *Holland* is in the *State*; which made them employ all their Strength to oppoſe the Faction of *Leyden*, *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, &c. who under Monſieur *de Witt*'s Influence have of late Years carried all before them in the uſual Elections; and join with the Body of the Nobility here, to chuſe Monſieur *Matteneſſe* in Excluſion of Monſieur *Meerman*; where the Conteſt was about an Office of the greateſt Profit in theſe Countries, and of great Honour, though not Influence upon the Publick Affairs. They have likewiſe ſucceeded well in the late Election of Officers for the new Levies, and ſeem diſpoſed to run on ſtill in a String. And amongſt them there have of late been Overtures about making a new Miniſter, under the Name of *Secretary of State*; whoſe Province ſhould be chiefly to receive the Addreſſes of Foreign Miniſters; and take the Care of all Foreign Diſpatches; and ſo eaſe Monſieur *de Witt* of that Attention he is fain to give thoſe as well as the Home-Affairs. And this I ſuppoſe was calculated for Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, who has ſilently had a great Hand in all the Councils and Motions of his Town of *Amſterdam*; and I believe, will in Effect come to have the chief Part, or at leaſt Burthen in Foreign Tranſactions, whether with any new Name or no.

Monſieur *de Witt* in theſe late *Brigues* has very prudently avoided any Appearance of being a Party in them; and contented himſelf with going his uſual Pace, but ſtickling no farther in any of them; ſeeming rather to intend and endeavour the Compoſure of all, than the valuing himſelf upon a Diviſion; which I believe, with his being ſo very neceſſary to the *State*, will ever preſerve him in his Conſideration here, *without ſome violent Revolution*, to which nothing ſeems at all diſpoſed.

Among the late Diviſions of this Province, one great Point has been, about the intended Prohibition of *French* Commodities; which has been violently carried on by Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* and his Town of *Amſterdam*, but oppoſed and tempered by the Towns of the other Faction, upon the Reſpect of their particular Intereſts in the *French* Trade, and the Pretext of Danger or ill Conſequences in ſuch a Council, unleſs it be taken in Concert with *England*: So that whether it will go farther than the Defence of the common *French* Commodities that are in Wear, I know not; though Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* reckoned (not long ſince) abſolutely, that it would be carried to

French Salt and Brandy: And if we would go the ſame Pace, it ſhould reach to their Wine too: Which he believed, would ſoon bring *France* into ſuch a Conſumption as would keep them from being ſo troubleſome abroad. But I enter'd no farther with him into any Diſcourſe of that kind; becauſe I doubt whether we are of a Temper or a Humour to reſolve or execute any bold or ſmart Propoſitions, how well ſoever conceived, or conducing to our Health and good Fortunes: Tho' I queſtion not at all, but God Almighty has given us the Power of going as high as the greateſt of our Neighbours: But perhaps, as your Lordſhip ſays, unknown to our ſelves, and in another way than ſome of us would be glad to have had it. But where-ever it lies, I doubt it will never come out, till his Majeſty can find the Means to make an end of all fencing with the Bents of his Parliament, or Diſcontents of his People; and bring his Government into the Credit of having no other Aims nor Intereſts but thoſe of his Subjects in general, not in particular; nor conſequently any Eye upon their Money but for thoſe Uſes they are willing to give it. This I confeſs is my Opinion upon the whole, and, that all does not conſiſt in a Parliament's being prevailed with to give what is asked in Point of Money, as I find many People think. However, I ſhould never have ſaid it to any but your Lordſhip; nor to you neither, but induced by the melancholy Reflections I obſerved in your Letter upon this Subject: But, whatever mine or another's Opinion is, I am confident every Man that thinks at all, muſt think it were not amiſs if his Majeſty and his Miniſters would once for all conſider and agree upon a general Draught of thoſe Ways and Councils both at Home and Abroad, as they judge will beſt anſwer the great Ends of the King and Kingdom's Safety, Honour and Quiet. For when ſuch a Scheme is once agreed upon, all the Parts of it may be purſued in their Order, and with conſtant Application till they are brought to paſs; at leaſt ſuch as fail not in the Trial, and ſo are found to have been ill conceived. But if it ſhould prove (as I find ſome Men think) that we live only by the Day; and content our ſelves to patch up Things as they break out, and fly at the Game as it riſes; it is at the beſt but like Birding or Hawking; which may furniſh a Diſh or two, but can never keep the Houſe.

If your Lordſhip can pardon all this Liberty and Trouble, I will not run my ſelf into the occaſion of asking it again; if not, you muſt lay the whole Fault upon your own Letter, or rather upon my not having heard from you, or written to you of late; and upon my perpetual ſtrong Inclinations of returning into my old Correſpondence, juſt as a Man does into an old Love, which lies ſtill at Heart, however diverted or diſcontinued. But becauſe I uſe ſo much Freedom in the Account of Diſpoſitions here, and of my own Thoughts, I ſend it by Mr. *Richard*'s Conveyance to your own Hands; in which I ſhall ever think all ſafe that concerns me, becauſe I have been always, and am with ſo much Paſſion,

My Lord, your, &c.

To the Conſtable of Caſtile.

Hague, Jan. 23.
My Lord, *N. S.* 1670.

I Doubt not but the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador has by this Courier communicated to your Excellency the Project of the Concert for particular Forces, drawn up by Conſent of the Miniſters of the three Confederates: And I can aſſure your Excellency, that to bring it into Form, all the ſaid Miniſters have ſtretch'd their Powers as much

Au Connetable de Caſtille.

La Haye, le 23 Jan.
Monſieur, S. N. 1670.

JE ne doute pas que Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne ne communique à V. E. par ce Courier le Projet du concert des forces particulieres, lequel a eté arreté icy par le conſentement des Miniſtres de trois Confederez. Je puis bien aſſurer V. E. que pour le reduire à la forme où il eſt, tous les Miniſtres ſe ſont relachez à l'envi, & autant qu'il

much as poſſible, ſo that there will be no room to preſs them farther: And it has been with Difficulty enough that we have reſiſted the Inſtances of the *Swediſh* Miniſter to have his Guaranty, rather than make this Pace after ſo many other unprofitable ones. He aſſures us, that he never advanced any Propoſition of bringing Troops from *Pomerania* or *Bremen*; becauſe there are no more in thoſe Parts than what ſerve for Garriſons; and when he is preſſed upon this Point, he anſwers us, That, to maintain ſupernumerary Troops in thoſe Parts, they muſt have Subſidies even in time of Peace; and upon this Condition *Sweden* will be content.

I think, what he promiſes is ſufficient; that is, to bring into the Field the 16000 Men in three Months after the Attack; for there is no Appearance of employing ſo great Forces, unleſs by way of Diverſion; ſince the Troops to be furniſh'd by his Majeſty and the *States General*, joined to thoſe of the *Catholick* King, will be as many as can be well employ'd for the Defence of *Flanders*; for it is not deſigned they ſhould be Maſters of the Field. Your Excellency ſees, that you may reckon if you pleaſe upon 10000 Men from the *States* in 15 Days time; and tho' there be no Term ſpecified by the King my Maſter, I think your Excellency need make no Difficulty upon it: ſince the Words, *As ſoon as poſſible*, ſignify the ſhorteſt time one can deſire. And I confeſs, that not having obſerved any Reflection upon the Time, in the Orders of the Queen Regent of *Spain*, which were communicated to us by the Ambaſſador *Gamarra*, I gave no Notice of it to his Majeſty, thinking my ſelf ſufficiently guarded by my Powers, to ſign the ſame Project, which had been ſent into *England* as well as *Spain*.

I hope, that as ſoon as your Excellency will have ſent Powers to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador to deliver the Money, there will be no Difficulty in ſigning the Project as it has been communicated to him. And I do not

think,

qu'il leur a été poſſible. Il ſeroit inutile de les preſſer de nouveau, & pretendre en obtenir d'avantage: Nous avons trouvé aſſez de difficulté à l'emporter ſur le Miniſtre de Suede, pour avoir ſa Guarantie avant que d'aller plus loin, & de faire de nouveaux pas inutiles, aprés tous ceux que nous avions faits. Il nous aſſeure de n'avoir jamais rien propoſé qui tendît à faire venir des Troupes de Pomeranie ni de Breme, qui ſont des lieux où il n'y en a pas un plus grand nombre que ce qu'il faut pour les garniſons; que ſi l'on le preſſe ſur ce point, il nous repond, que pour entretenir des Troupes ſupernumeraires en ces lieux là, il faut des Subſidies en tems de paix même, & qu'à ces conditions la Suede en ſera ſatisfaite.

Il me ſemble que c'eſt aſſez qu'il promette de faire agir les 16000 hommes trois mois ecoulez aprés l'attaque; car il n'y a guere d'apparence d'employer de ſi grandes forces, que par voye de diverſion: Les Troupes qui doivent être fournies par ſa Majeſté & les Etats Generaux étant jointes à celles du Roy Catholique, leur nombre ſera ſuffiſant pour la deffenſe des Païs-bas; car on n'a pas deſſein de ſe repandre dans le païs, & de s'y elargir, ni de paroître maître de la campagne. V. E. voit, que quand il luy plaira, quinze jours de tems la rendront maitreſſe de mix mille hommes de Troupes des Etats Generaux; & à l'egard du Roy mon Maître, quoy que le terme ne ſoit ni exprimé, ni preciſement ſpecifié, il me ſemble pourtant, que V. E. ne peut former des difficultez ſur cela; Car ces mots, Au pluſtot que faire ſe pourra, *emportent bien un terme limité, quelque court qu'on veuille le ſouſentendre, perſonne n'ayant jamais exigé une choſe pluſtôt qu'elle ne ſe peut faire. J'avoüeray, que les ordres & pleins pouvoirs de la Reine Regente d'Eſpagne, qui nous ont été communiqués par l'Ambaſſadeur Gamarra, ne faiſant aucune mention de cette petite difference, je n'en avois pas donné avis à ſa Majeſté, me croyant aſſés muni, & aſſés autoriſé par mes pleins pouvoirs pour ſigner le même projet qui avoit été envoyé en Angleterre auſſi bien qu'en Eſpagne.*

J'eſpere que dés que V. E. aura depeché les Pouvoirs à l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne de delivrer l'argent, il n'y aura plus de difficulté à la ſignature du Projet, tel qu'il luy a été communiqué: Et autant que je le puis juger, ſur tout par

rapport

think, from what I can judge by the Miniſter of *Sweden*, that the Affair is likely to ſuffer any farther Delays; whereof I thought good to give your Excellency this Intelligence, which you may make uſe of according to your Prudence, and the Intereſts of the King your Maſter. I am,

My Lord,
Your, &c.

rapport au Miniſtre de Suede, je ne croy plus que cette affaire trouve de retardement. C'eſt dequoy j'ay voulu donner avis à V. E. C'eſt à elle à en uſer ſelon ſa prudence, & les interêts de ſon Roy, & à m'eſtimer comme je ſuis, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR, *Hague, Jan.* 24. *N. S.* 1670.

I AM to acknowledge yours of the 7th with an encloſed to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, which I have ſent to *Amſterdam*, having firſt peruſed it as you pleaſed to give me leave. I ſhall ſay nothing upon it till I have ſpoken with him, and ſeen how we agree in Matter of Fact: Becauſe the Weight of all ſeems to lie upon the uſe of thoſe private Contracts to the Excluſion of our Trade, having been diſowned, if not invalidated by the Treaty between the two Nations after the firſt War; and upon the Practice having been exerciſed accordingly for ſeveral Years after, and till within few Years of our ſecond War: Which two Points, if they can be evidenced by the Treaty, and by ſufficient Teſtimonies of the ſubſequent Practice, we have certainly all the Reaſon in the World for our Demands. But if we muſt rely upon the common Equity in Freedom of Traffick between Friends, we are engaged in the Queſtion upon which we cannot yet agree; whether the ſame Rules are current in the *Indies* as in *Europe:* To which I ſuppoſe we ſhall hardly our ſelves conſent, if the *Weſt* muſt be comprehended as well as the *Eaſt*. But I ſhall be able to ſay more upon this, when I have got a Sight of the Treaty after the firſt War, and heard Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* upon your Letter: And in the mean time ſhall aſſure you of all the Offices I can poſſibly render towards the obtaining of what we pretend.

I can add nothing to my laſt upon the Buſineſs of *Surinam*; being engaged in my Endeavours of diſpoſing thoſe of *Zealand* to let it paſs ſmooth when it comes to the *States General:* Such Stops being eaſier prevented than removed; while Men are ſo apt to perſiſt in what they have once ſaid. In the mean time the *Penſioner* of *Zealand* preſſes me to procure the Names of ſuch as his Majeſty intends to employ as Commiſſioners, before the Orders here are conſigned me, according as they deſired in their laſt Letter: Wherein you may obſerve the Names of three Men to be inſerted on purpoſe that his Majeſty might decline them in this Commiſſion: If you pleaſe to ſend me the Names, I ſuppoſe it may be neceſſary to the expediting of theſe Orders; unleſs you ſhould think of any Inconvenience in it, which occurs not to me.

In Purſuit of the late Conferences, whereof I gave you Account in my laſt; we have agreed upon this encloſed Project to be ſent to the *Conſtable*, as that which he may hope will be ſigned upon the Money being paid; and wherein I am ſure there is not any thing of the leaſt moment changed, as to what concerns his Majeſty; though the changing of the Form that you ſent me, could not be avoided, becauſe it was without Introduction or Concluſion, and beſides it went a Step farther than the *Swediſh* Miniſter was willing to do, in making it an Act to the *Spaniards*; whereas this runs only as an Inſtrument between themſelves, of which the *Spaniſh* Miniſters are to have only an authentick Copy: And ſince the *Swedes* had rather have it this way, I thought beſt to agree with them, at leaſt if the *Spaniards* will be contented with it: But I would not be induced to engage his Majeſty in point of Time; though

I was never preſs'd with more Earneſtneſs to any thing, both by the *Spaniards* and by the *Dutch*; who ſent their Deputies twice to perſuade me to it, becauſe they were unwilling to leave the *Conſtable* that way of eſcaping us. And to ſay the Truth, in my own Judgment I thought it very little material, but I had no Orders to go farther in it; and have to the *Spaniards* taken upon myſelf the not having given his Majeſty any notice of that Pretenſion, early enough to have it included in my Powers; as you will ſee by the encloſed Copy of the Letter I yeſterday wrote the *Conſtable*, in Conjunction with another from the *States*, to preſs Concluſion in this Affair.

For particular Occurrents, I refer to what goes to Mr. *Cook*, being unwilling to charge my ſelf with the Credit of current News; which I have ever found ſo uncertain, that a Man may be conſidered more for what he does not write, than what he does. Yet I will trouble you with two ſmall Matters, whether they deſerve it or no. Monſieur *de Rohan*, Brother to the Duke *de Mombaçon*, having ſold his Place of *Grand Veneur* for four hundred and odd thouſand Livres, came hither laſt Week to diſpoſe of a hundred thouſand Crowns in this Country, tho' Intereſt is not half ſo high as in *France*; and has done it: Which I reflected on, becauſe I had heard formerly, he was a Perſon as well with his Maſter as almoſt any at Court.

There was executed this Week at *Amſterdam*, a Perſon of very good Quality and Credit among them; only for having engaged the Copies of an Obligation he had from the Admiralty, inſtead of the Original, to ſome Perſons from whom he took up Money upon them: And tho' he was Nephew to one of the Burgomaſters of that Town, and Brother to the Treaſurer of *Zealand*; and all the Inſtances that could be, were made for having him condemned all his Life to a Hole where he could neither ſee nor ſtir; with offer of repaying all the Money he had taken up: And afterwards a thouſand Pounds would have been given to have had him executed in Priſon; yet he could not eſcape loſing his Head with the common Forms in Publick, to the Loſs of his Creditors, who were as much concerned to ſave him as his Friends. Which I obſerved as a remarkable Strain of the Juſtice here, ſo much different from the Style of moſt other Places.

I am, Sir, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Feb.* 7. *N. S.* 1670.

SInce my laſt I have received your Lordſhip's of the 28th paſt; and doubt not but before this arrives, you will be fully ſatisfied by the late Accounts I have given, of our Progreſs here, towards the Concluſion of what had ſo long depended between us and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters: I cannot yet ſay, the Money is paid; but I ſee nothing that wants towards it, only the adjuſting of that Conjunction (demanded by the *Conſtable*) of Merchants at *Antwerp*: For the *Spaniſh* Dealings are in ſo ill Credit, that 'tis hard to find any who will give Caution for ſuch a Sum to the *Spaniards*, and in their own Dominions, where they can plead and judge themſelves: I believe the *States* muſt at laſt engage to the Merchants here, that they will indempnify them from all that ſhall fall out on this Occaſion; though after the Arrival of the Ratifications from *England* and *Sweden*, the *Spaniards* ſhould make a *Querelle d'Allmand* with their Correſpondents at *Antwerp*, and force them to any Prejudice without any Pretence.

I gave Monſieur *de Witt* the firſt News of the *French* King's Declaration, to remit the Judgments of the Differences depending on the Peace, to his Majeſty's and the Crown of *Sweden*'s Arbitration: He thought, the leaving out the *States*, was ſomething diſcourteous on the *French* ſide; but ſaid, however he was very glad of the Thing being done, and hoped, as the Buſineſs ſhould receive no Hurt by any Reſentment on their Side, ſo it would receive none on our Side by any Effect of the great Cajolry of *France*; eſpecially ſince this Reſolution appeared by the Time to have another Source than only the Civility or Deference of that Court towards his Majeſty.

I doubt, the Confidence in this Declaration will ſtop the Levies which were intended for this Spring; though theſe Miniſters are not the moſt believing in the *French* Promiſes; and I am not very confident, the Effect of this laſt may not be ſpoiled by ſome unreaſonable Anſwer from *Spain* upon it; having been confirmed in ſuch a Suſpicion by the Baron *d'Iſola*'s Opinion, who told me he would write to the Marquis *Caſtel-Rodrigo*, to adviſe that the Queen ſhould accept this Offer of *France*, * *Pourveu que le Roy tres-Chrêtien remettroit au même Arbitrage toutes les Contreventions de la Paix dont l'Eſpagne s'eſtoit plaint à la Conference de Liſle*. Which concerns the Spoils of *Burgundy*, and which *France* would never admit to give jointly in the Conference with their Pretenſions about the Dependences. I told the Baron, I feared ſuch an Anſwer might ruin the Buſineſs, ſince it could not come till the beginning of the Spring, and might then give the *French* a Pretext of recalling his Word; after the paſſing of it had laid aſleep all Thoughts or Preparations for War both in *Flanders* and *Holland*, from whence the firſt Aſſiſtance is to be expected: And that I thought the Anſwer of *Spain* ought to be full and abſolute as to the Acceptance of what is offered by *France*: And if they would make room for the Contraventions he mentions, that they ſhould do it rather by enlarging the Acceptance than reſtraining it to any Condition, and ſay they accepted the Arbitrage upon thoſe Dependences, and all other Differences ariſing upon the Peace, in the Diſcuſſion whereof the *Spaniſh* Pretenſions might likewiſe be brought before the Arbitrators, but at a more ſeaſonable Time than this next Spring will prove. The Baron profeſs'd to be convinc'd by theſe Reaſons: But becauſe there is not much Truſt to a Perſon who is ſo far in Love with his own Sufficiency; and ſeems to mind the valuing of himſelf at leaſt equally with the doing of his Buſineſs; I thought it not impertinent to give your Lordſhip my Reflection upon this Matter, that if you approve it, you may by ſome ſafe Way or Cypher tranſmit it to Sir *William Godolphin*: For otherwiſe I am confident the *Spaniſh* Anſwer will be perplexed with thoſe Contraventions, which have held the Commiſſioners all this while at a Bay at *Liſle*, and will not be admitted by *France* in the Deciſion of the *Dependences*.

* Provided the moſt Chriſtian King would refer to the ſame Arbitrage all the Contraventions of the Peace, whereof *Spain* complained at the Conference of *Liſle*.

I ſent your Lordſhip encloſed Baron *d'Iſola*'s rough Propoſitions concerning his Maſter's joining with the *Triple Alliance*, which the Miniſters of the Confederates think fit to diſcourſe firſt among themſelves, and afterwards enter into Conference with him, as the Miniſters of one united Power. All we can do at firſt, will be to communicate what paſſes to our Maſters: And therefore I ſend your Lordſhip the firſt Propoſals by Advance, that I may the ſooner know your Reflections upon them.

After what will paſs here in the Concluſion of our Guaranty and *Swediſh* Payments; I think, if Monſieur *Ognati* can propoſe any good way of ſecuring his Majeſty, or rather furniſhing him beforehand with what one quarter of the *Swediſh* future Subſidies will amount to for the three Months which are to be advanced, it would add to the Strength and Credit of our Alliance, in giving ſo great a Satisfaction to the *Swede*, as they would receive by his Majeſty's undertaking for the fifteen thouſand Crowns a Month, which they have ſo much inſiſted on, and ſeem ſo much unſatisfied with failing in it.

I had Notice from my Lord *Falconbridge* of his intended Journey; and have already begun our Correſpondence by a Letter which will meet him at *Paris*: And ſhall not fail in that, nor I hope in any other Duties of my Employment.

I wiſh my Lord *Berkley* all Succeſs in his new and great Charge; not knowing any other wherein a diligent, honeſt, and able Perſon may be of greater Service to his Majeſty than in that.

I am ever, My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful and moſt humble Servant.

To Sir William Godolphin.

S I R, *Hague, Apr. 3. N. S. 1670.*

THis Bearer Monſieur *Chieſe* is diſpatched by his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* to *Madrid*, for the Proſecution and Recovery of a great Debt owing now ſome time from that Crown to his Highneſs, and I think not diſputed by them: And though this Gentleman goes armed with much better Weapons than any I can furniſh him towards the Purſuit of his Enterpriſe; yet the Prince having commanded me to give him my Recommendations to you among many others he carries, I could not fail of it, nor will I doubt its being of ſome Force with you, ſince it comes in the Service of a Prince whoſe Birth gives him ſo much Intereſt in all *Engliſh* Men, and whoſe perſonal Qualities and Virtues give him a great deal more in all thoſe that have the Honour to know him. I muſt therefore beg all the good Offices and Aſſiſtances you can ſhew this Gentleman in Purſuit of his Highneſs's Concernments, as well as your Advice to him if he deſires it, how to addreſs himſelf by ſuch Perſons, and in ſuch Ways as will give him moſt appearance of Succeſs. Your Favour herein I ſhall take care to value as I ought towards his Highneſs; as I ſhall always my ſelf acknowledge it, and remain,

S I R,

Your obedient humble Servant.

To the Marquis of Caſtel-Rodrigo.

Hague, Apr. 3.
My Lord, *N. S.* 1670.

THO' the Bearer hereof, Monſieur *Chieſe*, will have no need of other Support beſide the Name of the Prince his Maſter, and the Juſtice of the Affair he has in Charge; I would not fail however of giving him beſides, this Recommendation to your Excellency, as well to pay my Duty to his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, as to ſhew my Confidence, that I have yet ſome ſhare in the Memory and Friendſhip of your Excellency. I can aſſure you that the Court of *Spain* in doing Juſtice to his Highneſs, will oblige a Prince who equals his great Birth by his great Qualities; *and who will be one Day capable of recompenſing the Kindneſs that ſhall be ſhewed him at preſent.* His Highneſs already takes great part in the good Turn of the *Spaniſh* Affairs, by ſuch Sentiments as deſerve to be cheriſhed, and not diſcouraged by any Treatment either unjuſt or diſobliging. I could not recommend his Pretenſions to a Perſon more generous than your Excellency, nor to one who has been always pleaſed to inte-

reſs

Au Marquis de Caſtel-Rodrigo.

La Haye, 3 Avril,
Monſieur, S. N. 1670.

QUOY *que le porteur de cette Lettre Monſieur Chieſe, n'ait pas beſoin d'autre appuy que du nom du Prince ſon Maître, & de l'equité de la cauſe dont il eſt chargé; je n'ay pourtant pas voulu manquer à luy donner comme par ſurabondance de droit, cette recommendation auprès de V. E. autant pour ſatisfaire à mon devoir envers ſon Alteſſe le Prince d'Orange, que pour me faire honneur de la confiance avec laquelle je croy avoir encore quelque part dans le Souvenir & l'amitié de V. E. Je pourrois bien l'aſſurer, qu'en faiſant juſtice à ſon Alteſſe, la Cour d'Eſpagne obligera un Prince dont les grandes qualités egalent la grandeur de la naiſſance, & qui ſera un jour en etat de reconnoître les bontez qu'on aura à preſent pour luy: Ajouteray-je, que ce Prince prend deja beaucoup de part au bon train que prennent les affaires d'Eſpagne, de tels ſentimens quand ils ſeroient ſeuls, meritent que ſa perſonne ſoit cherie, & qu'au lieu de le rebuter par des traitemens qui ſentent l'injuſtice, on embraſſe*

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reſs him ſo much in what regards the King my Maſter. And your Excellency's Favour in this Affair cannot be deſired with greater Inſtance, nor by one who is more than I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's, &c.

cette occaſion de l'obliger. Je ne ſçaurois recommander ſes interêts à une perſonne plus genereuſe que V. E. ni qui ſe ſoit toujours plus intereſſée dans tout ce qui a touché de prés le Roy mon Maître. V. E. ne ſçauroit être plus inſtamment priée d'accorder ſa faveur, ni par une perſonne qui lui ſoit plus acquiſe, & qui ſoit avec plus de paſſion que je ſuis, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R, *Hague, May.* 6. *N. S.* 1670.

I Have newly receiv'd yours of the 23d paſt, with a former of the 19th, which brought me ſome Marginal Additions upon the Paper I laſt ſent into *Zealand* concerning the Buſineſs of *Surinam*. As to the Words, *The* Dutch *Nation inhabiting there*, which are conformable with the Style of the *States* laſt Letter to his Majeſty upon that Subject; I queſtion not to get them inſerted, in caſe the *Zealanders* come to a Concluſion upon my Paper; tho' they ſay, it already contains ſeveral Points more than our firſt Demands.

For the Words, *Ou quelque autre*, concerning the Perſon by whom his Majeſty will ſend the Orders; I ſuppoſe they will paſs too; in caſe the Intentions are not to employ any of thoſe three Perſons for the carrying them, againſt whom the *Dutch* at firſt excepted.

For the other Words which determine the Rendition of the Colony, to be that made by Major *Banniſter*, *April* 21, 1668. I muſt ſay freely, that I have very little Hopes of gaining it; having formerly employ'd my Strength upon it without any Succeſs, ſo much as with the Deputies of *Holland*, or of any other Provinces which have expreſſed the moſt eaſy Compliance with our Demands: And they ever thought it very hard that having yielded to our Demands, of exporting Slaves, contrary to all Cuſtoms formerly practiſed in that Colony, and upon the diſputed Senſe of an Article; we ſhould preſs them to carry away likewiſe thoſe very Slaves which they themſelves had furniſhed us with, though they offer to repay more than the Price they coſt. And upon my Inſtances upon this Matter, their Anſwer was, That there was no need of diſtinguiſhing the Renditions of the Colony; ſince the Meaning of their Letter was, that what Slaves had been furniſhed by the *Dutch* ſhould be left, and the reſt ſhould be carried off: So that if none were by them furniſhed between the firſt and ſecond Rendition, then none were to be left; but if any were, then thoſe to be left, as well as ſuch as had been furniſhed by the *Dutch* ſince the laſt Rendition. And this Point I am confident was debated by the Deputies, not upon any particular Knowledge of what it imports, but only upon the general Notion and Reaſon of the thing, from which it will be very hard to make them recede: However, I ſhall uſe my Endeavours in it, and be as glad as you can, of any good Offices that I am able to render Major *Banniſter*, though he has been the moſt troubleſome Acquaintance to me, that I have ever had in my Life. I preſſed Monſieur *de Witt*, and the Commiſſioners at our laſt Meeting two Days ſince, and particularly the Deputy of *Zealand*, for the Diſpatch of this Buſineſs: But not having then your Additions to my laſt Paper, I could ſay nothing of them. Monſieur *de Witt* told me, a Conference was appointed this Day between the Commiſſioners of *Holland* and *Zealand* upon this Buſineſs.

On *Sunday* Night laſt the Exchanges were made of the Ratifications of the Concert, with that from *Spain* for the future *Swediſh* Subſidies: But the *Swediſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters having each of them three Originals of the Concert, and not contenting themſelves with authentick Copies, as I had propoſed, I am forced to give you the Trouble of ſending two Originals more of the Ratification of the Concert, to be delivered to the Miniſters of thoſe two *States* upon my receiving the like from them. I will tell you by the way, that I had ſome Reaſon to doubt whether the Ratification you ſent me would paſs or no, though I thought it was not fit for me to make you any Scruple upon it, unleſs it were firſt raiſed by the other Miniſters here; and do not know whether it came in that Form by Choice, or by Miſtake: But I am ſure the Ratification as it runs, is only of the Guaranty with its Clauſes, of which the Concert was never taken to be a part, and ſtands in need of a very ſtrong Deduction or Connexion with the Words of the Preface, which indeed mentions the Concert as well as the Guaranty: And you will find it very different from the Ratification which came from *Sweden* (and goes here incloſed) and ſuch as I muſt confeſs, had I been the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, I ſhould not have accepted, tho' neither he nor the *Swediſh* Miniſter have yet taken Notice of it. I thought not fit to communicate it to Monſieur *de Witt*, till the Day before the Exchange was to be made, becauſe I knew it could not eſcape him, and did it then only between our ſelves: And he immediately checked when he came to the Words, *Supra memoratam Garantiam*; and obſerved that there wanted the Convention about Forces, which was the ſole End of their Ratification; and thereupon he ſaid immediately, * *Cela n'eſt pas comme il faut*: But comparing it with thoſe in the Preface, he ſaid at laſt, † *Cela peut ſuffire*; and wiſh'd that others were no more ſcrupulous than he, where he knew the Intentions were good: And ſo he made no farther Mention of it upon our Exchange of the Ratifications; which I believe proceeded in him from the ill Conſequence he foreſaw might ariſe upon the Diſcovery of a Weakneſs of our Inſtrument in this Conjuncture, when our Intentions in this Affair are ſomething more ſuſpected than you aſſure me they deſerve.

* *This is not as it ſhould be.*
† *This may do.*

I hear the Town of *Amſterdam* has conſented to Monſieur *Van Beuningben*'s Journey; but ſhall not be able to give you an Aſſurance of it till my next, and content my ſelf now with that of my being always,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague*, *May* 15. *N. S.* 1670.

THE Knowledge of your Lordſhip's Abſence from Town, has given you of late more Eaſe than otherwiſe I intended; and your Trouble now begins upon the firſt Advice I had of your Return, which was by your Lordſhip's of the 29th paſt: By which I find the Suſpicion you have conceived there, of the late *Spaniſh* Anſwer to his Majeſty, having been indited at the *Hague*: And withal you deſire to know ſomething more particular of Monſieur *Van Beuningben*'s Errand into *England*. The firſt I am confident is without other Ground, than a common Opinion we have conceived of more *Fineſſe* than I have yet obſerved in the chief Miniſters here, who are as hard and as firm as you can imagine them; but for Tricks or Juggling, I do not obſerve either their Abilities or their Diſpoſitions lie much that way; nor I believe does any wiſe Man's, unleſs he be brought to it by the ill Condition or Neceſſity of his Affairs, and finds no other way of living; which is not yet their Caſe here, nor will be I ſuppoſe while *Flanders* is preſerved: And ſo long I ſhall look upon them as Merchants in good Eſtate and Credit, and who will endeavour to keep it up by ſquare Dealing: But whenever they fail in that Adventure, I ſhall grow as jealous of them as I ſee others are. I have enquired particularly of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and am aſſured by him, that all Monſieur *de Witt*'s Diſcourſes upon that Subject of the late Anſwer from *Spain*, agreed perfectly with what he made me upon the ſame Occaſion: And I know, the *States* Deputies at *Bruſſels* had immediate Orders from hence to apply themſelves very earneſtly to the *Conſtable* for the Redreſs of that Fault: And I dare ſay, whoever thinks that theſe Men here will quit a Point of Intereſt for a Point of Honour, has taken a wrong Meaſure of them. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador bids me be aſſured, That the Anſwer from *Spain* will be amended, and come in all Points to his Majeſty's Satisfaction: He goes this Day from hence towards *Bruſſels*, being haſten'd thither by an Expreſs from the *Conſtable*, who I believe intends to make uſe of him in the *Junto* there; upon whom I hear he will wholly devolve all his publick Buſineſs: Having taken an Atteſtation from his Phyſicians, that his ill Health has render'd him wholly uncapable of charging himſelf any longer with it.

For Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Errand into *England*, I ſuppoſe the Riſe of it was of an old Date; and occaſioned a good deal by my laying often to their Charge, the want of Reſpect they ſhewed his Majeſty in the Choice of the Miniſters they ſent into *England*, who are ſeldom of the Province of *Holland*, or of thoſe Perſons moſt conſider'd in this *State*. Beſides, when I found I was not able to bring the Buſineſs of our Marine Treaty to ſuch a Concluſion as we propoſed, though I failed but in one Article (which yet it ſeems is thought to import the whole of our Pretenſions there) I told them here, that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to treat it in *England*, and bring it to ſome Iſſue there: And for that Purpoſe, to ſend ſome able Perſon over, who being perfectly intruſted in it from hence, might debate it there with Perſons as well inſtructed on our Side. Upon theſe Grounds Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Journey was thought fit above a Year ago; but his being choſen *Burgomaſter* of *Amſterdam* about the ſame time, made him then abſolutely refuſe it. Since his Year expired, my Inſtances ſtill continuing for a Concluſion in our *Eaſt-India* Buſineſs; and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*'s Papers upon the ſame Subject keeping Life in it from time to time, Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* began about two Months ſince to ſhew ſome Inclination to the Journey; which has been purſued very earneſtly by the *States* here, and eſpecially by Monſieur *de Witt*, till it came lately on all Sides to be reſolved on: So as your Lordſhip muſt reckon, that the avowed Errand will be the Buſineſs of the *Eaſt-India* Company, and the clearing that part of the Marine Treaty which ſo long proved too hard for me here. Beſides, this will be the Complement they pretend to make his Majeſty, in ſending a Perſon of ſo much Account amongſt them, as Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*: And with the Orders of *Surinam*, which they here reckon upon as a perfect Peace of Compliance with his Majeſty. And this is the Account they give the *French* Ambaſſador of this Journey; adding a good deal of Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Inclination to ſee *Eugland* in this Seaſon.

That which is farther meant by it, is, Firſt in general to inform themſelves perfectly of our Temper in the Purſuit of thoſe Ends we have been theſe two or three Years laſt engaged in: And which many Diſcourſes and Reflections of late have made them a little ſuſpect, does not continue ſo equal and ſo warm as it began. And in this Regard it will be his Buſineſs to uſe his beſt and moſt perſuaſive Oratory to confirm us in the Purſuit of thoſe common Intereſts abroad, which we have of late ſo much advanced by our *Triple Alliance*, and the Dependences of it: And in ſhort, to perſuade us, that it is more our Honour and our Intereſt to lead than to follow. In purſuit of this, he will I believe endeavour to diſpoſe us to accept a Conjunction with ſuch Princes of the *Empire* as deſire it, upon ſuch Meaſures as are propoſed in the late Project I ſent your Lordſhip drawn up by Monſieur *de Witt*: Though I have made ſo good way in defending you upon this Point, that I believe it would not coſt much Trouble there, unleſs you are willing to enter farther into it than you ſeemed of late.

Another Point, and that which I believe he will moſt eagerly purſue, is the Prohibition of *French* Commodities, upon which his particular Imagination has been long bent, as the only ſure and eaſy way of bringing the *French* Power and Riches into Decay, in caſe the thing could be agreed on among all or the greateſt part of their Neighbours: And this *State* having ſounded the *Spaniſh* Court upon that Point, received Anſwer, That whatever *England* and they ſhould agree upon, *Spain* would readily join with them in it: By which means they ſuppoſe, that beſides what would be ſaved by both our Nations, by ſtopping the vaſt Importation of *French* Commodities; a very great Traffick would be gained by exporting our own, to furniſh the *Spaniſh* Fleet, which ſupplies their *Weſt-Indies* every Year in a great meaſure with Commodities brought them from *France.* The Reſolutions of this *State* go as yet no farther, as I can hear, than to all ſorts of wearing Goods and Brandy; nor do I know whether this it ſelf will be brought to Execution, before they are ſatisfied how far we are likely to join with them in it; after which, the Conſiderations of Wine and Salt will likewiſe come in play.

Beſides theſe Publick Matters, I doubt you will likewiſe be purſued about Mr. *Honywood*'s Widow, who is Daughter to a *Burgomaſter* of *Amſterdam*, and ſo moſt properly under Monſieur *Van Beuningben*'s Protection, eſpecially being a young and handſome Widow; which I hear will tempt her to go over with him her ſelf, and plead her own Cauſe.

I do not think the Intentions of his Journey go farther than what I have mentioned, unleſs he be invited to any thing upon the Place, or by ſome new Accident from abroad. In the mean time, to do him right, we ſhall have a great deal of Reaſon to welcome him, becauſe he has very induſtriouſly employ'd himſelf in helping us to gain our Point upon the Buſineſs of *Surinam* which was yeſterday reſolved on by the *States General*, though the Province of *Zealand* proteſted againſt it: And beſides, nothing has given us ſo hopeful a Proſpect of the Prince's good Fortunes here, as the Support of the Town of *Amſterdam*, ſo declared, and ſo warm in his preſent Concernment; towards which I am confident Monſieur *Van Beuningben* has very much contributed, as being a Perſon of very great Influence in that City. The State of that whole Buſineſs is ſo well and ſo fully ſet down in the Paper of Intelligence, that I am ſure I cannot amend it, and therefore will not repeat it.

Your Lordſhip will know by the incloſed, that Monſieur *de St. Evremont* ſet out this Morning towards *England*, with the *Portugal* Ambaſſador likewiſe, who both accompany Monſieur *d'Opdam* as far as *Nieuport*, and there embark for *Dover*, whilſt he goes on to meet the *French* King at *Dunkirk* with the *States* Complements.

I am ever, my Lord, your, &c.

P. S. I had forgot to tell your Lordſhip, that another part of Monſieur *Van Beuningben*'s Inſtructions will be, to endeavour all that can be, that this *State* may be admitted into a Conjunction with his Majeſty for the Purſuit of the *Algerins*, till they are reduced to the Neceſſity of a Peace with both.

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR,

Hague, May 27. N. S. 1670.

I Have this Day received yours of the 13th current, with the Account of my Lord of *Eſſex*'s Treatment in paſſing the *Sound*; which, if wholly new, was what we had very little Reaſon to expect from that Crown ſince the Change of their Miniſtry: Though there are ſome Reports here that they intend to keep up a cloſe Intelligence with *France*, for fear of the *Swede*; whoſe Forces give them at this time, it ſeems, ſome Jealouſy. I will hope, my Lord of *Eſſex* may receive the Satisfaction he demands, however he will have that of having diſcharged his part upon this Occaſion with the Conſtancy that became him.

I do not queſtion but you will receive a wiſer Anſwer, as you ſay, from *Spain*; and wiſh they could find wiſer Men to encharge with their great Affairs and Governments, than you will ſee they do by the Accounts I know you receive from *Bruſſels*, of the *Conſtable*'s late Caprices in order to his return for *Spain*. It is here variouſly diſcourſed who ſhall ſucceed him: The old *Empreſs* and Prince *Charles* of *Lorain* being ſtill in Name among ſome others; either of which, or both together, as it is talk'd of, ſeeming the beſt Choice that can now be made by the Crown of *Spain.* It is wiſh'd here that his Majeſty would further it all he can by the Offices of his Miniſter in that Court.

Yeſterday the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Secretary came to communicate to me a Letter he had received from the Ambaſſador at *Bruſſels*; taking notice, that upon a more particular Obſervation of our late Ratification of the Concert, the Date of it was preceding to that of the Concert it ſelf, ſigned by me here at the *Hague*, which was the laſt of *January*, N. S. whereas the Ratification at *Weſtminſter* bears Date the 7th of *January*, O. S. And this Remark of the Ambaſſador's I find to be true, by comparing it with the Copy of the Ratification that lies by me: And doubt not but the Miſtake only was of the Month of *January* for *February*, in the Ratification you ſent me over. Whereupon I aſſured the Secretary, there could be no Difficulty in the Redreſs of it, and he deſired me to endeavour it as ſoon as I could, and I hope the Notice of it may come time enough to prevent the ſame Miſtake in the Inſtruments intended for *Sweden* and *Holland*, as well as to procure a new one for *Spain*.

I could not by the laſt Poſt give you the Certainty of the Iſſue in the Prince of *Orange*'s Affair, the *States of Holland* not riſing till one a Clock that Night, after the warmeſt Debates which have been known among them for many Years: However, the Towns which favour the *Prince* having the Plurality of Voices, and *Amſterdam* in the Head of them, at length carried their Point, and brought it to a Reſolution, that the *Prince* ſhould have Seſſion in the Council of State with a deciſive Voice; and ſhould have the ſame Place his Anceſtors were uſed to. After this was reſolved on, that Party which the moſt oppoſed the Prince's Intereſt, ſtarted two new Points: The firſt, That no Captain-General ſhould be choſen otherwiſe than from Year to Year, but by Unanimity of Voices. And ſecondly, That in caſe the Prince ſhould be choſen Captain-General for Life, then it ſhould be again debated and reſolved by Plurality of Voices, whether he ſhould continue his Seſſion in the Council of State. And theſe two Points were agreed to by all the Towns excepting four or five, in which Number were *Amſterdam* and *Haerlem*; who maintain, That they were not now to be reſolved, but then only when thoſe Matters came in Queſtion. The *States of Holland* being ſeparated after theſe Reſolutions, the Execution of that concerning the Prince's entrance into the Council of State, will remain in the *States General*, and conſequently receive no Oppoſition that I can foreſee: And though it bears no great Name, yet I take it to be of that Importance, as to leave his Highneſs's future Fortunes in a manner wholly dependent upon his own Carriage and Perſonal Qualities, which give hitherto all the Signs that can be of advancing, and not impairing them.

In the Courſe of this Buſineſs, Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* has ſo much provoked the ill Will and Opinion of theſe Towns which were contrary to the Prince, that they had almoſt reſolved to make a Stop of his Journey; but that is now over, and he prepares to be gone the end of this Week: And will not deſerve to be leſs welcome in *England* for what has lately paſſed here, tho' perhaps it may not be to his Advantage, nor to the Prince's neither, to give him any too publick Teſtimonies of it. He gave me Hopes on *Sunday* Night, that to Morrow the Buſineſs of *Surinam* would be ended, according to the Form I drew up in Purſuit of our laſt Conference, which I here ſend you encloſed: Though he told me there would be Difficulty in the Point of Major *Banniſter*'s landing with ſo much Liberty as is inſiſted on: And therefore he preſſed me hard to be content with either remaining aboard his Ships, or elſe lodging in the Fort till his Affairs were diſpatched, where all Convenience ſhould be provided him: But I refuſed both; and ſo left the Thing with him in the Form it now runs.

I am, Sir, your, &c.

To my Lord Berkeley.

My Lord, *Hague, May 30. N. S. 1670.*

THough I know your Excellency would eaſily forgive me a Commiſſion which might ſave you a Trouble in the midſt of many others that are a great deal more neceſſary: Yet I could not forgive my ſelf if I ſhould any longer delay giving your Lordſhip the Aſſurances how great a part I take in all your Fortunes, and conſequently how much I have ſhared in the general Satisfaction which I hear you have both left in *England,* and found in *Ireland,* upon your late entring upon the Government of that Kingdom. I am not only much pleaſed with it upon a private Score, as one of your Lordſhip's Servants, but as having always had the beſt Wiſhes for the publick Good of that Country, and his Majeſty's Service in the Eſtabliſhment of it: Both which will, I am confident, thrive very much in your Lordſhip's Hands; not only in regard of the great Experience and Abilities which are ſo generally allowed you; but becauſe you are too rich as well as too generous to loſe the Merit and Glory of great and honeſt Actions, in the Cares of your own private Fortunes: For this has too often given an Alloy both to the Worth and Succeſs of ſeveral of your Lordſhip's Predeceſſors; and contributed chiefly to the Unhappineſs of the Governors as well as of the Country; both which I hope you will have the Honour to reſtore. I cannot but obſerve to your Lordſhip, that I find by a general Conſent of the Merchants here, that *Ireland* runs every Year an eighth Part in Debt by importing ſo much beyond its Exportation; which being to be drawn out in Coin, will be a certain though ſlow Conſumption of the Treaſure of that Kingdom; unleſs remedied by ſumptuary Laws or Examples for leſſening the Importation of Foreign Commodities; or elſe, Induſtry for encreaſing the Native, which are either conſumed at home, or carried abroad: The firſt is like Diet, but the other like Exerciſe, to an indiſpoſed Body, which is the way of acquiring Strength and Vigour; whereas the former gives but barely Health. I believe the two great Improvements to be made in *Ireland,* are of the *Fiſhing* and the *Linen* Trade; this to keep our Mony at home, and that to fetch more in from abroad. If your Lordſhip thinks theſe Particulars worth your Care, and that I can contribute towards them by any Lights and Aſſiſtances from hence; I ſhall be glad upon that or any other Occaſion to receive your Commands.

I have given my Secretary Order to make an Extract of the News which either ariſes here, or comes to me by Letters from Foreign Parts; which ſhall go Weekly to you, if you think it worth the Trouble, and will pleaſe in return to do me the Juſtice of eſteeming me what I am with much Truth and Paſſion,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt

obedient humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Jun. 3. N. S. 1670.*

I Was extreme glad to find by your Lordſhip's of the 16th paſt, ſome Aſſurance of your Recovery: And whatever the Name of your Illneſs was, will believe the Nature of it could not be very bad, ſince it left you ſo ſoon: After which I will trouble you no more with my Remedies; nor ſhall I need any my ſelf after ſo great a one as your Lordſhip has given me by the Knowledge of your own and my Lady's Health: For which I make you my particular Acknowledgments.

By obſerving the Winds, I gueſs Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* will, before this arrives, have given your Lordſhip the Account himſelf of his leaving the *Hague* on *Sunday* Night, and ſetting Sail I ſuppoſe on *Monday* Evening; unleſs Madam *Honywood* made him ſtay ſome Hours longer, who had appointed to be with him by that time from *Amſterdam*. I will ſay nothing in Favour of her Pretenſion, but that ſhe is Daughter to the ancienteſt Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam*, who has expreſſed the greateſt Paſſion of any other of the *States*, in Favour of the Prince of *Orange*'s late Concerment, and may perhaps thereby deſerve ſome Mark of his Majeſty's Favour, which I aſſure you I ſay wholly of my ſelf: For my good Offices in her Buſineſs were not at all thought worth engaging, ſince Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* undertook it, as I ſuppoſe he has done by their joining Company. Your Lordſhip will find nothing to leſſen your Eſteem of his Perſon, unleſs it be, that he is not always ſo willing to hear as to be heard; and out of the abundance of his Imagination is apt ſometimes to *Reaſon* a Man to Death: Which I tell your Lordſhip before-hand, that you may not fall into any Prejudice before you know him well: And on the other ſide, I have taken ſome Care to prevent his employing that Talent too much in your Converſations. For the reſt, you will find him *Fort honnête homme*; one that puts all the Good of his Country upon maintaining and cultivating his Majeſty's Alliance; and who, upon the Prince's Occaſion will deſerve the good Will of our Court.

For his manner of negotiating, I am confident you will find him not ill-bred, nor offering to impoſe his Meaſures, as you call them, upon us: But after any Propoſitions and Reaſons he ſhall lay before you, will rather tell you that you are Maſters of all; and that the *States* will in all Things that concern our Neighbours, perfectly follow thoſe his Majeſty ſhall take.

Whatever Reception the *States* Propoſal about the *Algerins* meets with in *England*; I wiſh to God ſome better Order were taken for preſerving our Honour in the *Mediterranean*: For, what with the ill Conduct of our Captains, that they ſay will turn Merchants, leaving our Merchants to play the Men of War, and with the late ſhameleſs Loſs of the *Sapphire*: I aſſure your Lordſhip, the Reputation of our Sea-Affairs and Men, decays abroad to a Degree that is very ſenſible I am ſure to me, and I doubt will hardly recover without ſome new and ſevere Diſcipline or Examples.

The Prince of *Orange* was introduced into the Council of State on *Saturday* laſt, and with the Circumſtances which he is very well pleaſed with. He reſolves upon his Journey into *England* about the latter end of this Month, or beginning of next: But will not fix the Time till the Penſioner's Return from *Groningue* about ten Days hence.

I am, my Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Jun. 17. N. S. 1670.*

I Was very glad to hear this Morning of your Lordſhip's being well arrived in Town; where I hope the Diverſions of your late Journey have returned you with ſuch an Encreaſe of Health as is neceſſary for the Support of your great Affairs, *Y para mi conſuelo*. Many *French* have lately paſs'd this Way ſince the Return of that Court; ſome who attended *Madame* into *England*, and extremely applauded her Reception there, and his Majeſty's great Gracioufneſs to thoſe of her Train. The Count *d'Eſtrades* came likewiſe three Days ſince, but I think barely on a Viſit to his old Home; or if he has any Buſineſs, it is particular, and at *Amſterdam*. I find, they all agree in aſſuring us of the Peace, as long as we can aſſure them of the King of *Spain*'s Life: But in giving us fair Warning that whenever that fails, their Maſter will march into the reſt of *Flanders* without any Circumſtance, and poſſeſs himſelf of it if he can. This Knowledge, and that of the King of *Spain*'s late Sickneſs, have given them ſome Perplexity here, which is much relieved by this Day's News of his Recovery. But we find nothing yet towards the Redreſs of the late untoward Anſwer upon the Arbitrage.

The Prince of *Orange* continues ſtill the Talk as well as the Deſires of his Journey into *England*: But has of late been very earneſt to know my Opinion, whether he be like to procure any Satisfaction in his Pretenſions there; ſaying, as I gueſs, induſtriouſly, that all his beſt Friends here are of Opinion, that in Caſe that ſhould wholly fail him, his Journey into *England* would prove of great Prejudice to his Affairs here, by letting his Friends ſee how little he is conſidered by his Majeſty, whoſe Countenance will be a great Support to him in the Courſe of his Fortunes.

I durſt not offer his Highneſs the leaſt Judgment of my own upon this Matter; aſſuring him I was wholly ignorant of all his Majeſty's Affairs, beſides what related to this Country; and particularly of the preſent State of his Revenue, or how much the late Supplies have contributed towards the Eaſe of it: Upon which the Prince ſeemed very deſirous that I would touch this Point to your Lordſhip, ſo as to have your Thoughts upon it before he goes. This I ſuppoſe proceeds chiefly from the *Princeſs Dowager*, who declared her Opinion poſitively to me ſome Weeks ago upon this Matter, to the ſame Purpoſe; and I hear, perſiſts in it; which yet ſhe does not in all things. For I can aſſure your Lordſhip, ſhe now profeſſes to be the moſt ſatisfied that can be with my Conduct in relation to the Prince, and makes me more Acknowledgments than are fit for me to receive; ſince I pretend only not to have ſpoiled his Buſineſs, which it had been the eaſieſt thing in the World for an *Engliſh* Miniſter here to have done. I wiſh to God he do nothing towards the Prejudice of it himſelf, by Advice of younger or warmer Heads: For this is a Country where Fruit ripens ſlowly, and cannot be preſerved if it be gather'd green. I am very confident from his laſt, as well as the preſent Diſpoſitions I here diſcern, that his Fortunes are in his own Hands; and I hope he will make great Advantages in the Conduct of them, by your Lordſhip's Advices when he ſees you in *England*, of whoſe Prudence and Virtues he will go over with a very full Perſuaſion.

Monſieur *de Witt* returned yeſterday to Town, after fifteen Days Abſence at *Groningue*, about the compoſing ſome Differences in that Province. * *There is a violent Humour runs againſt him of late in the Town of* Amſterdam, *upon Pretext of his growing too far into the Sway of all Affairs in this State by ſo long a Miniſtry; and of advancing his own Friends into Offices and Places of Truſt, with too much Induſtry. But I ſuppoſe the Bottom of this is the ſame with that of all popular Humours; that is, a Deſign in the Leaders to change the Scene, that ſo thoſe who have been long employ'd may make room for thoſe who have been long out. I am not of Opinion they will ſucceed to prejudice him ſuddenly; both becauſe his chief Enemies acknowledge his great Abilities and Uſefulneſs to the State, and becauſe he will always have it in his Power to fall in very conſiderably with the Prince's Intereſt, which the other Party pretends to promote: Tho' in ſuch a Caſe his Highneſs would have a hard Choice with which Wind to ſail: As indeed he is likely to fall into Conjunctures here that will require all his Prudence.*

* *This was a Year or two before he was maſſacred.*

I thought fit to ſay thus much at once to your Lordſhip, that ſo you may the better know what to make of twenty Reports that may ariſe upon theſe Occaſions. Tho' it will I think after all be our Parts both in *England* and here, to ſeem the leaſt we can concerned in them, farther than our Wiſhes to the perfect Union of a *State* we are ſo near allied to; which we may I ſuppoſe own our Opinion of, that it will never be compaſſed but by taking in the Prince's Intereſts, as far as can conſiſt with the Liberty of the *State*: And making ſuch a Perſon of him, as may in Title, Expence, and other Circumſtances, repreſent the Dignity of their Commonwealth.

I am ever,

My Lord, your, &c.

To the Earl of Northumberland.

My Lord, *Hague, Jun. 17. N. S. 1670.*

BY the ſame Poſt which brought me the Honour of a late Letter from your Lordſhip, I received from other Hands the News of my Lord of *Northumberland*'s having left you to the Succeſſion of all his Honours and Fortunes; which gives me the Occaſion of acknowledging your Lordſhip's Favour and Memory; and at the ſame time of condoling with you upon the Loſs of a Father, whoſe great Virtues and Qualities muſt needs have made ſo many Sharers with you in this Affliction. I hope the Help which is given your Lordſhip by ſo many of your Servants and Friends upon this Occaſion, will ſerve to eaſe your own Part in it: And that after all that can be offer'd up to Decency, and to the Memory of ſo great and excellent a Perſon, this will find your Lordſhip rather taken up with the Imitation of his Virtues, than the bewailing of his Loſs: Since this is but what he owed to Nature and to Age, and to the Courſe of long Infirmities; and the other is what will be due from your Lordſhip all your Life, to your Birth, your Family, and your ſelf. Nor indeed can ever ſo much depend upon ſo few Paces, as will now, upon thoſe your Lordſhip ſhall make at your firſt ſetting out: Since all Men will be preſaging by them the Courſe of your Journey, as they will have indeed Influence upon the Eaſe as well as the Direction of it. For my own part, I expect a great Increaſe of your Lordſhip's perſonal Honour upon this Occaſion: And that having been ſo excellent a Son of a Family, you will ſhew your ſelf the ſame in being now a Father of it; ſince nothing makes Men fit to command, like having learn'd to obey; and the ſame good Senſe and good Diſpoſitions make Men ſucceed well in all the ſeveral Offices of Life. Thoſe I know will be your Lordſhip's Safety in entring upon a Scene, where you will find many Examples to avoid, and few to imitate: For I have yet ſeen none ſo generally corrupted as ours at this time, by a common Pride and Affectation of deſpiſing and laughing at all Face of Order, and Virtue, and Conformity to Laws; which after all, are Qualities that moſt conduce both to the Happineſs of a publick State, and the Eaſe of a private Life.

But your Lordſhip will, I hope, make a great Example, inſtead of needing other than thoſe of your own Family, to which ſo much Honour, Order and Dignity, have been very peculiar; as well as the Conſequences of them in the general Applauſe, and the particular Eſteem of all thoſe who have had the Honour to know and obſerve it. Among whom there is none more deſirous to expreſs that Inclination by his Services, nor that has more of it at Heart than,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful

and moſt humble Servant.

To the Great Duke of Tuſcany.

Hague, Jun. 27.
SIR, *N.S. 1670.*

HAving ſo long taken part in whatever concerns the Perſon or Intereſts of your moſt ſerene Highneſs, I could not fail to condole with you for your great Loſs, whereof all *Chriſtendom* would have been ſenſible to the laſt degree, if the Grief for ſuch an

Au Grand Duc de Toſcane.

De la Haye, 27 Juin.
Monſieur, S. N. 1670.

AYant pris depuis long tems une auſſi grande part dans tout ce qui touche la perſonne ou les interêts de V. A. Sme. je ne pouvois manquer à m'affliger avec elle à l'occaſion de la perte qu'elle vient de faire, & qui eſt telle, que la Chrêtienté en ſeroit inconſolable, ſi la douleur

an Accident were not leſſen'd by the Succeſſion of a Prince who has left ſuch Impreſſions of his Perſon and Merits where-ever he has appeared, as will never be worn out.

'Tis true, ſuch is the Compoſition of human Things, that nothing is pure or without Mixture; ſo that even upon this Occaſion I ſee ſome Ground to mix my Congratulation with my Condolence, when I conſider that your Highneſs has finiſhed your Travels before the Acceſſion of this glorious Charge. Your Highneſs has added to your Birth and Wit, all the Advantages that the Commerce of Strangers is accuſtomed to give; and you now find Occaſion for the Exerciſe of all, towards the Government of your Subjects. My Wiſhes and Applauſes ſhall not be wanting to your Highneſs; though I know your Conduct and good Fortune will give me little Occaſion but for the latter, as your Highneſs's great Qualities have already given me a great deal, to be,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's moſt humble
and moſt faithful Servant.

douleur d'un evenement ſi triſte n'etoit ſoulagée par l'idée du Prince qui vient remplir la ſucceſſion; on ſçait que c'eſt un Prince qui a laiſſé de ſa perſonne & de ſon merite par tout ou il a paru des impreſſions qui ne s'effaceront jamais.

Il eſt vray, que telle eſt la compoſition des choſes humaines, que rien n'y eſt pur & ſans melange; le bien & le mal ne ſe laiſſent guere gouter ſeparement. En cette rencontre donc je vois dequoy meler mes congratulations à mes condoleances; je fonde les premieres ſur ce que V. E. S^{me} *avoit achevé tous ſes voyages lors qu'un ſi glorieux fardeau luy eſt tombé en partage. Elle à ajouté au bonheur de ſa naiſſance, & à la penetration de ſon eſprit, tout ce que le commerce & la comparaiſon de divers etrangers chez qui elle avoit ſejourné, a accoutumé de donner. Cette riche moiſſon etant à peine faite, tant de talens ſont mis en ouvrage, & V. A. ſe voit à preſent obligée de les conſacrer au ſoin du gouvernement de ſes Sujets. Mes voeux & mes applaudiſſemens ne manqueront jamais à V. A. quoy que ſa conduite & ſa proſperité me repondent que je ne feray uſage que de ces derniers: Ses grandes qualitez avoient deja fourni beaucoup de motifs d'être,*

Monſieur,

De V. A. S^{me} le tres humble
& tres fidelle Serviteur.

To Sir William Godolphin.

My Lord, *Hague, July 3. N. S. 1670.*

I Have not had any thing of late worth your Trouble, nor any of yours by me to acknowledge; tho' I ſhould have been glad to have received from your Hand the Aſſurance of what comes to me more uncertainly from others, of the *Catholic King*'s perfect Recovery, and the Junto's Diſpoſition to admit ſimply of his Majeſty's and the King of *Sweden*'s Arbitrage; as was propoſed. The great Deadneſs of the Seaſon in point of News would have excuſed you this Trouble, but that the *Swediſh* Miniſter here begins to purſue me hard for my Offices toward the *Spaniſh* Court for the ſecond Payment, which he reckons to be already due by the Expiration of eight Months ſince the Delivery of the Guaranty. But Monſieur *de Witt* and I are both of Opinion, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador's Act may very well be conſtrued to ſignify eight Months from the ſigning of the Concert, which *Spain* always inſiſted upon as an eſſential Part of the Guaranty; and to begin the Payments only upon the ſigning of it, which was the laſt of *January* paſt; by which Calculation the ſecond Payment will grow due at the end of next *September*. But this is fitter to be argued by *Spain* than by us: And that which is more neceſſary, is for them to provide ſo as the Money may be ready here by that Term, to recover by the Fairneſs and

Eaſe of this Payment, the Credit they loſt in *Sweden* by the Difficulties of the laſt. In the mean time, if you can perſuade the *Spaniſh* Court to ſignify to the *Swediſh* Miniſter either there or here, that they have been put in mind of it by you; and to have it ſo much in their Care as to provide that it ſhall not fail at the end of *September*, which they take to be the Term it grows due; you will I ſuppoſe perform an Office both neceſſary and grateful to all the Parties intereſſed in that Affair. The *Dutch* would have enjoin'd it to their Miniſter, if they had any preſent at *Madrid*; the want of which gives you more than your ſhare in theſe Tranſactions. They would fain engage Monſieur *Beverning* to accept of that Employment; which I wiſh for your ſake, but I doubt its ſucceeding.

The Prince of *Orange* intends to go for *England* about the End of this Month; and my Lord *Oſſory* is ſhortly expected here to attend him in his Journey. I am always,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant.

To the Earl of Eſſex.

My Lord, *Hague, July.* 7. *N. S.* 1670.

I Have received by this laſt Poſt the Favour of one from your Excellency of the 18th. paſt, which gives me the Hopes of a ſudden Diſpatch in your preſent Negotiations, and the very welcome News of your Intention to paſs this way in your Return; where I ſhall be very glad to find the Occaſions I deſire of ſerving your Lordſhip in a Place that indeed better deſerves a paſſing Viſit than any long Abode.

Your Excellency will have received by a former Letter my Condolements upon my Lord *Northumberland*'s Death, which indeed was very untimely for himſelf, his Family, and his Friends. But if we needed greater Examples how little Defence is to be found againſt that Enemy either from Greatneſs or from Youth; we ſhould have receiv'd a very ſufficient, as well as a very ſad one by an Expreſs which brought this Morning the News of *Madame*'s Death, by particular Letters both to the *States* and to the Prince of *Orange*.

The *French* Courier being not expected till to morrow Morning, I have not yet received any Letter of it from my Lord Ambaſſador at *Paris*; and therefore ſhall give your Lordſhip the Relation juſt as it comes in the Prince's Letter, which ſays, That on *Sunday* laſt, being the 29th of *June*, N. S. *Madame* having eaten very well at Dinner, and continued ſo ſome Hours afterwards; about four a Clock in the Afternoon called for a Glaſs of Succory-Water, which ſhe uſed to take every Day about that Hour; and having drank it off, complained that it was very bitter, and preſently after began to find herſelf ill, and fell into violent Fits of the Cholick; upon which ſhe ſaid, That ſhe was ſure ſhe ſhould die, and immediately ſent for her Confeſſor, and with great Reſolution diſpoſed her ſelf to it, by paſſing through all the Forms of that Church upon ſuch Occaſions. The News of her Highneſs's Illneſs was immediately diſpatch'd from St. *Clou* where the Court then was, and occaſion'd the King's coming preſently to her, who arrived about eight a clock that Night, and brought his chief Phyſician with him; who both began to comfort her Sickneſs, and aſſure her, that her Cholick could not eaſily carry away a Perſon of her Age. But ſhe perſiſted in aſſuring them of her Death, ſpoke a good while ſoftly to the King; and afterwards ſaid aloud, That ſhe had no Regret at all to die; but that her greateſt Trouble was, by ſo hard a Separation to loſe his Majeſty's Friendſhip and good Graces which he had always expreſs'd to her. She ſpoke to Monſieur in the ſame Terms about her great Willingneſs to die; which, ſhe ſaid, was the more, becauſe ſhe had nothing to reproach her ſelf of in her Conduct towards him.

The King left her about ten a Clock at Night, his Phyſician aſſuring him ſhe could not die of a Cholick, or at leaſt not ſo ſuddenly as ſhe ſeemed to apprehend: But her Illneſs and Pain encreaſing, ſhe expired about two a Clock in the Morning, leaving great Sadneſs in that Court, and Regret in all thoſe who had the Honour to know her.

Your Excellency will eaſily imagine how ſenſibly his Majeſty will be touch'd by this Affliction; and therefore I am ſure you will receive the ſame Part in it that I, and all the reſt of his Servants ought to do: Which I ſhall not encreaſe by enlarging upon ſo ſad a Story, farther than by one Particular more of the Prince's Letter; that her Body being opened in the Preſence of ſeveral Perſons, and among them my Lord Ambaſſador, they could not find the Cauſe of ſo ſudden a Death.

Our News from *Bruſſels* is, That the *Conſtable* was to depart from thence on *Saturday* laſt, leaving the Count *de Monterey* Governor of thoſe Countries by the Queen Regent's Commiſſion for the *Interim*, until a new Governour ſhould be ſent from *Spain*, who they give out will be *Don John*, and that he will be there in a very little time, and take upon him that Government for his Life: But the Certainty of this we muſt expect hereafter from *Spain*. The *Daniſh* Envoy here tells me, he intends to go very ſhortly for *Copenhagen*, and that he hopes to find your Excellency there, wherein I confeſs I differ with him. I ſhould be very glad to know whether he did me the Right of conveying a Letter I wrote to Monſieur *Guldenlew*, in anſwer to one I received from him upon his laſt Arrival in *Denmark*. Your Lordſhip will oblige me to let one of your Secretaries inform himſelf from one of his, whether ſuch a Letter was received, without drawing it into any farther Conſequence.

I beſeech your Lordſhip to believe me always what I am with very much Sincereneſs,

My LORD,

Your Excellency's moſt faithful and

moſt humble Servant.

To my Lord Berkeley.

My Lord, *Hague, July. 11. N. S. 1670.*

I Received one from your Excellency of the 11th paſt, by which you were pleaſed both to oblige and inform me: Nor could any thing happen more agreeable to me than an Occaſion of acknowledging as I ought the Favour you there expreſs both to my Friends in *Ireland* and to me: Of which I am equally ſenſible.

I doubt not but your Lordſhip will find in the looſe Poſture of Affairs in *Ireland*, a great Subject for your Prudence and Induſtry; in the Application whereof, I wiſh your Lordſhip all Succeſs and Glory, being incapable at this Diſtance to make any Reflections on Particulars, either the Evils or the Redreſſes: Only as an old Servant, I may have the Liberty of putting your Lordſhip in mind of one Point wherein your Reputation is much concerned, and upon which I doubt you do not much reflect: But if you ſhould continue this luxurious Cuſtom of getting a luſty Boy every Year, People will think that you live like a voluptuous young Man of twenty Years old, and not like a ſtaid and wiſe Governour of a Kingdom: Nor am I very well ſatisfied my ſelf, whether it be a Thing that conſiſts with the Gravity of a Privy Counſellor, much leſs of a Lord Lieutenant. But when I conſider that of ſo good a Race we cannot have too many, I am forced to leave my Cenſures to give your Lordſhip much Joy of your Iriſh-man.

We have nothing here in Diſcourſe but the ſad and ſurprizing News of *Madame*'s Death; of which your Lordſhip will have the Particulars from ſo many Hands, that I will not repeat them; nor enter into the general Reflections that are made upon it in all Places I think, I am ſure here without Scruple or Diſpute.

The *Conſtable* is gone for *Spain*, and left his Government much as he held it: Nor can I judge whether it came from his natural Temper, or ſome contracted Indiſpoſitions: For his Health has been of late the Cover for it: But theſe ſix or eight Months paſt, he has been obſtinate to hear nothing of Buſineſs, returning all that has offered by his neareſt Officers, with * *Quire Matarme?* And paſſing his Time with his Virginals, his Dwarfs, and his Gracioſoes. Some ſay, his Imaginations reached ſo far as to raiſe up Spirits and Aſſaſſins when he was alone.

* Why do you kill me?

If *Spain* has no greater Men, it's pity they have ſo great Uſe of them; for I am ſure, *Non tali Auxilio nec Defenſoribus iſtis Tempus eget*. He has left the Government for the *Interim* by the Queen Regent's Order to the Count *de Monterey* whom he hated; and I hear Count *Marſyn* ſays, he will not obey a Man, † *Qui ne fait que naître*; becauſe he is but twenty eight Years old: But they have ſucceeded ſo ill with one ‡ *Qui ne ſongeoit qu'a mourir*, that I think it will not paſs for a very juſt Exception; and our Friend Count *Marſyn*, who is hot at Hand, will I hope come to himſelf, and help to keep all Things quiet in *Flanders* till *Don John*'s Arrival, which is now talk'd of, but I am not the eaſieſt to believe it.

† Who is but juſt born.

‡ Who thought of nothing but dying.

I beg your Lordſhip's Favour, or rather Juſtice, both to eſteem and uſe me as,

My Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague*, *Jul.* 15. *N. S.* 1670.

I Was very glad to find that the great Meaſure of his Majeſty's Grief upon *Madame*'s Death, was a little leſſened by the Satisfaction he had received, that it had paſſed without *that odious Circumſtance* which was at firſt ſo generally thought to have attended it; and of which I endeavour in my Diſcourſe here to allay the Suſpicions, ſince I ſee his Majeſty is convinced; though it is a very difficult Matter to ſucceed in, after ſo general a Poſſeſſion, which has been much encreaſed by the Princeſs Dowager's Curioſity, to ask her Phyſicians Opinions upon the Relation tranſmitted hither to one of them from his Brother, who is the *Dutch Secretary* at *Paris*; and pretends it came from Dr. *Chamberlain*, though ſomething different from what he tranſmitted into *England*. However it happen'd, it had certainly all the Circumſtances to aggravate the Affliction to his Majeſty; which I am infinitely touch'd with, as well as with the Senſe of an Accident in it ſelf ſo deplorable: But it is a neceſſary Tribute we pay for the Continuance of our own Lives, to bewail the frequent and ſometimes untimely Deaths of our Friends. *Et levius fit Patientia quicquid corrigere eſt nefas.*

The Baron *d'Iſola* parted this Day for *Bruſſels*; from whence he told me he would anſwer your Lordſhip's laſt Letter, by which he pretends to have drawn Confidence of his Propoſal's ſucceeding in *England* with the Temper the *Dutch* had given it here: But he does not preſs the Matter much at preſent, becauſe he does not pretend that the Emperor's Reſolutions are fully taken upon it, nor will be till after the Interview, which is as he ſays about this time contrived between the *Electors* of *Mentz* and *Triers*; where an Envoy from the *Emperor*, another from the Duke of *Lorrain*, and (as the *Baron* pretends) from ſome other *German* Princes, are to intervene, where the Meaſures will be fully taken among them. In caſe his Majeſty ſhould fall into the Thoughts of admitting that Conjunction, as Monſieur *de Witt* tells me he has likewiſe ſome Hopes given him from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*; I think it were beſt however reſerving the Declaration of any ſuch Conſent, until he were very well aſſured of the *Emperor*'s and the other *German* Princes final and firm Reſolutions; which I know not whether we may be confident of learning from the Baron *d'Iſola*, whoſe Buſineſs ſeems to be rather firſt to draw out our Points, and make them his Ground for perſuading his Court to agree with them; and thereby value himſelf both to his Maſter, the *German* Princes, and others, upon his own being the Author of ſo great a Negotiation: And perhaps, if his Majeſty have a mind to ſee the bottom of it, and wiſhes it effected for common Intereſt ſake; he could not do better than to acquaint the *Elector* of *Mentz* privately with his Thoughts upon it, and leave him to make uſe of that Knowledge towards the preparing all Pieces for the Work. For I find that Prince muſt be the Spring of all the Motions that are made in it on the *German* Side: So that all will depend upon his Diſpoſitions and Conduct; which for my part I pretend not to underſtand yet in this Affair: For though his late Envoy here viſited me with great Profeſſions from his Maſter to his Majeſty, and much Civility to me; yet I fell into no ſort of plain or confident Diſcourſe with him upon this Matter; but finding him rather ſhy in it, I reſolved not to be behind-hand with him in that Point: And ſo we parted as wiſe as we met.

By this Day's Poſt I hear, the Count *de Monterey* is declared Governor of *Flanders* by way of *Interim*; which yet may laſt longer than is thought of, according to the ſlowneſs or uncertainty of the *Spaniſh* Councils, eſpecially *Don John* having now finally refuſed to accept that Charge. The Count *Marſyn* I hear, ſays he will not obey a Man *Qui ne ſait que naître*; becauſe the Count *Monterey* is but twenty eight Years old, and therefore ſets on foot already many *Brigues* againſt him both in *Spain* and *Flanders*, which we here fear may produce very ill Effects by increaſing the Diſorders of *Flanders*, and thereby the Temptations of *France*; tho' I hope our Friend, who you know is ſomething hot at Hand, may yet come to himſelf: For methinks his Exception againſt the new Governor is not very juſt, after having ſo long obey'd a Man that thought of nothing but dying; and for ought I hear, was by that Apprehenſion render'd unfitter for his Poſt than any he could have met with to leave in it, without very great Luck. They much perſuade me here to make a Journey to *Bruſſels* in this Conjuncture, having heard me ſpeak of it this Summer, and of having his Majeſty's leave, becauſe they know I am acquainted with thoſe at preſent upon the Scene: I find their Deputies have no Credit there, and come back only with Diſſatisfaction and Complaints: I ſee nothing like to take me up here, when I have obſerved this Aſſembly of the *States* of *Holland*, and what they will do and promiſe further in the Prince's Buſineſs, which a Fortnight will determine, and therefore am well enough enclined to it: But ſhould be much the more, if his Majeſty ſhould think fit to complement the Count *Monterey* upon this Occaſion, and ſave the Expence of an expreſs Perſon, by ſending him a Letter with me to be delivered as one that goes wholly *Incognito*, and without any Character, as was laſt Year intended I ſhould have done to the *Conſtable*: Of which your Lordſhip can eaſily ſatisfy me.

I find the Prince has put off the Thoughts of his Journey till towards the ſitting of the Parliament, upon which your Lordſhip has writ: By whoſe Advice his Highneſs reſolves to ſteer in the Courſe of his Affairs and Motions relating to *England*.

I am ever,

My Lord, your, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR, *Hague, July* 22. *N. S.* 1670.

I Am at once to acknowledge both yours of the 1ſt and 5th current, with the incloſed Names of the *Scotch* Miniſters in the firſt; and in the other the laſt Paper concerted with Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* concerning the Affair of *Surinam.*

Upon what concerns the *Scotch* Miniſters, I gave in yeſterday a Memorial to the *States*; upon which I received this day a Meſſage from them, expreſſing their Readineſs to perform all Parts of their Treaties with his Majeſty; and deſiring to know from me the ſeveral preſent Abodes of the ſaid Perſons, to the end they might direct their Orders to them accordingly. But in this Point I was not able to anſwer them at ſo ſhort Warning, having not yet upon Enquiry heard of any of the three Perſons, excepting *Mackard*, who it ſeems lived ſome Months ſince privately at *Utrecht*; but whether he continues ſtill there or no, I am yet ignorant: And therefore I told the *States* Agent, That I would endeavour to inform my ſelf of their Abodes if I could; but would not take upon me to find them out in any certain Place, ſince it was the Cuſtom and Intereſt of ſuch Men to be as private as they could, and to ſhift often: And therefore I did not ſee any thing like to reach them, but a Publication of their Names, with the *States* Orders for their avoiding theſe Dominions; which at ſome Time and Place or other could not fail of coming to them, and have the ſame Effect that could be expected from a more particular Direction.

I ſpoke with Monſieur *de Witt* this Morning concerning your laſt Paper of *Surinam*, which he peruſed, having not ſeen it before, nor heard any thing of it from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*: And therefore he ſaid, the *States* could not fall upon the Debate of it without knowing upon what Grounds or Conſiderations Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* might have made theſe Changes, ſince his laſt Paper upon this Subject, which they expected would have been final in this Matter. Beſides ſome Point wherein he thought the Style not ſo clear, he obſerved two main Alterations in the Subſtance: The firſt is, that our Ships could not carry * *Des Canons montés dans la Riviere*: Which he ſaid, imports that they might carry what Cannon they pleaſe, ſo they were not mounted, which is not the Buſineſs of an Hour's time; and is contrary (as he ſaid) to your firſt Agreement with Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*. The ſecond was concerning Major *Banniſter*; whoſe Landing is here poſitively allowed with the Liberty of going to his own Colony. Both which were (as he ſays) referred in Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s laſt Paper to the Governour's Diſcretion and Judgment, whether it might be done without Danger to the Colony. Upon both theſe Points we had large Diſcourſes, which ended with his aſſuring me, that he ſhould be the laſt to raiſe any Scruples upon either of them; but doubted that the *Zealanders* might thereupon (eſpecially the laſt concerning Major *Banniſter*) change their late Proteſtations to Clamours, which might occaſion the *States General* to make more Difficulty in theſe Changes, unleſs they were ſatisfied in the Reaſons of them by Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Diſpatches, to which all was of Neceſſity to be referred.

* *Cannons mounted in the River.*

I hear Monſieur *Lionne* entertained the *Dutch* Secretary at *Paris* with the News he had received from *Madrid*, of that Crown's joining this *State* with his Majeſty and *Sweden* in the Arbitrage; and at the ſame time with many Reaſons why his Maſter could not admit of it; tho' he ſaid he had not yet communicated it to him: However the declared Opinion of ſuch a Miniſter ſeems to raiſe a ſtrong Prejudice in the Caſe.

I am ſorry the Buſineſs of *Conventicles* gives you ſo much Trouble, and could wiſh we were at a good End of all ſuch Controverſies, which make his Majeſty appear abroad to have ſo great and conſiderable a number of Subjects that have not learn'd to obey him, and conſequently make up no part of his Strength, but ſeem rather to leſſen it, and amuſe People both at home and abroad with Imaginations of Changes. Yet Monſieur *Van Beuningben* hath repreſented it hither as a Buſineſs which his Majeſty will eaſier maſter than you ſeem to be confident of: But their Intereſt here may help them to believe as well as to deſire it, upon the Expectation of ſo many Perſons and Stocks as will be brought over to them upon this Occaſion; and make as they ſuppoſe a conſiderable Increaſe of their Trade, and Diminution of ours. I am always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To the Count de Monterey.

Hague, *Jul.* 22.
My Lord, *N. S.* 1670.

HAving long taken part in what regards the Perſon and Intereſts of your Excellency, and having heard of your Advancement to ſo great a Charge as that of Governor of the *Netherlands*; I would not fail of giving you Joy, and letting you know the Satisfaction I receive by it upon many Accounts. For, ſince by the Force of the preſent Conjunctures, it will be often neceſſary for me in the Poſt I am in, to have ſomething or other to negotiate with the Governor of *Flanders*, about the common Intereſts; I ſhall be very glad to enter into Buſineſs where I have already enter'd into Friendſhip, and to have to deal with a Perſon who has already given me ſo many Teſtimonies of his fair and prudent manner of tranſacting, as well as of his particular Inclination for confirming the Alliance between the Crowns of both our Maſters, and for the Advancement of their Intereſts, wherein the Welfare and Repoſe of *Chriſtendom* are concern'd. And whereas the good Order of Affairs in *Flanders* is very important to his Majeſty and the other Parties of the *Triple Alliance*, as well as to the Crown of *Spain*; I will hope, that by your Excellency's Conduct ſome good Order may be taken for ſettling the Affairs of the Militia of this Country; and in the mean time, an end be put to the Complaints and Miſeries of the Inhabitants, ſince a Government is never well eſtabliſhed but in the Hearts of the Subjects; nor ſo hard to be ſhaken, as when the Generality of the People as well as the Nobility, finds no Intereſt in the Change. I doubt not but your Excellency propoſes theſe

Ends,

Au Comte de Monterey.

De la Haye, 22 Juill.
Monſieur, N.S. 1670.

AYant pris depuis long tems beaucoup de part dans tout ce qui touche la perſonne & les interêts de V. E. & venant d'apprendre qu'elle a été pourvû d'une charge auſſi importante que l'eſt celle de Gouverneur de Païs-bas; je n'ay pas voulu manquer à luy donner el para bien, *& temoigner la joye que j'en ay reſſentie pour plusieurs raiſons. Car puiſque par l'enchainement des conjonctures preſentes, & dans le poſte où je ſuis, il me ſera ſouvent neceſſaire de negotier, & d'avoir quelque choſe à demêler avec le Gouverneur de Flandres, je ſeray fort aiſe d'avoir une liaiſon d'affaires avec celuy avec qui j'ay deja des liaiſons d'amitié; je me felicite d'avoir à faire à un ſage diſpenſateur qui m'a deja donné tant de marques de ſa noble & judicieuſe maniere d'agir. Avec quelle joye n'ay je point vû vôtre penchant particulier à affermir l'alliance entre les deux Couronnes de [illegible] Maîtres, & vôtre inclination à avancer des interêts qui ne tendent aujourdhuy qu'à procurer le bonheur & le repos de la Chrêtienté. Comme ſa Majeſté & ceux de la Triple Alliance ont fort à cœur l'état des affaires de Flandres, auſſi bien que la Couronne d'Eſpagne; je me fais un plaiſir de penſer que par la bonne conduite de V. E. on fera enfin quelque bon reglement touchant la milice des Païs-bas, & qu'en même tems on mettra fin aux plaintes & aux miſeres des habitans; puis qu'un Gouvernement n'eſt jamais ſi ſûrement etabli, que lors qu'il a ſon ſiege dans le cœur des Sujets. Rien n'eſt ſi difficile à ebranler qu'un Etat où la multitude du peuple auſſi bien que la Nobleſſe n'apperçoit point d'avantage dans un changement.*

Je

Ends, and will ſucceed in them, becauſe you are too generous to mix with them your own Paſſions or particular Intereſts, which will not be leſs glorious to you, than profitable and happy to *Chriſtendom.* And beſides the Advantage *Spain* will make by your Excellency's good Conduct, they will ſave themſelves the Trouble to think of a new Governor, or to end an Interim ſo advantageous to them.

My beſt Wiſhes ſhall not be wanting to your Excellency, nor my Services, upon all Occaſions where they ſhall be neceſſary; for no Man is with more Eſteem and Truth than I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt humble

and moſt affectionate Servant.

Je ne doute point que V. E. ne ſe ſoit deja propoſé toutes ces fins, & qu'elle n'y reuſſiſſe, ayant une elevation d'ame aſsés grande pour n'y laiſſer point entrer ſes propres paſſions, ni aucun interêt perſonel. Une telle conduite ne luy ſera pas moins glorieuſe qu'elle ſera utile pour la Chrêtienté, & outre le profit que l'Eſpagne en tirera, elle luy ſauvera le ſoin de ſonger à un nouveau Gouverneur, & luy fera prendre le parti de prolonger un ſi heureux interim.

Mes voeux ne manqueront jamais à V. E. & mes ſervices ſeconderont mes voeux, toutes les fois qu'ils luy ſeront neceſſaires; car il n'y a perſonne qui ſoit avec plus d'eſtime & de verité que je ſuis,

Monſieur,

Vôtre, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R, *Hague, July* 29. *N, S.* 1670.

I AM to acknowledge one from you of the 12th, and hope the *Dutch* Captain you therein mention, is before this time arrived, and will prove what you deſire him, and thereby deſerve the Encouragement you intend him. I know not why Monſienr *Van Beuninghen* ſhould at preſent receive the Propoſition concerning the Emperor's Admiſſion; ſince Monſieur —— confeſſes he thinks there will be Difficulties made in it by the Emperor himſelf; who has not yet declared himſelf to the Elector of *Mentz,* nor I believe, to the Baron *d'Iſola* neither; tho' it be true what you obſerve, that it ought to be authentickly demanded on that Side.

I hear no Hopes at all from *France* of admitting this *State* into a part of the Arbitrage: So that if *Spain* perſiſts in the Demand of it, as *France* no doubt will do in the Refuſal, we ſhall be as much to ſeek in the End of the Year, as we were in the Beginning.

For what concerns the Commands I received about the three *Scotch* Miniſters; though I cannot find out their preſent Abodes, yet I queſtion not to obtain what is deſired againſt them: There can only be one Scruple, if theſe *States* will adhere ſtrictly to the Treaty, which is the authentick Knowledge of their being declared Rebels by his Majeſty; which I ſhould be glad to know, if it be ſo; tho' I ſhall in the mean time purſue it, as if I expected no farther Informations.

I have ſo far preſs'd them here upon aſſenting to the laſt Paper tranſmitted by Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* upon the Affair of *Surinam*, that the *States* of *Holland* have agreed to it, and appointed three Perſons to endeavour either to diſpoſe or to quiet the *Zealanders*, and to paſs it in the *States General*; and I hope it will ſucceed, the Town of *Amſterdam* concerning themſelves particularly in it for the Support of Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Credit.

The Aſſembly of the *States* of *Holland* will ſeparate on *Friday* next, and are yet likely to agree in the long agitated Impoſitions upon the *French* Commodities before they part; the Town of *Rotterdam* having (as I hear) this Day at length aſſented; but with Condition that it ſhall not be executed till after Monſieur *de Groot*'s Arrival in *France*, and Account from thence whether that King be diſpoſed to diſpenſe with the late Rigours there uſed for diſcouraging all *Dutch* Commodities.

Tho' nothing has been yet mention'd this Aſſembly concerning the Prince; yet I am made believe they may, before they part, ſettle a Penſion upon him, though a ſmall one of twenty four or thirty thouſand Franks a Year, being only in Conſideration of his Seſſion in the Council of State. I am always,

SIR,
Your, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR, *Hague, Aug.* 12. *N.S.* 1670.

SINCE my laſt, the *States* Agent brought me a Copy of the Letter they had agreed on to the Governor of *Surinam*; which I ſuppoſe they delay'd till about the Time of their diſpatching it away, becauſe they knew I would except againſt the Limitation given to Major *Banniſter*'s Landing; tho' they aſſure me, the Governor ſhall have Orders not to hinder it without very evident Knowledge of the ill Conſequence it may have upon the Peace of the Colony; and that the *Zealanders* were ſo ſharp in this Point, that they could not paſs it in any other Form. I have likewiſe ſince my laſt been aſſured from the ſeveral Miniſters here, that the Orders I deſire concerning the *Scotch* Miniſters would be granted: But that the thing being propoſed to the *States* of *Holland* then aſſembled, whom it moſt concerned, the Perſons being ſuppoſed to be in their Province; ſeveral of the Deputies declared they would not reſolve without communicating it firſt to their Towns, among whom thoſe of *Rotterdam* were the chief: But their Penſioner Monſieur *de Groot*, upon his Departure from hence laſt *Saturday* towards *France*, aſſured me of his Endeavours to clear all Scruples in it before he left that Town.

I have ſince received your Commands in one of the 24th paſt concerning * Coronet *Joyce*, to which I can yet make no return, Monſieur *de Witt* being out of Town, and not expected till to Morrow: And I muſt firſt break it to him, by whom I can beſt know what I may hope for from the *States* in it; and withal contrive how it may paſs with ſuch Circumſtances of Secrecy, that the Noiſe may not go before the Shot. By the next I hope to give you an Account how I am likely to ſucceed; and in the mean time will only aſſure you of my utmoſt Diligence in a Matter wherein you ſay his Majeſty is ſo much concerned.

* *Mentioned in the Hiſtories of* K.Char.I. *for removing that King by Force from* Holmeby.

I doubt not but a great part of Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Errand was to diſpoſe us towards the Admiſſion of the *Emperor*, and therefore wonder not at his enforcing that Propoſition: But yet, ſure the Ground of his Journey was the Deſire of finding ſome Temper in the Buſineſs of the *Eaſt-India* Trade, wherein I am very glad you hope for Satisfaction from him; I mean upon that ſingle Article which has ſo long ſtopp'd the Marine Treaty, and foiled me abſolutely in the Purſuit of it. For the other Point, I know not yet whether Monſieur *de Witt* has received any new Account from *Mentz* of the *Emperor*'s Intentions; nor how much it ſignifies what the Baron *d'Iſola* tells me, That the *Imperial* Miniſter there, has declared his Maſter's Reſolution, of referring himſelf wholly to that *Elector* for the Conduct and Concluſion of that Affair: And that the ſaid *Elector* hath declared his Judgment of its being both fit and neceſſary; but that as to the Propoſition of Forces to be furniſhed by the ſeveral Princes, he could not proceed to aſcertain it, without more particular Directions from the *Emperor*, tho' his Miniſter there preſs'd him to it. All which ſeems to me a very general and looſe Account for his Majeſty to proceed upon; and to have ſomething of the Baron *d'Iſola* in it, as well as of the

Negotiations of *Mentz*: And yet this is all the Light I can get at preſent; nor do I well know where to expect better, the *States* Envoy having already left that Place.

I ſhall not fail of performing all the Offices you pleaſe to enjoin me towards the preſerving our mutual Confidence in this Conjuncture; which I have endeavour'd in all my Diſcourſes here upon the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Journey into *France*, ſince I firſt heard of it: And I am confident to have ſucceeded with the moſt Rational and Intelligent. For common Authors, they are not to be dealt with, being too many and too credulous to be reaſon'd with upon ſuch Points: The beſt is, their Credit is of as little Weight as their Belief, and at laſt Truth will ever out.

I hear the Count *Molina* parted from *Madrid* upon his way through *France* into *England* about ſixteen Days ſince; ſo as he ought to be by this time well advanced. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador is likewiſe upon his Return from *Bruſſels* hither; which, with other Marks, confirm me in the Opinion of the Count *de Monterey*'s being likely to find a long Interim in the Government of *Flanders*.

I have nothing more to encreaſe your Trouble, beſides the Profeſſion of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Mr. Williamſon.

S I R, *Hague*, *Aug*. 12. *N. S.* 1670.

I AM to acknowledge the Favour I have lately received of two from you of the 22d and 26th paſt, with the Advices you were pleaſed to give me of what paſſes with you in my Lord *Arlington*'s Abſence; and know not what better Return I can make you from ſo barren a Scene as this is at preſent, but continuing the Orders I gave upon Mr. *Blaithwait*'s going out of Town, for all the Prints as well as the Papers of Occurrences, to be conſtantly tranſmitted to you by my other Secretary Mr. *Downton*; who tells me he does not fail you in theſe Points, no more than I ſhall do in any other wherein I can ſerve you here.

I thought in a time of ſo little Motion or Talk, to have uſed his Majeſty's Leave for a ſhort Journey into *Flanders*; but ſome ſmall Matter ſtill ariſes to keep me from being wholly idle; and among others, the Shadow of the *Surinam* Buſineſs haunts me ſtill, tho' Monſieur *Van Beuningben* aſſured me he would lay it upon his going over. I ſhould be glad to know if you find him as eloquent in a Court as they do in an Aſſembly of *States* here, and that he proves as good at Concluding as at Reaſoning.

I know to a Perſon of ſo much Buſineſs, an empty Letter is an Interruption, therefore will add nothing to this, but the Profeſſion of being,

S I R,

Your moſt humble Servant.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R, *Hague*, *Aug*. 15. *N. S.* 1670.

UPON *Tueſday* Night Monſieur *de Witt* returned to Town; and the next Morning I went to him upon the Affair wherewith you had charged me in your two laſt Letters, whereof that of the 29th paſt gave me Notice of the Yatcht's being diſpatch'd away. I related the Occaſion to Monſieur *de Witt*, and his Majeſty's Deſire upon it, as near as I could in the Manner and Terms you had imparted them to me; adding of my own whatever I could think of, concerning the Intereſt of this *State* in ſuch Compliance to his Majeſty, eſpecially where his Perſon was concerned; and how fit it was for them to paſs over the Want of ſmall Circumſtances and Obligations of Treaties, in Matters of ſo great Importance to a King ſo nearly ally'd to them, and in whoſe Safety and Quiet they were ſo deeply concern'd. He allowed all this latter part of my Diſcourſe; and for the Matter itſelf which I deſired, he told me, That whatever the *States* were obliged to by the Treaty, they had Power to enjoin the Execution of, becauſe every Province had already given their Conſent to it: But in other Matters the *States General* had no Power upon any Point wherein the Juriſdiction of a particular Province was concerned: The Union conſiſting of ſeven Provinces, whoſe Sovereignty remained ſtill entire to each of them. That for this Reaſon it was impoſſible to ſeize upon a Man reſiding in *Holland*, and ſend him over to his Majeſty by any other Power but that of the *States* of *Holland*, who were not now aſſembled. That the ſeizing of thoſe Criminals by Sir *George Downing*, happen'd to have been deſired at a time when the *States* were aſſembled, who gave their general Conſent to it: Whereas if the Town wherein they were had diſſented and ſtood upon their Privileges, it had not been in the Authority of the *States* of *Holland* themſelves to command it.

After my Expoſtulations upon theſe Forms in their Government, which made it much harder to treat with them, than they found it to treat with other Princes; and Monſieur *de Witt*'s Deduction of the Several Sovereignties of their Provinces, and Privileges of their Towns from their Original, as well as the framing them into an *Union* (rather than a Government) for their common Defence: We fell at laſt into the Conſideration of what could be done upon the preſent Buſineſs, ſince we had found what could not. And he told me with great Profeſſions of his own Deſire to ſee it ſucceed, that if I put in a Memorial to the *States General*, beſides the Danger of having it grow publick, I ſhould loſe juſt ſo much time; whereas all they could do would be but to recommend it to the Committee *de Raedt* of *Holland*, to diſpoſe the Magiſtrates of *Rotterdam* to ſeize upon the Perſon I deſired, and keep him ſafely guarded, without ſuffering any Approach to him but by my Order, until the next Aſſembly of the *States* of *Holland*, which will be about a Month hence: And this, he ſaid, the Committee might do of themſelves; and he hoped they would, upon my writing a Letter to the Preſident, eſpecially if I would take the Pains to ſpeak before-hand to the ſeveral Members of it: And in this he promiſed me his Aſſiſtance; and withal, that if the Magiſtrates of *Rotterdam* would ſeize and guard him till the Aſſembly of the *States* of *Holland*, he would then uſe all his Endeavours to diſpoſe the ſaid Aſſembly to ſend him over to the King, though he doubted much Difficulty in it; and that the Town of *Rotterdam* would never conſent to it, without an Act from his Majeſty to the *States*, that he ſhould be remanded to their Town after he had been examin'd: For without ſuch an Act, he ſaid, the Town of *Dort* had abſolutely refuſed to ſend a Perſon within their Juriſdiction to the *States* themſelves.

Upon all theſe Diſcourſes I reſolved as the beſt I could do, to ſpeak ſeverally that Evening with all the Members of the Committee *de Raedt* that were in Town, which I did as late as I could, ſo as to give the leaſt Time for the Matter's taking vent. They all agreed in the ſame Account of the Conſtitution of their Government, which Monſieur *de Witt* had given me; and aſſured me they would act as far in this Buſineſs as they could do, if it came to them from the *States General*: But withal agreed they could do no more than recommend it to the Magiſtrates of *Rotterdam*, upon whoſe Reſolutions it would wholly depend. While I was late in theſe Viſits on *Wedneſday* Night, Captain *Harris* came to my Houſe, and told me of the Yatcht's being come to the *Briell*, but ſo ill uſed by the Storms ſhe had met with, that ſhe would need ſome Repair before ſhe could go to Sea again; which I was very ſorry to hear, conſidering how ill her Voyage was likely to ſucceed, and that I had no hopes of ſending her back with her intended Charge. The next Morning being

ing *Thurſday*, I ſent my Letters to the Preſident juſt upon his going into the Committee: And within an Hour after, Monſieur *de Witt*'s Brother who is a Member of it, came to me, and told me, That they had written a Letter to the Magiſtrates of *Rotterdam* to the ſame Purpoſe I deſired, and with all the Earneſtneſs they could; and to enforce it the more upon them, had appointed him and Monſieur *Voorburgh*, another Member of the ſaid Committee, to go immediately thither, and to diſpoſe the Magiſtrates all they could to the effectual Execution of what was deſired.

I acknowledged the Care and Compliance of the Committee; and becauſe I knew all depended upon Suddenneſs and Secrecy, and that I had been aſſured the Day before of *Joyce*'s being in Town, I told him that I was reſolved to go my ſelf, but as privately as I could, and be there as ſoon as they: And while they were diſpoſing the Magiſtrates of the Town, I would endeavour to ſet the Fellow, ſo as to be ſure of him when the *Scout* ſhould have Orders to apprehend him. After this I went ſtraight to *Rotterdam*, and got privately into an Houſe within three Doors of *Joyce*'s; and had not been there an Hour, when the Agent I employ'd to find him out, had met with him in the Street, and ſtaid with him till he ſaw him go home to his own Houſe. I ſent immediately to my two Commiſſioners, (who I heard had arrived ſome time before me in Town) to give them Notice of it, in hopes of their being ready for me: But I found they were at the *Town-houſe*, where the Magiſtrates had been aſſembled ever ſince their Arrival; and they could not be ſpoke with by the Perſon I ſent to them till about an Hour after: And then they told him, that they had been dealing all that Time with the Magiſtrates, who made great Difficulties in the Buſineſs, and they could not yet give me Account what they would reſolve, but as ſoon as they could, they would come themſelves and give me notice of it. After this I waited with great Spight and Impatience till about five Hours after the Magiſtrates had been firſt aſſembled: The greateſt part of which Time I could not have failed of my Prize, if they had ſent their Officers. But after ſeven a Clock at Night, my two Commiſſioners came to me and told me they had never ſeen the Magiſtrates in greater Perplexity, which had kept them ſo many Hours unreſolved what to do: That they ſaid, It was abſolutely againſt the Privileges of their Town, to ſeize upon any Man without a particular Charge being ready againſt him: That this Man they heard, was a kind of mad extravagant fellow: That having long reſided in their Town, he could be guilty of nothing towards his Majeſty, unleſs it were of Words, which People were very free of in their Countrey; and amounted not to a Crime that was thought to deſerve Impriſonment. That, they ſhould have been glad to know the Words he was accuſed of; and that if they ſhould ſeize a Man without any particular Charge, the Surety and Protection of their Town would be diſcredited, upon which much of their Trade depended: And that they were confident, no Town in *Holland* would do what was deſired of them. That however for his Majeſty's ſake, and at the Inſtance of the two Commiſſioners, they had at laſt reſolved he ſhould be ſeized on, and that I ſhould have the examining of him if I pleaſed: But that if I could exhibit no particular Charge againſt him, and he did not make himſelf guilty by his own Confeſſion, they muſt releaſe him the next Day. I replied plainly, this was juſt nothing to the Purpoſe, and was only ſo much Noiſe without any Effect: That the King's Demand was to have him ſent over, and that ſince that could not be done without the Aſſembly of the *States of Holland*, my Deſire was to have the Man ſeized upon and kept till the ſaid Aſſembly, or at leaſt till I received farther Orders from his Majeſty; and leſs than this was nothing at all. Hereupon one of the Commiſſioners ſeeing how much I ſtomach'd this Dealing, told me, the Magiſtrates had not abſolutely ſaid they would releaſe him: But the other reply'd, That it was true they had not abſolutely ſaid it, but that he muſt confeſs he found it was their Intention. For my part, I thought it was beſt at a venture to be once ſeized on him if I could, and try whether I could get any Thing out of him upon his firſt Surprize, and leave the reſt to farther Endeavours; and therefore I deſired however that he might be ſeized. They told me, the

Magiſtrates doubted he was not in Town, but when I had taken off that by Evidence to the contrary, they ſaid the Magiſtrates did not know the Man, nor any of their Officers. But if I could ſend ſome body that did to the Town-houſe, they would ſend their *Scout* with him to execute what I deſired. This I preſently did; but the Perſon I ſent found the Magiſtrates ſtill unreſolved, and in very ill Humour about it; and ſaying beſides a great deal of what the two Commiſſioners had before told me, That in caſe *Joyce* had ſaid he would kill the *Burgomaſters*, or burn their Town, yet they ſhould never have thought of impriſoning him for it: And that it was hard to be put upon Things ſo contrary to their Privileges and their Cuſtoms, as well as their Intereſts. My Agent finding theſe Difficulties, deſired leave for me to ſeize him with ſuch Perſons as I could find my ſelf: But this they ſaid could by no means be done; and if it ſhould be attempted without the Officers of the Town, the *Burghers* would certainly riſe and reſcue him. With theſe kind of Debates they put him off about an Hour longer, making him twice withdraw and come in again to them: But at laſt, when it was grown a very dark Night, they gave Order to their *Scout* to go with him, and apprehend the Fellow. Hereupon they went and ſearched his Houſe, but without finding him, and two other of his uſual Haunts with the ſame Succeſs, but they found evident Marks of his having had Notice given him of his Danger: For one at his Houſe ſaid, He wonder'd I would ſearch for a mad Man; and that if he were aſſured I deſired only to examine him, perhaps it might be done; but that for the preſent he knew not where he was, having taken the Key of his back Door, where he ſeemed to believe he was gone out. By all that had happen'd, I found plainly the Magiſtrates of the Town had no Intention the Thing ſhould be done; and began to be aſſured of what I had always doubted, that ſuch a Pack of Raſcals of ſo many Sorts as had been long neſted in that Town (more indeed than in all the reſt of *Holland)* had not made this Choice without ſome good Aſſurances from the Magiſtrates, of being protected there. I found as plainly that without their reſolute and fair dealing in it, 'twas to no purpoſe for me to endeavour it; and that my being there was already known, and had given ſuch an Alarm, that ſome of *Joyce*'s Crew were walking continually up and down the Streets thereabouts ever ſince it grew dark, and others of them ſtanding at his Door and his Windows: And therefore ſeeing that till this Alarm was over, there was no hopes of finding my Game; I reſolved to ſpeak with the preſiding *Burgomaſter*, and engage him as far as I could for the effectual Purſuit of the Buſineſs; and make him ſee I underſtood well enough how it failed, and where it depended, and ſo leave the Town before Morning to give the Fellow the more Security. I ſent to the *Burgomaſter* about ten a Clock at Night, deſiring not to have it taken notice of when I ſpoke with him: But he ſent me his Excuſe by ſaying he was in Bed: After which I ſent for the *Scout*; and when he had confeſs'd he had Orders to take the Fellow, and that he knew him very well (contrary to what the Magiſtrates had pretended) I ſaid all that I could poſſibly to engage him in the Purſuit of it; and told him, as the beſt Argument, that I would give him my ſelf a hundred Duccatoons as ſoon as ever it was done, beſides repreſenting the Diligence ſo to his Majeſty, as that he might expect a greater Gratuity. And for the better effecting of it, I deſired him to get me the Keys of the Town-gate that was near me, reſolving then to go out of Town, and to paſs with Torches before *Joyce*'s Door, that ſo he might ſee I was gone, and with me the Perſons I had employ'd in this Buſineſs, and thereby grow ſecure of any farther Danger for that Night. And I deſired him that about an Hour or two after, he would once more ſearch for him at his Houſe, and other Places where he uſed. All this he promiſed very fairly, and all other Diligences in it for the future; but to ſay the Truth, in ſuch a manner, that I perceived plainly the Fellow had his Inſtructions given him after another Faſhion, from thoſe that had more to do with him than I. And though I have expected ſome News from him all this Day, I yet hear nothing. Since my coming Home I have ſpoken again with Monſieur *de Witt*, who profeſſes to be very ſorry for my ill Succeſs; ſays I did prudently in coming away after my firſt Attempt failed: That he knows not what to judge of the Magiſtrates proceeding till the return of the Commiſſioners; and hopes ſomething may be yet done by them, becauſe they were not come back this Afternoon. He ſays he writ two Letters himſelf to the Magiſtrates, beſides that of the Committee, to diſpoſe them more; becauſe he knew all would depend upon their hearty or faint Proceeding in it, and aſſures me of all his farther Endeavours.

For the Buſineſs of *Surinam*; they will not believe their laſt Letter ſhould not ſatisfy, ſince Monſieur *Van-Beuninghen* had repreſented that *Banniſter*'s abſolute Permiſſion as a Thing deſired by you, but not inſiſted upon: So that if it be farther preſs'd, it muſt be by your Orders after you received the laſt Papers.

I aſk your Pardon for any ill Digeſtion of this Letter, as well as for writing it in another Hand, which my Eyes force me to; and may all be attributed to the Want of Sleep theſe two Nights laſt paſt. I am however,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Hague*, *Aug.* 19. *N. S.* 1670.

I Have lately received the Honour of one from your Lordſhip of the 26th paſt; by which I was very ſorry to find that any Occaſions had at all withdrawn your Lordſhip's uſual Concurrence in all great Affairs, wherein his Majeſty uſes the Advice as well as Labours of his Miniſters. For the Steadineſs of your Lordſhip's Judgment, and Directneſs of your Application to his Majeſty's and the Kingdom's Honour and Advantage in all your Counſels, gave me at my laſt coming over hither much Confidence in the ſucceſsful Courſe of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad: And the more your Lordſhip eſtranges your ſelf from them, the more my Confidence in that kind is like to abate; becauſe I am apt to think it not only an *ill Thing*, but an *ill Sign* too.

I am glad to receive your Lordſhip's Opinion concerning the Continuance of our Meaſures abroad, becauſe I ſee not at preſent where we can take better: And I the more need ſome ſuch Encouragements as your Opinion gives me; becauſe, to ſay the Truth, I ſhould not be very apt to concur with you in it from the Obſervation I can make from hence of ſeveral other Circumſtances: However, nothing ought to diſcourage ſuch publick Hearts as your Lordſhip from contributing all they can to the Firmneſs of ſuch Counſels, as they eſteem moſt juſt and ſafe at leaſt, if we are not in Condition to think ſo far as glorious:

> *Multa dies variuſque Labor mutabilis Ævi*
> *Detulit in melius* ——

We have nothing new nor material in preſent Agitation upon this Scene. The laſt little Commiſſion I had was as troubleſome as unſucceſsful; and proceeded certainly in the Manner of it, from want of knowing or conſidering the Conſtitutions of this Government; which makes me confident your Lordſhip had no Part in directing in it, no more than my Lord *Arlington*, who was out of Town.

I wiſh your Lordſhip perfect Health and Satisfaction; and that when neither of theſe make it neceſſary, you may not be too much at your Country-Houſe. Tho' in all Places I ſhall be ever with equal Conſtancy and Truth,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To

To the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord, *Hague, Aug.* 21. *N. S.* 1670.

AS your Grace will, I hope, meet with many new Entertainments on this Side the Water; ſo you muſt, I fear, be content with ſome new Troubles: For both uſually happen upon all Changes. I wiſh your Grace all that can be of the firſt, and ſhould not have given you any of the other, but to rejoice with you upon your happy Arrival at *Paris.*

From ſo little and ſo barren a Scene as this is at preſent, I cannot offer at informing your Grace of any Thing; eſpecially, ſince Men expect here to receive all their material Informations from your Motions where you now are, and from what ſhall ſucceed them at your Return. But, to leave theſe People in their *doubtful and myſtical Reflections*; I ſhall not interrupt either your Grace's Buſineſs or Leiſure with any Thing but what is plain and certain; for nothing is more ſo, than that I am with equal Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt obedient

and moſt humble Servant.

To my Lord Falconbridge.

My Lord, *Hague, Aug.* 22. *N. S.* 1670.

I Was very glad to find by your Lordſhip's of the firſt current, that the Suddenneſs of your Return therein mentioned, was owing to the Diſpatch of your Buſineſs in *Italy*, and to the Care of your Health; and conſequently, that you receive from it both Honour and Satisfaction. I ſhall eſteem it a great deal of both to me, if you continue ſo favourable Intentions as you expreſs, of taking this Place in your way; where your Lordſhip may promiſe your ſelf whatever my Services can be worth to you. I expect my Lord of *Eſſex* with my Lady here every Day; unleſs they have changed their Deſign ſince their Arrival at *Hamburgh*, where they came about ten Days ſince, after my Lord's having diſpatch'd all his Affairs in the *Daniſh* Court. Our Treaty with *Spain* for regulating the Affairs of the *Indies*, came ſigned to *London* laſt Week, from whence I doubt not, it will be ſuddenly remitted with its Ratification. All here is in great Quiet and Silence, and like to continue ſo, unleſs *France* furniſh us with ſome new Diſcourſe.

I have hitherto writ by Mr. *Perwich*'s Conveyance, but chuſe to ſend this by Sir *John Finch*'s, who is like to be a nearer Obſerver of your Motions. But I will not give your Lordſhip a long and empty Interruption, which has little elſe to bear it out beſides the Profeſſion of my being,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt

faithful humble Servant.

To the Great Duke of Tuſcany.

Hague, Aug. 25.
S I R, *N. S.* 1670.

I Received almoſt at the ſame time the Honour of two Letters from your moſt Serene Highneſs, one of *March* the 31ſt, with an entire Vintage of the fineſt Wines of *Italy*; and the other of the 5th Inſtant, with your Highneſs's Condolences upon the Death of *Madame*. The great Delay of the Ship that brought the Wine, and your Highneſs's great Diſpatch to make a Complement ſo ſad and ſo obliging, were the cauſe that two Letters of ſo different date, arrived almoſt together. For I have much reaſon to commend the Diligence of Monſieur *Ferroni*, in conveying me all your Highneſs's Favours. I find the Wines admirable, and ſeeming to reſemble their Prince, in having loſt nothing of their natural Taſte or Goodneſs, by the length of their Voyage, or the Extreams of Heats or Colds. And herein I am more obliged to your Highneſs than you imagine, not only for having made me taſte the Delights of ſo fine a Climate in ſo miſerable a one as this; but alſo for having by the ſame Means given me the Talent of a Drinker, a Quality I wanted very much to acquit my ſelf of an Ambaſſy in *Holland*.

I cannot tell whether your Highneſs by your moving Expreſſions upon the deplorable Death of *Madame*, has more diſcovered the Beauty of your Wit, or the Greatneſs of your Affection to the King my Maſter: Therefore I hope your Highneſs will not take it ill that I have ſent his Majeſty a Copy of your laſt Letter, by which you have given ſuch ſenſible Proofs of the part you take in whatever happens to the Royal Family.

The *States General* are very much ſurprized at the News brought them this day from *France*, in an Expreſs ſent them from their Miniſter at *Paris*, which aſſures them, of the March of

the

Au Grand Duc de Toſcane.

De la Haye, le 25
Monſieur, Aout. S. N. 1670.

J'AY quaſi reçu en même tems les deux Lettres que V. A. Sme. m'a fait l'honneur de m'ecrire; l'une datée du 31 de Mars, & accompagnée des plus riches vendanges d'Italie, je veux dire, de ſes vins les plus exquis; & l'autre du 5 du courant, avec les complimens de condoleance de V. A. ſur la mort de Madame. Le long retardement du navire qui a apporté les vins, & l'empreſſement de V. A. à me faire un compliment auſſi triſte qu'obligeant; ces deux choſes ont fait, que deux Lettres ſi fort eloignées par leurs dates, ſe ſont preſque rencontrées à leur arrivée. Car j'ay beaucoup à me loüer de la diligence avec laquelle Monſieur Ferroni tache de me faire tenir les faveurs de V. A. Les vins m'ont paru excellens; & ſi j'oſois, je dirois volontiers, qu'ils ſemblent tenir quelque choſe du Prince qui les envoie; les changemens de Climat, la longueur & les traverſes du transport, la rigueur de l'hyver, ni les ardeurs de l'eté, ne luy ont rien fait perdre de ſa ſeve & de ſa force; & cela, ne fournit il pas un embleme aſſez naturel de la perſonne de V. A. J'ay au reſte, plus d'obligation à V. A. qu'elle ne penſe, ſur ſon preſent de vins, non ſeulement parce qu'elle m'a fait gouter des delices du plus beau païs du monde, ſous le Climat le plus triſte; mais ſur tout, parce que ſon preſent m'a excité à devenir beuveur, qualité qui me manquoit abſolument, & qui eſt pourtant neceſſaire pour ſe bien tirer d'une ambaſſade en Hollande.

Je ne ſay ce que V. A. fait le plus paroître dans les expreſſions ſi touchantes dont ſa Lettre eſt remplie, ou la fecondité de ſon eſprit, ou ſa tendreſſe de cœur pour le Roy mon Maître. C'eſt pourquoy j'eſpere que V. A. ne me ſçaura pas mauvais gré d'avoir envoyé à ſa Majeſté la copie de ſa derniere Lettre, dans laquelle elle a donné des marques ſi tendres de la part qu'elle prend aux evenemens de la Famille Royalle.

Les Etats Generaux paroiſſent ſurpris de la nouvelle que leur a apporté un exprés depeché par leur Miniſtre à Paris, qui vient de leur apprendre la marche des Troupes Françoiſes au nombre de 30000

hommes;

the *French* Troops towards the Frontier, to the Number of 30000, where they are to rendezvous at *Peronne*: But it is not yet known whether their Deſign be upon *Flanders*, or this Countrey, or whether they project any other Meaſures. However, the Alarm is here ſo great, that they have immediately reſolved to continue ſix thouſand Men, which they were juſt going to disband: They have alſo ordered the Council of State to compute what Forces and Proviſions they ſhall judge neceſſary in caſe of a Rupture with *France*; and have diſpatched a Boat from *Scheveling* to *England* with Orders to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* (who is upon the Point of departing) to ſtay till farther Orders from the *States*.

For my ſelf, I know not what to judge of theſe Appearances; I ſhall ever complain of any Events that are like to endanger the Quiet of *Chriſtendom*, to which I have for ſome time (under the Orders of his Majeſty) dedicated all my Cares. And without doubt, if the War opens at preſent, great Conjunctures will ariſe, whereof perhaps there will be Reaſon to give your Highneſs Joy, not for being out of the Noiſe of them; but becauſe great Princes only wait for great Occaſions. I am,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

hommes; elles s'avancent vers les frontieres, & leur rendez-vous eſt marqué à Peronne. On ne decide point encore ſur le deſſein de cette marche, & on ignore ſi elle regarde ou la Flandre ou ce païs icy; & on ne ſait point ſi l'approche de ces Troupes ne tend point à cacher les veritables deſſeins, & à mieux reuſſir dans les meſures qu'on a priſes. Quoy qu'il en ſoit, l'alarme eſt icy à un tel point, qu'on a pris ſur le champ la reſolution de continuer la ſolde à ſix mille hommes qu'on alloit congedier; que le Conceil d'Etat a ordonné de dreſſer promptement un etat de guerre, qui comprît tant les levées d'hommes, que les munitions de bouche & de guerre, qui ſeroient eſtimées neceſſaires, en cas de rupture avec la France. Qu'enfin on a fait partir de Schevelin en diligence une barque pour l'Angleterre, avec ordre d'y retenir Monſieur Van Beuninghen qui etoit ſur le point d'en partir.

*Pour moy, je ne ſay ce que je dois juger ſur toutes ces apparences; je gemiray toujours ſur les evenemens qui pourront mettre en danger le repos de la Chretienté, qui depuis un tems, & ſous les ordres de ſa Majeſté, a eté l'objet de mes veilles & de mes ſoins. Et ſans doute, que ſi la guerre recommence, elle va donner lieu à des grands evenemens, deſquels on aura peut être à donner el para*bien *à V. A. non comme eloignée de la tempête, mais parce que les grands* Prin*ces ne reſpirent que les grandes occaſions. Je ſupplie V. A. de m'en offrir toujours, par leſquelles je puiſſe luy marquer avec combien de paſſion & de verité je ſeray toute ma vie,*

Monſieur,

De V. A. S^me, &c.

To the Procurator of the Court of Holland, *upon the Rights of Ambaſſadors.*

ONE of my Secretaries having given me a Copy of a Paper ſigned by you, *F. de Bruſis*, which was brought to my Houſe, and given to one of my Servants; by which Paper you ſummon one *N. Watt*, Valet, or Footman to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, to appear before the Court of *Holland*: By the Title you give the ſaid

Au Procureur de la Cour d'Hollande, ſur les droits des Ambaſſadeurs.

UN de mes Secretaires m'ayant fait voir la copie d'un billet ſigné par vous F. de Bruſis, *qui a eté porté dans ma maiſon, & donné à quelqu' un de mes gens, & par lequel billet vous ſommez un certain* N. Watt, *Valet ou Lacquais de l'Ambaſſadeur d'Angleterre, de comparoître devant la Cour d'Hollande. Par la qualité que vous donnez au dit*

N. Watt, you make it plain, that you believe him to be actually in my Houſe and Service. Upon which I have thought good to tell you that I look upon you as an inſolent Fellow, for daring to bring ſuch a Paper into my Houſe; and that I do not intend any of my Servants ſhall be look'd upon as ſubject to the Juriſdiction of any Court of this Country, or of any other beſide thoſe of the King my Maſter: And if any of them offends againſt the Laws, Complaint muſt be made to me, that I may either order Juſtice to be done, or deliver the Offender of my own accord to be puniſhed by the Law of the Place, having beforehand diſmiſs'd him from my Service. Therefore I do not deſign to be expoſed to ſuch an Inſolence as this that you have committed againſt me, in treating me like one of your Burghers, as well by the Paper left in my Houſe, as by the ringing of the Bell, whereof you make mention. What I here ſay, you may let your Maſters know from me, by whoſe Order you pretend to have acted. Beſides, for their farther Information, let them know that while I reſide in this Countrey, I will never ſuffer the Rights and Privileges ſo long granted to Ambaſſadors by the *Law of Nations*, and hitherto obſerved and reſpected by all Princes of *Chriſtendom*, to be violated, or any way infringed in this Countrey in my Perſon, under pretence of any particular Sovereignty of a Province or Privilege of a City, in a Commonwealth where I have the Honour to ſerve a King in Quality of his Ambaſſador.

N. Watt, *vous faites bien connoître, que vous le croyez actuellement dans ma maiſon & attaché à mon ſervice; là deſſus j'ay trouvé bon de vous dire que je vous tiens pour un Inſolent, d'avoir oſé porter un tel billet dans ma maiſon; & que je ne pretens point, qu'aucun de mes gens ſoit regardé comme relevant de la juriſdiction d'aucune cour dans ce païs icy, ni d'aucune autre que de celles du Roy mon Maître: Que ſi quelqu'un d'eux commet quelque choſe contre les loix, on n'a qu'à m'en faire des plaintes, afin que j'en faſſe faire la juſtice, ou que je le livre de mon propre gré à la rigueur des loix du païs, l'ayant prealablement congedié, & chaſſé de ma maiſon. Je ne pretens donc pas être expoſé à une inſolence pareille à celle que vous venez de commettre contre moy, en me traitant comme un de vos Bourgeois, tant par le billet laiſſé chez moy, que par le ſon de la cloche dont vous faites mention. Tout ce que je viens de vous dire, vous pourrez le dire de ma part à vos Maîtres, par l'ordre des quels vous dites avoir agi. Au ſurplus, & pour leur plus grand eclairciſſement, qu'ils ſachent, que durant mon ſejour en ce païs, je ne ſoufriray jamais que les Droits & les Privileges, accordez depuis ſi long tems* Jure gentium *aux Ambaſſadeurs, & juſqu'icy obſervez & reſpectez dans les Etats de tous les princes de la Chrêtienté, ſoient violez, ou le moins du monde alterez en ma perſonne en ce païs, ſous les pretextes d'aucune ſouveraineté particuliere d'une Province, ou le Privilege de quelque ville, dans une Republique où j'ay l'honneur de ſervir un grand Roy en qualité de ſon Ambaſſadeur.*

To Monſieur —— upon the Death of his Daughter.

Hague, Sept. 1.
S I R, *N. S.* 1670.

YEſterday late in the Evening I received an Account of your Loſs; and can aſſure you that my Wife, my Siſter and my ſelf, were ſo ſenſibly afflicted at it, that if it were poſſible Grief could be leſſen'd by being communicated with real Friends, upon theſe ſad Occaſions, you would have immediately found ſome Conſolation in

A Monſieur —— ſur la mort de ſa Fille.

De la Haye, 1 Sept.
Monſieur, S. N. 1670.

O*N me donna avis hier au ſoir bien tard, de la perte que vous venez de faire, & je puis vous aſſurer, que moy, ma femme, & ma ſoeur en avons été ſi ſenſiblement touchés, que ſi l'affliction pouvoit être diminuée par celle qui ſe communique aux veritables amis en ces triſtes occaſions, vous auriez ſur le champ epreuvé du ſoulagement en la vôtre.*

in yours: I muſt confeſs, your Grief is lawful enough, and founded not only upon the Dictates of Nature, but upon the Merits of her you lament; ſo that to pretend to comfort you by other Conſiderations than thoſe which your Prudence, and above all, which your Piety would ſuggeſt, would be to attempt an unprofitable Work. God has pleaſed to impoſe this Tribute for the Continuance of our Lives, often to lament the Death of our Friends. We muſt learn to ſubmit and reſign to his Will, which is the wiſeſt and moſt *Chriſtian* part we can follow. To this I ſhall add, that the Deſires of your Friends who yet remain, and your Care of their Intereſts, do demand from you that you will preſerve your ſelf to them. Among theſe, there is none who is more than I,

S I R,
Your moſt humble and
moſt affectionate Servant.

vôtre. Il le faut avouer, vôtre douleur eſt bien legitime, elle eſt fondée non ſeulement ſur les devoirs de la nature, mais encore ſur le merite de la perſonne que vous pleurez. Ainſi pretendre vous conſoler par d'autres reflexions que celles que vôtre prudence, & ſur tout vôtre pieté vous ſuggereront, ce ſeroit tenter une choſe inutile. Il a plû à Dieu impoſer une peine durant le cours de nôtre vie, qui eſt l'obligation de pleurer frequemment ſur la mort de nos proches & de nos amis. Il faut ſe ſoumettre, & apprendre à ſe reſigner à ſa volonté; c'eſt là l'unique bon parti, & le ſeul qui ſoit & veritablement ſage, & veritablement Chrêtien. J'ajouteray à cela, que le prieres des amis qui vous reſtent encore, & le ſoin de leurs interêts, demandent que vous vous conſerviez. Parmi ceux qui prennent la qualité de vos amis, il n'y a perſonne qui vous ſoit plus acquis que,

Monſieur,
Vôtre tres humble &
tres affectionné Serviteur.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, Sept. 2. N. S. 1670.*

I MUST in the firſt place rejoice with your Lordſhip upon your Return to Town, and to the Exerciſe of your uſual Cares, which are ſo neceſſary to the Service of his Majeſty and the Kingdom, that I cannot doubt any thing is meant us ſo ill as the Danger of your Lordſhip's Health; though I find by your laſt of the 19th paſt, that you had fallen into ſome Indiſpoſition upon your Return: But the Length as well as the Clearneſs of all your Lordſhip's Diſcourſes in it, give me the Confidence that it was already paſt.

I have underſtood from Monſieur *de Witt*, the ſum of all Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Diſcourſes with his Majeſty upon the ſame Subject as thoſe with your Lordſhip, of which you were pleaſed to give me Account: And do not find that Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* has failed of receiving all the Aſſurances from the King that he could wiſh, concerning the Negotiations of the Duke of *Buckingham* in *France:* For he has not only tranſmitted them to the *States* as he received them at Court, but added likewiſe his own Opinion upon them: That as far as human Appearances will go, he has all the Reaſon that can be to believe, that nothing has been treated of by the ſaid Duke, nor was ever intended to be ſo in the *French* Court to the Prejudice of his Majeſty's Alliances here. For the reſt, they take it as well as they can, that they ſee no Advance made in the Propoſitions of the *Emperor*'s joining with thoſe of the *Triple Alliance* in the Guaranty of the Peace: Which I ſuppoſe touches them ſo much the more by the News brought this Day to the *States*; which I am now to give your Lordſhip an Account of, as of the way I received it.

Juſt as I was ſitting down this Day to Dinner, the *States* Agent came to me, deſiring that their Commiſſioners might have the Liberty to ſpeak with me, tho' at that unuſual Hour, being of a Matter newly come to them, and of very great Importance. I conſented, and thereupon Monſieur *de Witt*, came in the Head of the other Commiſſioners; and told me that the *States* had newly received certain Advice from *France* of the Date of the 29th paſt, That the Chevalier *de la Fourrille*, who had been diſpatched ſecretly from Court ſome Days before the breaking up of the Camp at St. *Germains*, and with the Troops quarter'd near the Borders of *Lorrain*, made a ſudden March into that Countrey, and ſeized upon the City of *Nancy*; and that by ſo unexpected and quick an Attempt that he failed very little of ſurprizing the Perſon of the Duke, and had taken the Dutcheſs. That the Duke eſcaping, had retired to a ſmall but ſtrong Place called *Bidſch*; where he buſied himſelf in aſſembling what Forces he could for his Defence. That the Mareſchal *de Crequy* being diſpatched from *Paris* had met this News upon the way, and returned with it to Court; from whence he was diſpatch'd in haſte the ſecond time to *Lorrain*. That the *French* Camp near St. *Germains* was marched towards *Peronne* under the Command of Monſieur *Vaubrun*; but that by Orders ſent after them upon the way, they were to be divided into two Bodies, of which one was to march away to the Mareſchal *Crequy* in *Lorrain*, and the other towards *Sedan*; where they ſhould make a ſtand, and face any Attempts that might be deſigned from *Flanders* or this Countrey, towards interrupting the Succeſs of their Affairs in *Lorrain*. Monſieur *de Witt* told me farther, That the *States* having conſidered theſe Advices, had ordered them (the Commiſſioners) immediately to acquaint me with them: And farther, that though the *States* eſteemed it a Matter of ſo great Importance, that all the Parties of the *Triple Alliance* ought to concern themſelves in it, as wholly deſtructive to thoſe Ends of conſerving the *Spaniſh* Dominions, which were mutually propoſed in the ſaid Alliance; yet they (the *States*) ſhould not, nor indeed could not proceed to any Reſolutions thereupon, without firſt knowing thoſe of his Majeſty, and being aſſured of his vigorous Conjunction. And hereupon they deſired me to give his Majeſty Notice immediately by an Expreſs, to the End that I might know his Senſe and Intentions upon this Conjuncture; or at leaſt be inſtructed to confer with the *States* upon it.

After this, much was enlarged by Monſieur *de Witt* and the Commiſſioners, concerning the very great Importance of the Seizure of *Lorrain*; as the cutting off *Burgundy* wholly from the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, as well as all farther Communication between any of the *Netherlands*, and many of the Princes of *Germany*, with the *Switzers*. So as they compared *Lorrain* to a Citadel in a Town, from which all the reſt would be commanded at pleaſure. They added, That the Dutchy of *Luxemburg* would be in a manner block'd up, and maimed in their mutual Aſſiſtance with the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Provinces. That the Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* would have the *French* Feet upon their Throats: And conſequently, that whenever *France* ſhould begin with *Flanders* after the Poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*, the County of *Burgundy* would be their own in an Hour, and *Flanders* in a very ſhort time, without greater and readier aſſiſtances than there ſeemed to be any reaſonable Hopes for.

After this, they told me, They had received likewiſe a new Account by this Poſt, of all the *French* Preparations at Sea, and the preſent Eſtate of their own Fleet; of which they gave me this encloſed Liſt. And by all I can gather from their Diſcourſes, I judge they are capable of any vigorous Reſolution that his Majeſty ſhould think fit to inſpire them in Conjunction with us: But that without it they are reſolved, as they expreſs it, * *De laiſſer agir au bon Dieu, & de voir la France à leurs Portes ſans ſe remuer*. Upon all which they pretend, that the Diſpoſal and Balance at this Time of all Affairs in theſe Parts of *Chriſtendom*, lie before his Majeſty; from whom both the *Empire* and *Spain*, as well as *Sweden* and this *State*, will receive their Meaſures.

* *To leave it to God, and to ſee the* French *at their Doors, without ſtirring a Foot.*

Three Days ſince the Baron *d'Iſola* was with me, to communicate a Letter he had newly received from the *Emperor*, declaring his Reſolution to join with the *Triple Alliance* in the Guaranty of the Peace of *Aix*, which he deſired me to give his Majeſty part of by the Poſt: But having told me at the ſame time that he reſolved to give your Lordſhip the ſame Account, I omit to trouble you with any further Particulars. He came to me again juſt upon the Cloſe of what I have written, and ſhewed me a Letter from Monſieur *Louvigni* at *Bruſſels*, containing the Particulars of what has happen'd in *Lorrain*, and little different from thoſe I had before received by Monſieur *de Witt*; only that the Duke of *Lorrain* reſolved to retire with all his Forces into the Mountains, and hopes to defend himſelf ſome time, provided he might be ſure of not being abandoned. I am ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Hague, Sept.*—— *N. S.* 1670.

I Lately gave my Lord *Arlington* the Account which was given me by the *States* Commiſſioners, of the Seizure of *Lorrain*, with their Reflections upon it, and the Conſequences it muſt needs have upon all the Affairs of *Chriſtendom*; and their Deſires of my communicating all from them with Speed and Care to his Majeſty, which I did.

I have ſince received by laſt Poſt, and by a Letter from his Lordſhip, the King's Orders for my immediate Repair into *England*, and for my acquainting the *States* with it; and that it is only with Intentions of my informing his Majeſty better in the ſeveral Points that concern the preſent Conjunctures of my Station here. This I have done in a Conference upon it with Monſieur *de Witt*. I found him at firſt very penſive upon the News of it, and apt to reflect upon this happening ſo ſoon and unexpectedly after the late Seizure of *Lorrain*; and both after the many Delays and Difficulties raiſed by us (as he apprehends) in admitting the *Emperor* to the Guaranty of the Peace of *Aix* in Conjunction with the *Triple Alliance*, which we formerly ſo much deſired. He remember'd at the ſame time the many Inſtances we have made for many Months paſt about ſuch a Trifle as the carrying off our Planters from *Surinam*, (whom he takes by the Articles to become their Subjects) and the invincible Difficulties in which we have engaged Matters between our *Eaſt-India* Companies; in which he ſays he is aſſured our Merchants have no part, but as they are inſtigated by ſome Perſons at Court, whoſe ill Intentions he fears towards the late Alliances contracted between his Majeſty and theſe *States*, both for our own mutual Safety, and that of all *Chriſtendom*. He reflected upon a Coldneſs in all our Negotiations of that kind, ever ſince *Madame*'s Journey into *England*; and upon the late Journey of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s to *Paris*, which he could not think was, * *Pour voir le Païs, où apprendre la langue.* And deſired I would tell him what I could make of all this laid together: For on the one ſide, there were Circumſtances enough to awake a ſuſpicious Man; and on the other ſide, he could never think it poſſible for any Nation or Court it ſelf, to quit ſo certain a Point of Intereſt and great a Point of Honour, as muſt be forfeited by our breaking our Alliances with this *State*, or entring into any with *France*, whoſe Greatneſs had occaſion'd our Meaſures for our own as well as our Neighbour's Defence. He ſaid, I knew the beſt of any, how all theſe Matters had paſs'd: How his Majeſty had engaged theſe *States* in thoſe common Meaſures, and even prevailed with them to make a Sacrifice of the ancient Kindneſs and Alliance this *State* had always before with *France*, to the Conſiderations of the preſent Danger from the Greatneſs of that Crown to the reſt of *Chriſtendom*; though they might have had what Terms they pleaſed from them for the dividing of *Flanders*. That I knew with how inviolate Faith and Firmneſs the *States* had conſtantly obſerved for theſe two Years paſt, their Friendſhip and Alliances with his Majeſty, and how great a Part I had in contracting and purſuing them, by the particular Confidence the *States* and he eſpecially had in my Perſon, as one that was perſuaded of our common Intereſts, that knew my Maſter's Mind, and would not be an Inſtrument

* *To ſee the Country, or learn the Language.*

to deceive thoſe that truſted me. For theſe Reaſons he ſaid, he deſired to know my Opinion upon this whole Matter, eſpecially that of my Journey into *England*; which, he ſaid, would be very ſurprizing to every body here, and therefore he would be glad to give the News of it to the *States* in the beſt manner he could.

I proteſted to him that I had hitherto received conſtant Aſſurances from both the Secretaries of State, of his Majeſty's Reſolutions to obſerve conſtantly the Meaſures in which he was engaged to this *State*. And that I knew not a Word more of the Reaſons of my ſudden Journey into *England*, than what I had told him. That I had Orders to leave my Family behind me: And that his Majeſty might poſſibly think it neceſſary for his Information to ſpeak with me upon the preſent Conjunctures, and to return me immediately according to my Lord *Arlington*'s Letter. That I confeſſed, I was apt to make many of thoſe Reflections that he had done; but could not believe it poſſible for any Crown ever to enter into Counſels ſo deſtructive to their Honour and Safety as thoſe he ſuſpected. That if ſuch a thing ſhould ever happen, I deſired him to remember what I told him upon the Scruples he had made in truſting our Court upon the Negotiations of the *Triple Alliance*; which was, that I told him then what I thought of his Majeſty's Diſpoſitions and Reſolutions, as well as thoſe of his Miniſters: That I could not believe it poſſible for them to change in a Point of ſo evident Intereſt, and which would be ſo underſtood by the whole Nation. That however I could anſwer for no body beſides my ſelf, but this I would; and that if ever ſuch a thing ſhould happen, I would never have any part in it. That I had told the King ſo as well as him, and would make it good. That for the preſent there was nothing more to be ſaid, but that I muſt go away for *England*. That if I returned he would know more; and I doubted by what he ſaid, that he would gueſs more if I returned not.

Monſieur *de Witt* ſmiled, and ſaid, I was in the right. That in the mean time, he would try to cure himſelf and others of all Suſpicions upon my Journey: And would hope on t'other ſide, it might be of uſe to the common Intereſts, by poſſeſſing his Majeſty of the great Importance of the late Seizure of *Lorrain*; and of the *States* Reſolutions to ſtick cloſe to him in all Meaſures he ſhould take upon it. And ſo we parted.

I would have gone away immediately upon this Summons, but that it found me very ill, and uncertain whether it would end in a Fever, as it ſeemed to begin; but ſince a great Swelling fallen upon my Face, I hope it may paſs. However, being forced to delay my Journey ſome few Days, I could not but give your Lordſhip this Account before-hand, and leave it to you to make what uſe of it you think fit: without expecting any Anſwer, ſince I hope ſo ſoon to follow it.

But I know your Lordſhip fully perſuaded of our Intereſt to preſerve our Alliances here, and the preſent Meaſures of *Chriſtendom* which depend upon them. And tho' you have ſaid nothing yet to make me diſtruſt our Counſels in that Matter; yet I confeſs I have not the better Opinion of it from what I find of your Lordſhip's eſtranging your ſelf of late, or being eſtranged from the Conſultations of them.

I have likewiſe reflected upon the kind Hint your Lordſhip gave me ſome time ſince, of my Lord *Arlington*'s not being the ſame to me which he had formerly been, and conſtantly ſince our firſt Acquaintance: Which made me, I confeſs, then doubt rather ſome Miſtake in your Lordſhip's Obſervation, than any Change in his Friendſhip or Diſpoſitions. From himſelf, I muſt needs ſay I yet find nothing of it; and tho' his Style ſeems a little changed in what concerns our Publick Affairs, yet not at all in what is particular to me. When I come into *England* I ſhall ſoon know the Truth of your Conjecture, and tell it you, becauſe by that I ſhall judge the Truth of mine: For having never ſaid or done any thing to deſerve the leaſt Change in his Lordſhip's Friendſhip to me ſince it firſt began; I am ſure if it happens, it can be derived from nothing elſe but a Change he foreſees in thoſe Meaſures at Court which he has been with your Lordſhip ſo deeply engaged in; and which he knows as well as your Lordſhip that I will never have any Part in the Councils of altering, till I can be convinced that any others will be more for his Majeſty's Honour and Safety.

All this I ſay in Confidence to your Lordſhip, without touching any Word of it to my Lord *Arlington*, or any other Perſon: And ſhall increaſe this Trouble no farther, becauſe I hope to have ſo ſoon the Honour of ſeeing you, and aſſuring you a nearer way, with how much Paſſion as well as Truth, I am and ſhall be ever,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To the Great Duke of Tuſcany.

London. Nov. 4. 1670.

SIR,

I Should not have ſatisfied my ſelf barely to reſent all the Favours of your moſt Serene Highneſs, and particularly the Honour of your laſt of *September* the 30th, if I were any way capable of acknowledging them as I ought, either by my Expreſſions or my Services. But your Highneſs being pleaſed to oblige ſo many ways ſo unprofitable a Perſon, can hope for no other Returns than the Pleaſure of your own Generoſity, and the Devotion of a Heart ſo grateful as mine.

I ſhould have extremely regretted the length of time your Letter was in paſſing before it found me at *London*, after having miſſed me at the *Hague*; were it not that your Highneſs is to conſider me here as one of the commoneſt among the King's Subjects, and not as a Miniſter who has any part in publick Affairs. And therefore you can expect nothing in my Letters but the tedious Complements of an idle Man, inſtead of ſuch Informations and Services as your Highneſs might expect to receive from thoſe who are devoted like me to your Service. But the Marquis of *Puzzi* is too well received at the K. my Maſter's Court, and too well informed, not to have given your Highneſs all Intelligence neceſſary, as well of his Majeſty's Friendſhip and Eſteem, as of the general Devotion his Subjects bear for the Perſon of your Highneſs. He muſt alſo have informed your Highneſs of the happy Diſpoſition his Majeſty has found in his Parliament, for the Encreaſe

Au Grand Duc de Toſcane.

De Lond. le 4 Nov. S. N. 1670.

Monſieur,

Je ne me contenterois pas de reſſentir comme je le fais & comme je le dois, toutes les bontez de V. A. Sme. & particulierement l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait par ſa derniere lettre du 30 de Septembre, ſi je me trouvois le moins du monde capable de les reconnoitre comme elles le meritent, ou par mes expreſſions, ou par mes ſervices. Mais V. A. ayant voulu par tant de manieres differentes obliger un Sujet auſſi inutile que je le ſuis, n'a pas dû en eſperer d'autres fruits que le plaiſir de jouir de ſa prope generoſité, & de s'attacher un cœur auſſi reconnoiſſant que le mien.

Je me ſerois fort plaint des longueurs à travers leſquelles la lettre de V. A. eſt enfin venue me trouver à Londres, aprés m'avoir manqué à la Haye, ſi deſormais je devois être regardé de V. A. autrement que comme un homme privé, & un des Sujets les plus ordinaires de ſa Majeſté, qui n'eſt plus ni Miniſtre public, ni admis dans les affaires. Par conſequent mes lettres ne peuvent contenir, que les complimens d'un homme oiſif, au lieu des relations & des inſtructions que V. A. attend de ceux qui ſont auſſi attachez à elle qu'elle ſait que je le ſuis. Mais Monſieur le Marq. de Puzzi eſt trop bien à la Cour du Roy mon Maître, & d'ailleurs trop eclairé, & trop exact, pour n'avoir pû informer V. A. de tout ce qu'elle doit ſavoir par rapport à nôtre Cour; ſur tout, il n'aura pas negligé, je m'aſſure, de luy parler de l'amitié & de l'eſtime de ſa Majeſté pour la perſonne de V. A. en cela ſecondée par l'affection generale de tous ſes Sujets. Il vous aura auſſi entretenu des heureuſes diſpoſitions que ſa Majeſté vient de trouver

creaſe of his Revenues, and by that means for the Eſtabliſhment of his Intereſts both within and without his Kingdoms. I am ſorry the ſaid Marquis has found nothing here to pleaſe or keep him longer among us. But I hope your Highneſs will not think that during my ſtay here, there can want a Perſon, as ready to receive and obey all your Commands as any of your own Subjects, ſince I am ſo much,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

ver dans l'aſſemblée de ſon Parlement, pour l'augmentation de ſes Finances, & pour la ſeureté de ſes interêts tant au dedans qu'aux dehors de ſes Etats. Je ſuis bien marris que Monſieur le Marquis n'ait pas trouvé icy aſſés de charmes pour s'y plaire, & s'y ſejourner un peu plus long tems. Mais j'oſe eſperer que V. A. ne croira pas manquer dans Londres d'une perſonne entierement devouée à ſon ſervice, & auſſi empreſſée à recevoir ſes ordres, qu'aucun de ſes propres Sujets, tandis que j'y feray mon ſejour, puiſque je ſuis,

Monſieur,

De V. A. S^me, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, *London, November* 22. 1670.

I Muſt make you my humble Acknowledgments for ſo great a Preſent, as you have been pleaſed to ſend me towards that Expence I have reſolved to make at *Sheen:* And aſſure you, no part of it ſhall either go any other way, or leſſen what I had intended of my own. I doubt not to compaſs what I told you of my Lord *Liſle*, for enlarging my ſmall Territories there; when that is done, I propoſe to beſtow a thouſand Pounds upon the Conveniencies of the Houſe and Garden, and hope that will reach all I care for: So that your five hundred Pounds may be laid out rather for Ornament than Uſe, as you ſeem to deſire, by ordering me to make the Front perfectly uniform. Your Care of that, and me, in this Matter is the more obliging, the leſs I find you concur with me in my Thoughts of retiring wholly from publick Affairs, and to that Purpoſe, of making my Neſt at this time as pleaſant and commodious as I can afford it. Nor ſhall I eaſily reſolve to offer at any of thoſe Advantages you think I might make upon ſuch a Retreat, of the King's Favour or good Opinion, by pretending either to Penſion or any other Employment. The Honour and Pay of ſuch Poſts as I have been in, ought to be eſteemed ſufficient for the beſt Services of them: And if I have Credit left with the preſent Miniſters to get what is owing me upon my Ambaſſy, I ſhall think my ſelf enough rewarded; conſidering how different a Value is now like to be put upon my Services in *Holland*, from what there was when they were performed. 'Tis very likely at that Time, as you believe, there were few reaſonable Things the King would have denied me, while the *Triple Alliance* and our League with *Holland* had ſo great a Vogue: and my Friends were not wanting in their Advices to me to make uſe of it. But I have reſolved never to ask him any Thing, otherwiſe than by ſerving him well: And you will have the leſs Reaſon perhaps to reproach me this Method, if you will pleaſe to remember how the two Ambaſſies of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Holland* were not only thrown upon me without my ſeeking; but alſo what my Lord *Arlington* told me was deſigned for me upon Secretary *Morris*'s Removal, in caſe the King had not thought my Ambaſſy into *Holland* of the greateſt Neceſſity in purſuance of thoſe Meaſures we had taken with that *State*.

For what you think of the Intereſt we have ſtill to purſue them, and conſequently of the Uſe the King will ſtill have of me upon that Occaſion: I will not enter into any Reaſonings with you upon that Matter at this Diſtance; but will only tell you ſome Paſſages of Fact upon which I ground the Judgment I make of Affairs wherein I have no Part; and which I am not ſo ſolicitous to draw into the Light, as I doubt others are to keep them in the Dark. And when I have told you theſe, I ſhall leave you to judge whether I take my Meaſures right as to my own private Conduct.

You know firſt the Part I had in all our Alliances with *Holland*; how far my own perſonal Credit was engaged upon them to Monſieur *de Witt*; and the Reſolutions I not only acquainted him and you with, but his Majeſty too; that I would never have any Part in breaking them whatever ſhould happen: Tho' that I confeſs could hardly enter into any Bodies Head that underſtood the Intereſts of *Chriſtendom* as well as our own. I have given you ſome Intimations how cold I have obſerved our Temper at Court in thoſe Matters for this laſt Year; and how different it was thought abroad from that Warmth with which we engaged in them: So that it was a common Saying at the *Hague*, *Qu'il faut avouer, qu'il y a eu neuf mois du plus grand Miniſtere du monde en Angleterre*: For they would hardly allow a longer Term to the Vigour of that Council which made the *Triple Alliance*, and the Peace of *Aix*, and ſent me over into *Holland* this laſt Ambaſſy to purſue the great Ends of them, and draw the *Emperor* and Princes of the *Empire* into the common Guaranty of the Peace. Inſtead of this, our Pretenſions upon the Buſineſs of *Surinam*, and the *Eaſt-India* Companies have grown high, and been managed with Sharpneſs between us and the *States*; and grounded (as Monſieur *de Witt* conceives) more upon a Deſign of ſhewing them our ill Humour than our Reaſon. I was ſenſible, that my Conduct in all theſe Matters had fallen ſhort for many Months paſt of the Approbation at Court it uſed to receive; and that Mr. *Worden* was ſent over to me only to diſparage it, or eſpy the Faults of it; tho' I think he returned with the Opinion that the Buſineſs would not bear it. 'Tis true, both my Lord *Arlington* and Sir *John Trevor* continued to the laſt of my ſtay in *Holland* to aſſure me, that the King ſtill remained firm in his Meaſures with the *States*: But yet I found the Buſineſs of admitting the *Emperor* into the Guaranty, went downright lame: And that my Lord Keeper was in a manner out of the Foreign Councils; for ſo he writ to me himſelf, and gave me notice at the ſame time, that my Lord *Arlington* was not at all the ſame to me that he had been: Which I took for an ill Sign in our publick Buſineſs, and an ill Circumſtance in my own; and the more, becauſe I was ſure not to have deſerved it; and found nothing of it in his own Letters, but only that they came ſeldom, and run more upon indifferent Things than they uſed to do.

Ever ſince *Madame's* Journey into *England*, the *Dutch* had grown jealous of ſomething between us and *France*; and were not like to be cured by theſe Particulars I have mentioned: But upon the Invaſion and Seizure of *Lorrain* by *France*, and my being ſent for over ſo ſuddenly after it, Monſieur *de Witt* himſelf could keep his Countenance no longer; though he be neither ſuſpicious in his Nature, nor thought it the beſt Courſe to diſcover any ſuch Diſpoſition upon this Occaſion, how much ſoever he had of it: But yet he told me at my coming away, that he ſhould make a Judgment of us by the ſuddenneſs of my Return, which the King had ordered me to aſſure him of.

When I came to Town, I went immediately to my Lord *Arlington* according to Cuſtom. And whereas upon my ſeveral Journeys over in the late Conjunctures, he had ever quitted all Company to receive me, and did it always with open Arms, and in the kindeſt manner that could be; he made me this laſt time ſtay an Hour and half in an outward Room before he came to me, while he was in private with my Lord *Aſhly*. He received me with a Coldneſs that I confeſs ſurprized me; and after a quarter of an Hour's talk of my Journey and his Friends at the *Hague*, inſtead of telling me the Occaſion of my being ſent for over, or any thing elſe material, he called in *Tatá* that was in the next Room, and after that my Lord *Crofts*, who came upon a common Viſit; and in that Company the reſt of mine paſs'd, till I found he had nothing more to ſay to me, and ſo went away.

The next Morning I went however to him again, deſiring to be brought by him to kiſs the King's Hand, as I uſed upon my former Journeys. He thought fit to bring me to his Majeſty as he was walking in the *Mall*; who ſtop'd to give me his Hand, and ask'd me half a dozen Queſtions about my Journey, and about the Prince of *Orange*, and ſo walk'd on. Since which Time, neither the King nor my Lord *Arlington* have ever ſaid three Words to me about any thing of Buſineſs; tho' I have been as often in their way as agreed with ſuch an ill Courtier as I am, or a Man without Buſineſs as I found my ſelf to be.

I have ſeen my Lord *Keeper* and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*: And find the firſt uneaſy and apprehenſive of our preſent Councils; the laſt ſufficient and confident that no Endeavours can break the Meaſures between us and *Holland*, becauſe they are eſteemed ſo neceſſary abroad and ſo rational at home: Yet, I find them both but barely in the Skirts of Buſineſs; and only in Right of their Poſts; And that in the Secret of it, the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Arlington*, my Lord *Aſhly*, and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, at preſent compoſe the Miniſtry. This I tell you in ſhort as the Conſtitution of our Affairs here at this Time, and which I believe you may reckon upon.

You know how different Sir *Thomas Clifford* and I have always been ſince our firſt Acquaintance, in our Schemes of Government, and many other Matters, eſpecially concerning our Alliance with *Holland*: And that has been the Reaſon, I ſuppoſe, of very little Commerce between us farther than common Civility, in our frequent Encounters at my Lord *Arlington*'s for ſeveral Years paſt: This made me a little ſurprized at his receiving me upon my firſt coming over, and treating me ſince with a moſt wonderful Graciouſneſs, till t'other day, which I ſuppoſe has ended that Style. Upon the firſt Viſit he made me, after many Civilities, he told me, he muſt needs have two Hours Talk with me at ſome Time of Leiſure and in private, upon our Affairs in *Holland*: And ſtill repeated this almoſt every time he ſaw me: Till one Day laſt Week, when we appointed the Hour, and met in his Cloſet. He began with great Compliments to me about my Services to the King in my Employments abroad; went on with the Neceſſity of preſerving our Meaſures with *Holland*, and the mutual Intereſt both Nations had in it: And concluded with wondring why the *States* ſhould have ſhewed ſo much Difficulty upon thoſe two Affairs of *Surinam* and the *Eaſt-India* Company, wherein our Demands ſeemed ſo reaſonable. And how it came about that I had failed in compaſſing his Majeſty's Satisfaction in thoſe two Matters, after having ſucceeded ſo much in all my other Negotiations. I thought he might not have underſtood the Detail of thoſe two Affairs; and ſo deduced it to him, with the *Dutch* Reaſons, which I confeſs ſeemed to me in many Points but too well grounded. He ſeemed unſatisfied with them all, and told me I muſt undertake that Matter again, and bring it to a Period; and asked me whether I did not think I could bring them to *Reaſon*: I ſaid plainly I believed I never could, to what we called *ſo*, and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it: That I had ſpent all my Shot in vain; and therefore thought their beſt way would be to employ ſome Perſon in it that had more Wit or Ability than I. Upon this he grew a little moved; and replied, That for my Wit and Ability they all knew I had enough; and all the Queſtion was, whether I was willing to employ them upon this Occaſion, which ſo much concerned the King's Service, and the Honour of the Nation. Hereupon I told him, how I had uſed my utmoſt Endeavours in it already, how many Repreſentations I had made the *States*, how many Conferences I had had with their Commiſſioners, how long and particular Accounts I had given them hitherto, and how I had valued all the Reaſons tranſmitted me from hence, and how all to no purpoſe: And being, I confeſs, a little heated after ſo long and unpleaſant a Converſation (as well as he) I asked him in the Name of God what he thought a Man could do more? Upon this in a great Rage he anſwered me, Yes; he would tell me what a Man might do more, and what I ought to do more; which was, to let the King and all the World know how baſely and unworthily the *States* had uſed him; and to declare publickly how their Miniſters were a Company of Rogues and Raſcals, and not fit for his Majeſty or any other Prince to have any thing to do with: And this was a Part that no body could do ſo well as I. My Anſwer was very calm, That I was not a Man fit to make Declarations:

That whenever I did upon any Occaſion, I ſhould ſpeak of all Men what I thought of them; and ſo I ſhould do of the *States*, and the Miniſters I had dealt with there, which was all I could ſay of this Buſineſs. And ſo our Converſation ended.

Upon all theſe Paſſages, and ſome others not fit for a Letter, I have fixed my Judgment of the Affairs and Counſels at preſent in Deſign or Deliberation here. I apprehended Weather coming, that I ſhall have no mind to be abroad in; and therefore reſolved to get a warm Houſe over my Head as ſoon as I could: And neither apprehend any Uneaſineſs of Mind or Fortune in the private Life I propoſe to my ſelf; unleſs ſome publick Revolutions ſhould draw both upon me, which cannot touch me alone, and muſt be born like a common Calamity.

I cannot find them willing yet to end my Ambaſſy in Form, or give me leave to ſend over for my Wife and Family; which I eaſily apprehend the Reaſon of, and muſt go through as well as I can; though my Expence at the *Hague* be great, and my Hopes little here of getting my Pay, as I find Affairs go and Diſpoſitions too in the Treaſury, where all is diſpoſed in a manner by Sir *Thomas Clifford*. In the mean time I have ſent over for my *Spaniſh* Horſe, and intend to ſend a Groom away with him to *Dublin*, in hopes you will be pleaſed with him. I can be *ſo* with nothing more than the Occaſions of expreſſing always that Duty wherewith I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Monſieur de Witt.

Sheen, July 25.
SIR, 1671.

BY yours of the 14th Inſtant I received the Marks you were pleaſed to give me of your Friendſhip and Memory, which I value as I ought, and as coming from a Perſon who has already acquired the Eſteem of all the World, and by *that* the Right of doing much Honour to others to whom he gives any Teſtimony of his own. I can pretend to no other part in it, than what your Goodneſs gives me, and am afraid that this may do Injury to your Judgment. But knowing that your Opinion of me is ſolely founded upon your Knowledge of my good Intentions, I ſhall defend my ſelf no longer; becauſe in this Age there is ſo little Honour in being a good Man, that none are ſuſpected to employ their Vanity about it, any more than their Purſuits. I ſhould quit my Reſidence at the *Hague* with much Regret, if I were of your Opinion in what regards me; for I think I ſhould be wholly uſeleſs there, and find I am better turned for making a *good Gardner* than an *able Miniſter*. However, I ſhall ever bear much Reſpect and Eſteem

to

A Monſieur de Witt.

De Sheen, le 25
Monſieur, Juil. 1671.

J'AY reçu dans vôtre lettre du 14 *de ce mois les marques que vous avez bien voulu me donner de vôtre ſouvenir, & de vôtre amitié, je les eſtime ce qu'elles valent, & comme venant d'une perſonne qui s'eſt deja acquis l'eſtime de tout le monde, & par la le droit de faire beaucoup d'honneur en donnant des marques de la ſienne. Je n'y ſçaurois pretendre d'autre part que celle que vôtre generoſité m'y donne & je crains même que cela ne faſſe quelque tort à vôtre jugement. Mais, ſachant que la bonne opinion que vous temoignez avoir de moy, n'eſt fondée que ſur la connoiſſance de mes bonnes intentions, je ne veux plus me defendre; car, au reſte, dans un ſiecle comme le nôtre, il y a trop peu de gloire à être homme de bien, pour s'attirer le ſoupçon d'avoir tourné ſes veuës à ce côté là, & borné ſa vanité à ſi peu de choſe. Je quitterois avec beaucoup de regret, le ſejour de la Haye, ſi j'avois de moy même, l'opinion que vous voulez que j'en aye; mon ſentiment eſt, que j'y ſerois tout-à fait inutile; & je me ſens beaucoup plus propre à pratiquer*

to thoſe who are well qualified for the latter, and therefore cannot fail of both for your Perſon in particular, any more than of my Acknowledgements for your Civilities to me at the *Hague*, whereof I ſhall ever preſerve the Remembrance, as well as the Paſſion wherewith I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

tiquer l'art d'un bon Jardinier, que celuy d'habile Miniſtre. J'auray pourtant toujours l'eſtime & le reſpect qui ſont dûs à eux qui ſavent bien ce dernier, & par là je croy dire aſſez clairement, que je n'en manqueray jamais pour vôtre perſonne en particulier. Je ſay de plus quelle reconnoiſſance je dois à toutes les civilitez que j'ay receues de vous pendant mon ſejour à la Haye; & mon cœur en conſervera eternellement le ſouvenir, ainſi que la paſſion avec laquelle je ſuis,

Monſieur,

Vôtre, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R, *London, Sept.* 14. 1671.

I AM ſure you will be pleaſed with knowing that my Wife and Family are ſafe arrived from *Holland*, after a Paſſage that might very well have met with other Dangers beſides thoſe of Wind and Weather. I could not obtain Leave to ſend for them till *July*, though I had for ſome Months ſollicited both that and the ending of my Ambaſſy: But then his Majeſty was pleaſed to grant me both that Liberty, and alſo of writing to the *States* and to Monſieur *de Witt*, to take my Leave of them, and end my Ambaſſy as upon my own Deſire, and my own private Occaſions; which were indeed enough to engage me in that Purſuit, conſidering the Charge of maintaining an Ambaſſador's Family at the *Hague*, while my Payments from the Exchequer went ſo heavy and ſo lame.

'Tis true, I had other Reaſons long about me, which I kept to my ſelf: For ſoon after my coming over, my Wife writ me word, that Monſieur *Gioe* the *Daniſh* Envoy there, had told her in Confidence, and out of Kindneſs to me, that Monſieur *Pompone* the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, had acquainted him, That new Meaſures were taken between our Court and that of *France*; among which one was, that I ſhould be recalled and return no more.

At the ſame time Monſieur *de Witt* had upon the Delays of my Return, told my Secretary Mr. *Blaithwait*, that he ſhould take my Stay or coming back for certain Signs of what the King's Intentions were towards the preſerving or changing the Meaſures he had taken with the *States*; and had deſired him to let the Court know what he ſaid. This I ſuppoſe made them unwilling to make a Declaration by my recalling of what they intended upon this Occaſion, before all Things neceſſary were more fully agreed, or better concerted. Therefore they continued not only my Family there for ſo many Months, and the Talk of my Return, but entertained the *Dutch* Miniſters here with ſuch Language as gained in them an Opinion of our Meaſures ſtill continuing firm upon the ſame Bottom; and with ſuch a Credulity as was enough to make one doubt whether they were willing to deceive their Maſters, or to be deceived themſelves.

In *July* the *Dutch* Fleet was floating in the Chanel; to ſhew, I ſuppoſe, that they were in Condition to meet any of thoſe Dangers they began to ſuſpect from the Motions of *France*, and from our late Conduct. When the Captain of the Yacht that was order'd to convey my Wife over, took his Leave at Court; he had publick Orders given him, if he came in Sight of the *Dutch* Fleet, he ſhould ſail through them, and ſhoot at thoſe Ships which were next him, till he made them ſtrike Sail, or till they ſhot at him again, and then purſue his Courſe. He paſs'd it ſeems into *Holland* without ſeeing them; but as he returned he met the Fleet, and ſailing through them, made ſeveral Shot at thoſe near him: Upon which they ſeemed at leaſt not to know what he meant, and to believe he might be in ſome Diſtreſs, and the Admiral ſent a Boat aboard him to enquire. The Captain told them, that he had been ſent to bring back the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadreſs with her Family from *Holland*; and had Orders to make the *Dutch* Fleet ſtrike where-ever he met them in the Chanel. Upon this Meſſage by the Boat, Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* came aboard the Yacht, upon a Compliment to my Wife, which he perform'd very handſomly, and afterwards deſired to ſpeak with the Captain, of whom he enquired the Reaſon of his ſhooting; and receiving the ſame Anſwer which had been given to the firſt Boat, he ſaid it was a Point they had received no Order in from their Maſters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed between his Majeſty and the *States*. But though it were ſettled, yet the Captain could not pretend the Fleet and Admiral ſhould ſtrike to a Yacht; which was but a Pleaſure-Boat, or at leaſt ſerved only for Paſſage, and could not paſs for one of the King's Men of War. The Captain ſaid he had his Orders, and was bound to follow them. After *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain perplex'd enough came to my Wife, and deſired to know what ſhe pleaſed he ſhould do in the Caſe; which ſhe ſaw he did not like very well, and would be glad to get out of by her Help. She told him, he knew his Orders beſt, and what he was to do upon them; which ſhe left to him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her Children. He purſued his Courſe, and landed her ſafe; after which ſhe went to Court, and was very well received, and much commended for her part in what had paſſed: And at Night Sir *Lionel Jenkins* was ſent to take her Examination in Form upon the whole Matter of Fact. When I went next to the King's Levee, he began to ſpeak of my Wife's Carriage at Sea, and to commend it as much as he blamed the Captain's; and ſaid, ſhe had ſhewed more Courage than he: And then falling upon the *Dutch* Inſolence, I ſaid, that however Matters went, it muſt be confeſſed that there was ſome Merit in my Family, ſince I had made the Alliances with *Holland*, and my Wife was like to have the Honour of making the War. The King ſmiled as well as I, who had found this the only way to turn the Diſcourſe into good Humour; and ſo it ended.

When I went into the King's Cloſet, I deſired to kiſs his Hand upon the end of my Ambaſſy; which he gave me very graciouſly, and told me, he had all the Reaſon that could be, to be ſatisfied with my Services. And upon my Deſire that he would give me ſome Help in the Diſpatch of my Payments due from the Exchequer, ſince I was reſolved to ask him nothing elſe; and had been at ſo great Expence to maintain my Family at the *Hague* ſo long without their Help. He told me, he would ſpeak to the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury to do me Juſtice; and in the mean time would give me the Plate belonging to my Ambaſſy, which I had ſtill in my Poſſeſſion. I gave his Majeſty my humble Thanks; and he ſeemed very much pleaſed to ſee I took it kindly, and was ſo eaſily contented.

And thus an Adventure has ended in Smoak, which had for almoſt three Years made ſo much Noiſe in the World, reſtored and preſerved ſo long the general Peace, and left his Majeſty the Arbitrage of all Affairs among our Neighbours, by the *Emperor* and *Spain*'s Reſolutions, as well as *Sweden* and *Holland*'s, to follow his Meaſures for the common Safety and Peace of *Chriſtendom*.

The *Dutch* Miniſters at Court, as ill Noſes as they have, began to ſmell the Powder after the Captain's ſhooting, and know not what Countenances to ſet upon it here, and will I doubt be more to ſeek at their Return. All People are full of the Politicks and Expectations of what will be next, which you muſt expect to hear from Gazettes, and no more from me; who ſhall not ſo much as enquire, nor care to know; but retire to my Corner at *Sheen*, and endeavour to paſs the reſt of my Life as quietly and innocently as I can; and for the reſt, like a private Man, run the Fortune of my Country.

I have been long enough in Courts and publick Buſineſs, to know a great deal of the World and of my ſelf; and to find that we are not made for one another, and that neither of us are like to alter either our Natures or our Cuſtoms: And that in the Courſe and Periods of publick Government, as well as private Life, *Quiſque ſuos patimur Manes.*

I am ſenſible this is too long a Trouble; but being like to be the laſt of this kind, I hope you will forgive it, among many others you have been content with from,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient Son,

and moſt humble Servant.

To my Brother Sir John Temple.

Sheen, May 23. 1672.

Dear Brother,

THO' I have not much troubled my Friends or my ſelf with Letters, ſince I left off all publick Buſineſs; yet our Company here being otherwiſe engaged at this time, I could not defer the telling you by this Poſt, that my Brother *Harry* is ſafe arrived from *France*, and talks of beginning another Journey towards you in a little time. I doubt he had not come over ſo ſoon, but from the Apprehenſion of more Danger at Sea upon the *Dutch* War breaking out, which you will at length believe my Preſages of had ſome Reaſon, as I will allow you had none to think them true at that Diſtance; ſince neither the *French* nor the *Dutch* would believe we were in earneſt, till we fell upon the *Smyrna* Fleet. My Brother *Harry* ſays, no body till then believed it at *Paris*; and when I told my Lord *Arlington* what he ſaid, he confeſs'd the very *French* Court would not believe it till that Blow was ſtruck: And how well ſoever our Meaſures with them were taken, yet they reſolved we ſhould begin the War; which was an Honour we might perhaps have ſpared, conſidering who was like to have the Profit of it.

For the *Dutch*, though they were alarmed at Sir *George Downing*'s being ſent over upon the ending of my Ambaſſy, yet they thought it was deſigned only to fright them into ſome great Payments, as he had endeavoured to do before the firſt War began; ſo that they were ſtill in Hopes, that if our common Intereſt and Treaties ſhould not hold us, yet they might at leaſt *buy* our Friendſhip. Therefore the *States* treated Sir *George Downing* with all Reſpect and Civility; though the common People were hardly kept in order upon their old Hatred to him, which was well known here before he went. For when the King named him for that Employment, one of the Council ſaid, *The Rabble will tear him in pieces*; upon which the King ſmiled, and ſaid, *Well, I'll venture him.* But Sir *George* was ſo wiſe as not to venture himſelf too far; which made him come away in a Fright without Orders or Leave: And that was all the Occaſion of his being ſent to the *Tower* upon his Arrival, which diſappointed ſome Ends deſigned by his Journey. I think indeed none got much by it but I; who had the good Fortune to put off my Houſe at the *Hague* with a great deal of my Furniture to him at his going over. This Advantage indeed was but ſmall, in compariſon of what I have loſt upon this Occaſion by the Stop of the Exchequer, which has ſunk all the Mony I had in Alderman *Backwell*'s Hands, and I doubt, without Recovery. This Council was carried ſo ſecret, that I do not hear of any Man at Court that had Warning enough to call in his Mony out of any of the Bankers Hands: Till Sir *Thomas Clifford* propoſed the thing at Council without other Circumſtance, than ſaying, that 'twas neceſſary the King muſt have Mony upon the War with *Holland*: That he knew no other way but this; and deſired none would ſpeak againſt it, without propoſing ſome better and eaſier way. Upon this, nothing more was ſaid, and the thing paſs'd; and being immediately publick, 'twas too late for any Man to call in his Mony; which made the Loſs and Complaint very general, as well as particular to me. Yet I pray God this may prove the worſt Conſequence of the preſent War, and the Counſels that have engaged us in it. I doubt you will find very ill ones in *Ireland* by the Loſs of all your foreign Trade, that will ſoon follow.

But my publick Thoughts are ended, and ſo I leave them to thoſe who are engaged in them. If my Father and you are well, as your Friends are all here, 'tis enough: And I am ever

Your moſt affectionate Brother.

To Monſieur Wickfort.

London, Oct. 10.
S I R, *N. S.* 1672.

IF by the Courſe of publick Affairs it were permitted me to cultivate any Correſpondence in the Country where you are, it ſhould without doubt have been yours, which hath ever been equally profitable and agreeable to me: But we muſt comply with the Times and Motions of our Governments, how contrary ſoever they may be to our own Inclinations. However, ſince publick Edicts do not forbid any Commerce that is only uſed for withdrawing Effects in either Country, I am by that means allowed to acquit my ſelf of the Acknowledgments I owe you for diſpatching my Affairs with Monſieur *Scague*, and to deſire you will continue to me your good Offices, if I ſhall need them, towards finiſhing the reſt of my Accounts with my Merchant at *Amſterdam.*

In the mean time, I thank you for the Favour of your laſt, which has given me a very agreeable Surprize: 'Tis a great Pleaſure to hear, that any Memory is left of a Perſon buried in the Privacy of a Country Life, and the idle Amuſements of Leiſure. For ſince his Majeſty has thought fit to change the Courſe of his Councils, in the purſuit whereof I was ſo long and ſo ſincerely engaged, as ever believing them equally neceſſary to the Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, and to the Good of both our Nations; I have had no ſhare at all in Publick Affairs; but on the contrary, am wholly ſunk in my Gardening, and the Quiet of a private Life; which I thank God, agrees with me as well as the Splendor of the World, and gives me a great deal more Quiet and Satisfaction than I ſhould have found by purſuing my Fortunes in it, if I had the Inclinations

A Monſieur Wickfort.

De Lond. le 10 Oct.
Monſieur, S. N. 1672.

SI les conjonctures & les ſituations des affaires publiques, m'avoient permis d'entretenir quelque correſpondence au païs où vous etes, c'eût été ſans doute une amitié comme la vôtre que j'euſſe eu ſoin de cultiver ; car elle m'a toujours paru egalement utile & agreable. Il faut s'accommoder au tems, & ceder aux mouvemens qui entrainent les Etats, quelques oppoſez qu'ils ſoient à nos deſirs & à nos volontez. Mais comme les Declarations des Princes ne deffendent pas cette ſorte de commerce, qui n'a pour but que de retirer les effets, & de ſouder ſes comptes de part & d'autre, il m'eſt permis de m'acquitter de ce que je vous dois pour m'avoir tiré d'affaire avec Monſieur Scague, & de vous ſupplier de me continuer vos bons offices, en cas qu'ils me ſoient encore neceſſaires pour finir le reſte de mes comptes avec mon Marchand d'Amſterdam.

Je vous remercie en même tems de la grace que vous m'avez faite par vôtre derniere lettre, qui me fût rendue il y a quelque tems, & qui me cauſa une agreable ſurpriſe ; je voy avec plaiſir qu'on ſe ſouvient encore d'une perſonne enſevelie dans un ſejour champêtre, & qui dans ſa retraite ne paroît plus ſenſible qu'aux douceurs d'une vie oiſive. Car depuis que ſa Majeſté a trouvé bon de changer la face de ſon conſeil, auquel j'ay été ſi long tems & ſi ſincerement devoué perſuadé que les vœux de ce conſeil etoient egalement utiles & au bien de nos deux nations, & au repos de la Chrêtienté ; depuis ce tems là, dis je, je n'ay pris aucune part aux affaires publiques, & n'ay ſongé au contraire qu'a m'enfoncer dans le jardinage, & à gouter la douceur d'une vie privée ; qui, graces à Dieu, me ſied auſſi bien, que le faſte des emplois, & tout l'eclat du grand monde, & me fait jouir d'un repos plus parfait que

tions as often as I have had the Occaſions to do ſo. I will not tell you, that I have ſucceded ſo well in my ſmall Country Deſigns, as I have ſometimes done in great ones: But, if ever any favourable Accident (and this Age produces ſtrange ones enough) ſhould bring you hither; I would let you ſee that our Buildings are not altogether without Neatneſs: At leaſt, I would make you confeſs that the Fruits of my Garden have another Taſte than thoſe of my * Cloſet, and will preſerve better than thoſe of my Ambaſſies. In the mean time I muſt give place to our Ladies here, who will not be ſatisfied without aſſuring you of their Services, and of the Remembrance they will always keep of the Civilities they have received from you and your Family. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and

moſt affectionate Servant.

que m'en auroit pu procurer la plus grande elevation, ſi avec d'autres deſirs que ceux que j'ay, j'avois menagé toutes les occaſions qui m'ont été offertes pour arriver à une grande fortune. Je ne vous diray pas que j'ay auſſi bien reuſſi dans mes petits projets champêtres, que j'ay autrefois reuſſi dans des deſſeins plus elevez. Mais ſi jamais quelque conjoncture impreveue (car ce ſiecle en fait naitre de plus bizares) m'etoit aſſés favorable pour vous conduire dans nôtre Iſle, je vous ferois voir que nos bâtimens ne ſont pas tout à fait ſans agrément; ou du moins je vous ferois avouer, que les fruits de mon jardin ont bien un autre goût que ceux de mon cabinet, & ont la proprieté de ſe conſerver mieux que ceux de mes Ambaſſades. Je n'oſerois employer ce qui me reſte de papier; & il faut que je ſonge à y laiſſer du vuide pour nos Dames, qui ne me le pardonneroient pas ſi elles n'y trouvoient place pour vous aſſûrer de leurs ſervices, & du ſouvenir qu'elles conſerveront toujours de toutes les bontés qu'elles ont receues tant de vous que de vôtre famille. Je ſuis,

Monſieur,

Vôtre tres humble & tres

affectionné Serviteur,

W. Temple.

The End of Sir W. *Temple's Letters.*

* *Obſervations on the* Netherlands, *which* M. Wickfort *afterwards tranſlated.*

LETTERS TO Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE.*

From Mr. Secretary Trevor.

SIR, *London, Oct. 8. 1668. S. V.*

I Have received your Congratulation as an Effect of your Friendſhip as well as your Civility. I am willing to flatter my ſelf with it, as a Thing very agreeable to my Ambition, and the Deſires I have always had to deſerve it. If it were not to aſſume ſomething of Vanity, I would make you the offer of all the Services which my preſent or future Fortunes ſhall make me capable to pay you; and if I could make them as valuable as they are ſincere, I durſt recommend them to be worthy your acceptance. *Sir,* I know your Worth and Merit give me many Competitors to your Friendſhip; but in this divided World I claim ſome Affinity to your Principles, which gives ſome Singularity to my Pretence.

It is hardly yet in my Province to enter into Buſineſs with you; but I will take the Liberty to tell you, that I am very glad you think it neceſſary, and have made ſome Progreſs in ſome new Expedient for paying the *Swediſh* Subſidies, and confirming that Union which muſt preſerve the Peace of *Europe*. My Lord Keeper and Lord Privy Seal do a little fear the Conſequence of an Univerſal Guaranty upon the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; leſt in the Extent of it, it ſhould be conſtrued to engage the King to greater Charge and Undertakings than will conſiſt with the State of his Affairs. They are of Opinion, that it were better to pay theſe Subſidies in three Parts, whereof *Spain* will readily pay his third, and you know how *England* can pay theirs, if *Holland* will accept their Part: And then to proceed freely to comprehend *Spain* in the Alliance upon ſuch Terms of Advantage as are obvious in reſpect to *England*. My Lord *Arlington*'s Thoughts upon this Subject are not yet known to me: He is with the King, and I have given Him an Account of theſe Diſcourſes, and in a few Days I believe you will hear from him. In the mean time I take the Liberty to give you this Advance of our Meditations here; whereof you will make what uſe you ſhall think reaſonable to thoſe Ends we aim at.

Sir, I am with great Eſteem and Sincerity

Your moſt faithful, and

humble Servant,

J. Trevor.

From the Earl of Northumberland.

SIR, *Petworth, Nov.* 16. 1668.

I Should be very much to blame if I did not make a more than ordinary Acknowledgment for the laſt Letter I received from you; wherein I find more Marks of true Friendſhip than are uſually met with in this Age; where Truth is ſeldom ſpoken, and Flattery is the only Civility. I do very fully agree with you, that none of the Actions of my Life can be of more Importance to me than thoſe at my firſt ſetting out, whereby I may give the World a good or bad Impreſſion of me; and which ſoever of the two is at firſt taken up, will hardly ever be altered. If I fail in this, I cannot but confeſs my ſelf extreme faulty, having lived ſo many Years under the Examples and Precepts of one who made it his whole Buſineſs to inform me of the Difference between Good and Evil, and who was ſo well able to do it: So as beſides the Relation, I can truly ſay, That I have loſt the beſt Friend I had; and I hope to be believed when I ſay that I thought ſo.

I will entertain you no longer on this Subject; but I have entertained my ſelf very well with reading your Letter often: And I aſſure you that you cannot beſtow your Friendſhip on any Body that doth more eſteem it, and will more gladly embrace it than

Your moſt affectionate

and faithful Servant,

Northumberland.

From the Baron de l'Iſola.

Bruſſeles, Dec. 13. 1668.

My Lord,

IF I were not well aſſured of your Goodneſs, and that you know the bottom of my Heart enough to be perſuaded, that Time and Abſence can change nothing of the perfect Friendſhip I have vow'd for your Excellency, I might apprehend my long Silence had raiſed in you an ill Opinion of it: But I will confeſs to you freely, that while I ſaw Things take a quite contrary Courſe to what I wiſh'd; I had not the Heart to entertain a Correſpondence wherein I could furniſh nothing but Words in the Air, uncertain Hopes, and Projects without Foundation. But now, when things ſeem to proceed by Maxims more agreeable to the Circumſtances of the preſent time, I return to my ancient Obligations, and begin to awake out of the profound

Monſieur,

SI je ne connoiſſois bien vôtre bonté & que vous ſavez aſſés le fond de mon coeur pour être perſuadé que le temps & l'abſence ne peuvent rien alterer de la parfaite amitié que j'ay voüé a V. E. j'apprehendrois que mon long ſilence ne luy en eut fait concevoir quelque mauvaiſe opinion : Mais je luy avoüeray franchement que tant que j'ay veu les choſes prendre un cours tout contraire à celuy que je ſouhaitois; je n'ay pas eu le coeur d'entretenir une correſpondence dans laquelle je n'aurois pu fournir que des paroles en l'air, des eſperances incertaines, & des projets ſans fondements. A preſent qu'elles ſemblent s'acheminer par des maximes plus convenables aux circonſtances du tems preſent, je reviens à mes anciennes obligations, & commence à me reveiller comme du profond ſommeil

profound Sleep wherein the languiſhing of our Affairs had plunged me; and my firſt Care is to renew to your Excellency my ancient Services, and to teſtify my extreme Joy for the Hope I have of the Honour very ſoon to embrace you, and pour into your Boſom, my moſt ſecret Thoughts. But ſhall we not have alſo the Company of your illuſtrious Lady my Lady *Temple*? My Wife, who will needs bear me Company, will never be comforted if ſhe miſſes the Occaſion of ſeeing ſo dear a Friend: And I confeſs to you, it would be a ſenſible Mortification if we ſhould not find her with you. In the mean time I humbly deſire your Excellency to believe that I am abſolutely yours, and that I have taken part as I ought in the Glory you have acquired in the World by your great and happy Negotiations, wiſhing you from the bottom of my Heart all the Advantages you ought juſtly to expect from ſo generous a Maſter. Theſe are the moſt ardent Wiſhes of,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt

humble and moſt

obedient Servant,

ſommeil où la langueur de nos operations m'avoit plongé; & mon premier ſoin eſt de renouveller à V. E. mes anciens ſervices; & luy temoigner l'extreme joye que j'ay de l'eſpoir d'avoir bientôt l'honneur de l'embraſſer, & verſer dans ſon ſein mes plus ſecrettes pensées. Mais n'y trouverons nous point vôtre Illuſtre Madame Temple? Ma femme, qui veut abſolument m'accompagner, ne ſe conſolera jamais ſi elle perd cette occaſion de voir une ſi precieuſe amie: Et je vous avoue que ce nous ſeroit une ſenſible mortification, ſi nous ne la rencontrions pas auprés de vous. Cependant je prie tres humblement V. E. de croire que je ſuis abſolument à elle, & que j'ay pris toute la part que je devois, à la gloire qu'elle s'eſt acquiſe dans le monde par ſes belles & heureuſes negotiations; luy ſouhaittant du fond du cœur tous les avantages que vous devez juſtement attendre d'un ſi genereux Maître. Ces ſont les voeux tres ardents que fait ſans ceſſe,

Monſieur,

De vôtre Excellence,

le tres humble & tres

obeïſſant Serviteur,

De l'Iſola.

From my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *London, Jan.* 19. 166$\frac{8}{9}$.

I Have two of yours to acknowledge of the 15th and 22d, I ſhould have ſaid three; for of the former Date I had two, one relating to the publick Affair, the other to you and me; to which I will make Anſwer at the Bottom of this.

I am glad to ſee that at your firſt Entrance with Monſieur *le Baron d'Iſola*, you had worried him out of the Viſion he carried thither, to perſuade the *State* and you to a *Quadruple Alliance*; or, as they have chriſten'd it in *Spain*, an Offenſive and Defenſive League with us. The Teſtimony the World hath juſtly given him of his Wit, makes him think it ſufficient to prevail in any Subject. But your laſt ſhews him come to ſome Reaſon, and that there are two hundred thouſand Crowns already in Hand for the Satiſfaction of the *Swede*. I hope a few Days will make him confeſs all. Before this, I aſſure my ſelf you have his Majeſty's Inſtructions upon this Subject; and the Satiſfaction of ſeeing, that you know our Mind before we told it to you, which I obſerved to his Majeſty and his Miniſters much to your Advantage.

I have alſo this Day in the Preſence of Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, communicated to ſome of the *Eaſt-India* Company the Paper given you by the *States*, upon their Affairs, with the Amendments Monſieur *de Witt* had ſent to *Amſterdam* to make it more compleat. They ſeem at firſt View to believe it comes up to their Deſires in Subſtance, but have deſired it to ſee whether it be rightly worded, with a Promiſe to return it to be ſent you again by the next Poſt, if by that time we can agree what Form to give it.

As to what is ſaid before concerns us both, I have little to ſay; I mean, I am this Evening too much off the Hooks to reply ſo obligingly to you as you have ſpoken to me upon the Probability of my devolving my Correſpondence with you to Sir *John Trevor*. I cannot but tell you what you know already, that you are under his Diſtrict; and muſt therefore expect from him all the formal Diſpatches, but ſhall never be eaſed of my particular ones, till you give me Cauſe, which I know you will never do, to love you or value you leſs. Beſides, *Utrumque noſtrum incredibili modo conſentit aſtrum:* And I am reſolved never to leave you till I have made you able to make my own Fortunes; for which you have Credit enough already, if you had alſo place for it: And believe me without Flattery, you have enough of the former to deſerve Envy, which you muſt learn betimes to live with.

I have not yet ſpoken with Mr. *Williamſon* concerning the Correſpondence you furniſh him; he ſhall himſelf anſwer for it and his Omiſſions all this while; and for my ſelf, believe it, there is no Man living loves and values you more, nor can be with more Truth,

Your moſt affectionate,

and moſt humble Servant,

Arlington.

From the Lord Keeper Bridgeman.

My Lord, *Eſſex-Houſe, Jan.* 28. 166$\frac{8}{9}$.

I HAD the Favour of your Excellency's of the 31ſt Inſtant, N. S. with a Copy of your Letter to Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, and am your Debtor for a Letter of a former Date. I am exceeding glad to find the Buſineſs of the *Swediſh* Subſidies to be brought ſo near a good Concluſion. Sir *Mark Ognati* came to me about the ſame time of the Receipt of yours; and gave me the like Aſſurances, as touching the Concert they were now ſatisfied with it; but only for Convenience-ſake propoſed the Change of ſix hundred Horſe into Foot, as apprehending our *Engliſh* Horſe not ſo well able to endure the hard Forage in *Flanders*, as the *Flemiſh*; but our Foot they took to be excellent good. I find (though I would not tell him ſo) that we ſhall ſcarce agree here to ſend our Foot without Horſe to accompany and ſecure them. As for the time of ſending the Forces, I believe (and ſo I told him) that we ſhall inſiſt to have it undetermined as to a Day; and they muſt reſt upon the Expreſſions, *With all the ſpeed we can*; which is enough, where the Stipulation is *Boná fide* intended to be performed; and the other is not enough without it. Some two Days ago we received Intelligence that the King of *France* has ſubmitted the Differences touching the *Condé* and the other Dependances upon his Conqueſts, to the Determination of the King of *England* and Crown of *Sweden*, ſo it be done within a Year. I hope we ſhall have Peace abroad by this means for a Year at leaſt; I wiſh it may be ſo at home; and this good News which you ſent us, gives me more Encouragement to believe it will be ſo, than any I have from hence.

I have ſomewhat a ſore Fit of the Gout, which ſtill is in my Hand, and cauſes me to make uſe of my Nephew's Pen.

I am with all Faithfulneſs,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt

affectionate Humble Servant,

Orl. Bridgeman. *C. S.*

From Mr. Secretary Trevor.

My Lord, *Whitehall, March 7.* 166$\frac{8}{9}$.

I Have now herewith ſent your Excellency the Ratifications for the two Inſtruments you laſt ſent over. Your Lordſhip will take notice that the Guaranty was ratified once before in *May* laſt, and left in your Hands: I preſume that ſince this laſt Ratification is to be the ſame Guaranty and the Concert together, you will keep the former in your Hands ſtill. I am glad the laſt Fraction of 20000 Rix Dollars is paid alſo, and now the whole matter eſtabliſhed.

I received yours of the 11th Inſtant, N. S. and the encloſed Declaration to the Elector of *Mentz*, of which I have not yet had Opportunity to inform his Majeſty, and to receive his Commands and Reſolutions. To the Concept for *Surinam* he will return you one of our own more full; but ſuch as ſhall not differ much from what the *States* ſeem in theirs to intend, but more explicite, and leſs ſubject to Evaſion. By the next I hope to ſend it, that this Matter may not be delay'd on our part.

We have little News here. The Parliament makes haſte to diſpatch before *Eaſter*. In the Lord's Houſe there is ariſen a great Proceſs which fills Mens Heads, upon the Petition of my Lord *Roos*; who having been by Act of Parliament laſt Year divorced from his Wife, and his Children by her declared illegitimate, and uncapable to inherit, doth now preſs for another Act to enable him to marry another. On *Thurſday* will be the great Debate, in which both the Spiritual and Temporal Lords are divided much.

My Lord, I was very ſorry to find your Indiſpoſition by your Letter; I heartily wiſh you a quick Recovery, and all other Advantages, which no Man deſires for you more truly than

Your Excellency's moſt

faithful humble Servant,

J. Trevor.

From the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, *Whitehall, May* 17. 1669.

THinking as you did that your Lady's Return to you would be ſooner than it has proved, I reſerved the little or nothing I have to ſay to you, till her Arrival with it might make the Diverſion from the Affairs you are full of, more ſuitable.

I have not miſſed a Day at the Committee where your Diſpatches are conſider'd, ſince you went from hence, till yeſterday, that I was kept in my Chamber by an Apprehenſion rather than Fit of the Gout; and that Omiſſion was well ſupplied by a Viſit I received from Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, who gave me a Relation of your laſt Letters, and of the unequal Deſires of ſome of our Allies.

I have all the Reaſon in the World to be very confident that if you were in a Station where your Ability and Induſtry could be as uſeful to me as your Friendſhip is real, I ſhould ſoon find the Effects of it: And this Judgment I make not only from the entire Credit I give to your Profeſſions, but from the Experience I daily have of your Brother the Solicitor's Care of all my neareſt Concerns; which, next to the King's continued Bounty, will owe their greateſt Security and Diſpatch to his Advice and Aſſiſtances. My Wife I hope is now in *Ireland*, both to think and adviſe farther with him.

I am with all Reality,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate

moſt humble Servant,

Ormond.

From my Lord Ambaſſador Montague.

My Lord, *Paris, May* 24. 1669.

I Received the Favour of your Lordſhip's of *May* the 16th. I am glad to hear that the Buſineſs ſo long depending is like to come to ſo ſudden a good Concluſion. Both the *Spaniards* and the *Swedes* are obliged to your Lordſhip, for you have proved a better Solicitor for them both, than either of them could have been for themſelves.

This Court is mightily overjoy'd with News that an Expreſs has brought in great Diligence out of *Poland*, almoſt aſſuring the Prince of *Condé*'s Election to that Crown, If it ſhould prove ſo, the *Swedes* have done no ill Buſineſs for themſelves in entring into the *Triple Alliance*.

The Succours deſigned for *Candia* thy ſay will certainly be embarked and put to Sea the end of this Month.

This is all you ſhall be troubled with at preſent from,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt

obedient humble Servant,

R. Montague.

From the Conſtable of Caſtile.

Bruſſelles, Feb. 6. 1670.

My Lord,

I Received your Excellency's Letter of the 30th paſt, and obſerved among other Points, that your Excellency there inſinuates to me not to preſs you any more upon the Specification of Time, nor any other Change in the Inſtruments, becauſe you had not Orders to do it ; in anſwer to which I will tell your Excellency, that I eſteem as I ought the Zeal wherewith you have aſſiſted to the Concluſion of the Guaranty, and to our Advantage ; aſſuring you, that I am very much obliged to you for it : And having farther conſider'd attentively what your Excellency has repreſented to me ; and particularly of what Importance it was to finiſh this Affair : And to manifeſt farther, the reſpectful Deference I have to whatever can be agreeable to his *Britannick* Majeſty ; I have condeſcended the more willingly and readily to the Payment of 200000 *Patacoons* to the Miniſters of *Sweden*, in the Form your Excellency will have learnt more at large from *Don Stephen de Gamarra*. And beſides, our Reſident at *London Don Manuel de Fonſeca* informs me by Letters of the 24th and 30th of *January*, that the *Lord Keeper*, my Lord *Arlington*, and Secretary *Trevor*, have all three aſſured him, that after his *Britannick* Majeſty was informed particularly of our Reaſons, he had reſolved to order you to conclude the Treaty, and to ſpecify the Time in the Act of Aſſiſtances, as I had deſired of you ; and that in Conformity to this, Orders ſhould be ſent you, by which there was no Doubt at *London* of the entire Concluſion of the Guaranty. After which Notices, and the Proofs I have of your Excellency's Deſire to ſee this Affair finiſhed to our Satisfaction, I have cauſe to hope, that your Excellency having already received the ſaid Orders, will be at no farther Pain to ſpecify the ſaid Term wherein his *Britannick* Majeſty will give us Supplies in the ſame Form that other *Confederate Princes* have granted

Monſieur,

J'*AY receu la lettre de vôtre Excellence du* 30 *du paſſé, & veu entre autres points, ce qu'elle m'y inſinue, de ne la vouloir faire plus preſſer ſur la ſpecification du tems, ni aucun autre changement dans les inſtrumens, puis qu'elle n'avoit pas les ordres de le faire. En reponſe de quoy je diray à V. E. que j'eſtime comme je dois le zele avec lequel elle a cooperé à la concluſion de la garantie, & à nôtre avantage ; l'aſſuerant que je luy en demeure tres obligé & tres reconnoiſſant. Et ayant en outre conſideré attentivement tout ce que V. E. m'a repreſenté, & particulierement l'importance qu'il y avoit d'achever cette affaire, & pour manifeſter tant plus la reſpectueuſe deference que j'ay à tout ce qui peut eſtre agreable à ſa Majeſté Bretannique : Je ſuis condeſcendu tant plus volontiers & promptement à la delivrance des* 200000 *Pattacons aux Miniſtres de la Couronne de Suede ; en la forme que V. E. l'aura appris plus à plein du Sieur Don Eſtevan de Gamarra. Et d'ailleurs, comme nôtre Reſident à la Cour de Londres, Don Manuel de Fonſeca, me mande par lettres du* 24 *&* 31 *de Janvier ; que le Garde Seaux, Milord Arlington, & le Secretaire Trevor, l'ont tous trois aſſeuré, qu'aprés que ſa Majeſté Bretannique avoit eſté informée en detail des raiſons qui nous aſſiſtent, elle avoit reſolue de vous ordonner de conclurre le Traité, & de ſpecifier le tems dans l'acte des aſſiſtances, comme je l'avois demandé, & qu'en cette conformité l'on vous envoyeroit les ordres : Moyennant quoy l'on ne doutoit plus à Londres de l'entiere concluſion de la Garantie. Enſuite des quelles notices, & des preuvés que j'ay du deſir de V. E. de voir vuider cette affaire à nôtre ſatisfaction ; J'ay ſujet d'eſperer que vôtre Excellence ayant deja receu leſdits ordres, elle n'aura plus de peine de ſpecifier ledit terme, auquel ſa Majeſté Bretannique nous donnera le ſecours, en la même forme que les autres Potentats Confederez l'ont accordé, ſoit* dans

granted them, whether in the ſame Act, or in an Inſtrument apart, as your Excellency offers in you Letter; and I deſire you earneſtly to do it, that we may acknowledge the entire Accompliſhment of this Treaty to his *Britannick* Majeſty, and to the Diſpoſition of your Excellency, from whoſe Hand I ſtill expect this Favour, accompanied with that of your Commands to ſerve you, as being entirely,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt

humble and moſt

affectionate Servant.

dans le même acte, ou dans un inſtrument à part, comme V. E. l'offre en ſa lettre; & je l'en prie tres inſtamment de le vouloir faire, à fin que nous donnions l'accompliſſement tout entier de ce traité à ſa Majeſté Bretannique, & à la diſpoſition de V. E. de la main de laquelle j'attens encore cette faveur, accompagnée de celle de ſes commandemens en ſon ſervice, comme étant entierement,

Monſieur,

De vôtre Excellence

tres humble & tres

affectionné Serviteur,

Connetable.

From the Count de Monterey.

Monſieur,

Bruxelles, 27 Juill. 1670.

LES temoignages qu'il a plû à vôtre Excellence de me donner de la joye que luy a causé le choix que la Reyne ma Maîtreſſe a fait de moy pour le Gouvernment des ces Provinces, ſont ſi evidents, & accompagnés des avis ſi ſalutaires & dignes de la prudence de V. E. que je ne trouve pas des termes propres pour expliquer les ſentimens d'obligation & de gratitude qui m'en demeurent: J'eſpere que cette nouvelle charge me ſubminiſtrera les Occaſions frequentes, de luy faire voir plûtôt par les effets & mes ſervices, que par des paroles, le deſir que j'ay de cultiver non ſeulement la bonne correſpondence & amitié avec V. E. mais auſſi d'executer les bons conſeils & inſtructions qu'elle a eu agreable de me communiquer en ſa lettre du 22 de ce mois, pour tant mieux addreſſer en cet penible charge ſelon les ſouhaits de V. E. à quoy j'appliqueray tous mes ſoins & mes forces avec autant de chaleur & de paſſion que je ſuis,

Monſieur,

De vôtre Excellence,

tres humble & tres dedié Serviteur,

J. Comte de Monterey.

From Sir John Werden.

My Lord, *Stockholm, Sept.* 17. O. S. 1670.

I Came to this Place about eighteen Days ago, and have not in all this time met with any thing worthy of your Excellency's Notice; the moſt apparent Reaſon whereof hath been the Abſence of this King and Court, who have made a kind of Progreſs through ſome Parts of this Country, and are expected here again about a Forthight hence.

Among other things, I have brought with me and delivered a Letter from the King my Maſter to this King; reciting one lately ſent from *Spain*, wherein that Queen ſignifies her Aſſent to the Arbitration of *England* and *Sweden*; but at the ſame time inſinuates her Deſires to have *Holland* admitted as a third Arbitrator, and offering to renew their joint Inſtances to *Spain*, to induce that Crown to conſent to the Arbitration, in the ſame Form as *France* hath all along offered: Both the King my Maſter and this Crown being perſuaded that *France* hath condeſcended as far already as is neceſſary for the amicable Compoſure deſigned; at leaſt, that the Arbitrators named by *France* are as well qualified for it as any other can be.

Your Excellency will oblige me much to let me have ſuch Notices, relating either to this or any other publick Matter, as your Excellency ſhall judge proper for me to know: In return whereof, if I am unable to preſent your Excellency with other than Relations of the *Tartars* Incurſions and Succeſs in *Muſcovy*, of our future diſmal Froſts, of Witches out of *Lapland*, &c. it is the Fault of my Station, and only my Miſfortune that I am like to be ſo uſeleſs a Correſpondent; being otherwiſe very really,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt affectionate

and moſt obedient humble Servant,

John Werden.

P. S. I ſhould be glad to know what Conſequences are drawn from the *French* Seizure of *Lorrain*, which at this Diſtance affords us much Variety of Diſcourſe.

Alſo, whether the Subject of Monſieur *de Anjou*'s Embaſſy from *France* hither be yet gueſſed at, and what it is.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, Oct. 21. 1670.

My Lord,

I Received the Honour of both your Excellency's Letters of the 23d and 30th of *September*, upon the Subject of the *Engliſh* Ship, which the Director of the *Weſt-India* Company in the Iſle of *Curaca* has arreſted. Meſſieurs *Boreel* and *Beuninghen* have wrote about it at the ſame time to the *States General*, who are very much diſpoſed to give Order in this Matter, for all that Juſtice can ſuffer to be done, in Conſideration of the King of *England*. But whereas the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador has preſented them a Memorial upon the ſame Affair; and that it is without doubt, of Importance for the common Good, to have this Incident terminated by an amicable Concert between the Parties; at leaſt, becauſe the Rules of common Juſtice will not allow that an Affair ſhould be decided without hearing him or them that believe themſelves concerned in it: *Their High and Mightineſſes* have given Direction by this Ordinary to their Miniſters at *London*, to endeavour bringing the Affair to an Accommodation between the Miniſters of *Great Britain* and Monſieur de *Molina* the Ambaſſador of *Spain* at his Majeſty's Court. I ſend you the Copy of the Ambaſſador *Gamarra*'s Memorial, that you may ſee the *Spaniards* do not agree to what others ſay in their Favour: But this will not hinder the *States* from doing, in Conſideration of his Majeſty, the utmoſt that can conſiſt with Juſtice; as I in my particular, ſhall contribute all in my Power to his Satisfaction, and to whatever will help to preſerve the good Intelligence between his Majeſty and this *State*. To this End I could have wiſh'd, that there had not appeared on either ſide, any Libels, Verſes, Medals, or other ſuch diſpleaſing Things, and particularly, that the Accidents of the laſt War might no more be thought on, whereof the Memory ſhould be for ever aboliſhed. And I confeſs freely, that in this Country there is a little too much Licence gi-

ven

A la Haye, Oct. 21. 1670.

Monſieur,

J'AY receu les deux lettres que Vôtre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 23 & 30 Sept. ſtile d'Angleterre, au Sujet du navire Anglois, que le Directeur qui eſt de la part de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales dans l'Iſle de Curaça a fait arrêter. Meſſieurs Boreel & Van Beuninghen en ont écrit en même tems à Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux, qui ſe trouvent fort diſpoſés à ordonner ſur ce Sujet, tout ce que la juſtice pourra ſouffrir eſtre fait, en la conſideration du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Mais comme Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne leur a preſenté un memoire ſur la même affaire, & qu'il importe ſans doute pour le bien commun que l'on termine cet incident par un concert aimable entre les intereſſés; au moins & que l'ordre & les regles de la juſtice ne permettent pas que l'on diſpoſe dans une affaire ſans avoir ouy celuy ou ceux que s'y croyent touchés; Leurs Hautes Puiſſances ordonnent par cet ordinaire à Meſſieurs leurs Miniſtres qui ſont à Londres, de tâcher de porter l'affaire à un accommodement aimable entre les Miniſtres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & Monſieur de Molina Ambaſſadeur du Roy d'Eſpagne à la Cour de ſa Majeſté. Je vous envoye, Monſieur, la copie du memoire de l'Ambaſſadeur de Gamarra, afin que vous y voyiez que les Eſpagnols ne demeurent pas d'accord de tout ce que les autres diſent en leur faveur; mais cela n'empêchera pas que Meſſieurs les Etats en faſſent en la conſideration de ſa Majeſté tout ce qui ſe pourra faire en toute l'etendue de la juſtice, comme en mon particulier je contribueray toujours ce qui ſera de mon pouvoir à ſa ſatisfaction, & à ce qui pourra ſervir à maintenir la bonne intelligence entre elle & cet Etat. Pour cet effet je ſouhaiterois que de part & d'autre il n'eût point paru des libelles, des vers, des medailles, ou autres choſes ſemblables, qui euſſent pû deplaire; & particulierement que l'on ne ſongeât plus aux accidents d'une guerre dont la memoire devroit eſtre abolie à jamais; & j'avoue volontiers qu'en ce païs l'on ſe donne un

peu

ven in certain things; though after the moſt diligent Search we could not find that the Libels complained of, were printed in this Province. Beſides you know, there are Epidemical Evils which are without Remedy, and all that one can do is to give ſome Eaſe to a Diſtemper which cannot be entirely cured. You, my Lord, and thoſe who reſemble you are above ſuch *Trifles*, as you properly call them, and conſider only the true Intentions of the *State*, where the King ſhall ever find all the Reſpect he can deſire.

For the reſt, I refer my ſelf to what the ſaid Deputies of the *State* will tell you upon the Subject of your laſt Letters: And for me, I ſhall ever think it an Honour to let the King know, that after the Service I owe my Country, I ſhall employ my ſelf for that of his Majeſty, with all imaginable Zeal, eſpecially if you will pleaſe to mix yours with mine, ſince it is with an Inclination altogether particular that I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt

humble and moſt

Affectionate Servant,

peu trop de licence en des certaines choſes: Quoyque pourtant aprés une recherche tres exacte, l'on n'ait point ſçu trouver que les libelles dont on ſe plaint par de là, ayent eſté imprimés en cette Province. Mais vous ſavez auſſi qu'il y a des maux epidemiques qui ſont ſans remede, & que tout ce que l'on y peut faire, c'eſt d'adoucir le mal que l'on ne peut pas entierement guerir. Vous, Monſieur, & ceux qui vous reſſemblent, vous eſtes au deſſus de ce que vous nommez bien, Bagatelles, & ne vous arrêtez qu'aux veritables intentions de l'Etat; ou le Roy trouvera toujours tout le reſpect & tous les ſentimens qu'il poura ſouhaiter.

Au reſte, je me remets à ce que leſdits Miniſtres de l'Etat vous diront de plus ſur les matieres contenues en vos ſuſdites lettres. Et pour ce qui eſt de moy, je tiendray à gloire de faire connoître au Roy, qu'aprés le ſervice que je dois à ma patrie, je m'employeray pour celuy de ſa Majeſté avec tout le zele imaginable; ſur tout, quand vous y voudrez mêler le vôtre; puiſque c'eſt avec une inclination tout particuliere que je ſuis,

Monſieur,

De Vôtre Excellence

le tres humble & tres

affectionné Serviteur

Johan. de Witt.

From the Baron d'Iſola.

Hague, Nov. 14.
1670.

My Lord,

I Am extreme glad to hear by your Excellency's Letter, of your happy Return from the Country to the Court, together with a good Account of your Health; but I confeſs I ſhould have been much more pleaſed to have learnt it from your own Mouth than your Letter. Your Abſence from this Place begins to be tireſome; and every Body is much concerned at the great Occaſions that are loſt by it, for advancing the Publick Good.

The

A la Haye, 14 Nov.
1670.

Monſieur,

C'Eſt avec beaucoup de joye que j'ay appris par la lettre de Vôtre Excellence ſon heureux retour de la Campagne à la Cour, & la parfaite ſanté dont elle jouit. Mais je vous confeſſe que j'aurois beaucoup mieux aimé les apprendre par ſa propre bouche que par ſes lettres: Son abſence commence à devenir ennuyeuſe, & tout le monde eſt diſconcerté beaucoup de bonnes choſes qui ſe pourroient faire pour le bien public.

La

The Readineſs that the Parliament of *England* hath ſhew in giving conſiderable Aids to his *Britannick Majeſty,* is a Mark of their Zeal and Prudence; and makes it manifeſt enough, that they know their true Intereſt; and apprehend as they ought, the Progreſs and Preparations of the Neighbouring Princes. I doubt not but his Majeſty will correſpond with their good Deſires, by ſuch ſtrong and vigorous Reſolutions, as the preſent Time and his own Intereſts require. *France* ſtill continues to give out, That *England* is wholly in their Intereſts, and that all theſe Preparations are in their Favour. At the ſame time the *French* publiſh this, they endeavour to perſuade us that the *Emperor* has no good Intentions, and that they are in a ſtrict League with him. But ſince their Game is to rule by making Diviſion, ours ought to be that of ſupporting our ſelves by uniting. I believe, the Intentions of your Court are very ſincere, and I can aſſure you, that ours are ſo too: It only remains that we ſhould rightly underſtand one another, and deſpiſe all the Suggeſtions of theſe who can only find their Account in our Diſunion. I aſſure you, that your long ſtay where you are, is very hurtful to Affairs in general, as well as to the particular Service of the King your Maſter. I dare not mention to you all the bad Effects it cauſes: And after all, the *French* make bad uſe of it towards your Court, to publiſh ſo confidently as they do, that they are in private Intelligence there, ſince it is a Thing evidently falſe; and if it were true, it is a very unfaithful Part in them to divulge it. But they ſerve *Princes* juſt as they do *Women,* whoſe Favours they publiſh, whether they have received any or no. I proteſt to you, I think all ſort of Commerce with them is dangerous.

Pray believe me to be more than any one in the World,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt

humble and moſt

obedient Servant,

La promptitude que le Parlement d'Angleterre a témoigné pour donner des Aſſiſtances conſiderables à ſa Majeſté Britannique, eſt une marque de ſon zele & de ſa prudence, & fait aſſez connoître qu'il connoit ſes veritables interêts, & qu'il apprehende comme il doit les progrés & les preparatifs des Puiſſances voiſines. Je ne doute pas que ſa Majeſté ne correſponde à leurs bons deſirs, par des fortes & vigoureuſes reſolutions, telles que le tems preſent & ſes propres interêts requierent. La France continue toujours à publier que l'Angleterre eſt d'accord avec elle, & que tous ces preparatifs ſe font en ſa faveur. Elle publie tout cela en même tems qu'elle tache de vous perſuader que l'Empereur n'a point des bonnes intentions, & qu'elle eſt en des étroites liaiſons avec luy. Mais comme ſon jeu eſt de regner en diviſant, le nôtre doit eſtre auſſi de nous ſoutenir en nous uniſſant. Je croy les intentions de vôtre Cour fort ſinceres, & je vous puis aſſeurer que les nôtres le ſont auſſi. Il ne reſte qu'à nous bien entendre, & à mépriſer de part & d'autre toutes les ſuggeſtions de ceux qui ne peuvent trouver leur compte que dans nôtre deſunion. Je vous aſſeure en verité que vôtre trop long ſejour au lieu où vous êtes, eſt fort nuiſible aux affaires publiques, & au ſervice particulier de vôtre Roy. Je n'oſe pas vous écrire tous les mauvais effets que cela cauſe, & aprés tout, les François en uſent tres mal envers vôtre Cour, de publier comme ils font tres effrontement qu'ils ſont en ſecrette intelligence avec elle; puiſque cela eſt evidemment faux, & quand il ſeroit veritable, ce ne ſeroit pas agir fidellement de la divulguer: Mais ils en uſent avec les Princes commes ils font avec les femmes, de qui ils publient les faveurs receues & non receues. Je vous avoue que toute ſorte de commerce avec eux eſt dangereux.

Croyez je vous prie que je ſuis plus que perſonne du monde,

Monſieur,

De Vôtre Excellence

tres humble & tres

obeïſſant Serviteur,

F. d'Iſola.

From Mr. Blaithwayt.

My Lord, *Hague, March* 10. *N. S.* 1671.

I Received Yeſterday Morning your Excellency's Letter of *Feb.* 19th, and at the ſame Inſtant went to Monſieur *de Witt*, and imparted him your Lordſhip's Commands: To which he anſwered, That he knew of no other Papers that Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* had brought over with him, than one Sheet, wherein the Caſe was ſtated in *Latin* by the intereſſed Perſons. Beſides, he had hoped ſome Agreement might have been made in *England* with the *Spaniſh* Miniſters: But ſince it is not ſo, he promiſed, * *D'y tenir la main*, as ſoon as Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* comes from *Amſterdam*. After which he asked me when we expected your Excellency? My Anſwer was, That I could not yet aſſure him of any certain Time, but that I thought it would be very ſhortly. He replied, † *Qu'on en doutoit bien icy: Qu'il ſavoit que le Parlement eſtoit fort zelé pour les interêts communs, mais que la Cour n'y eſtoit pas trop diſposée: Que neantmoins ils avoient fait un dernier effort par une lettre à ſa Majeſté, ou ils offroient de faire une Alliance auſſi étroite qu'on voudroit. Que pour l'abſence ou venue de vôtre Excellence, il les prendroit pour une preuve infallible de la bonne ou mauvaiſe volonté de l'Angleterre.* And as I was taking my Leave, he repeated the laſt Sentence; and added, * *Faites luy mes baiſemains, & dites luy cela de ma part*; which I promiſed to do.

* *To give a Hand to it.*

The Truth is, my Lord, this Country has of late generally conceived ſo ill an Opinion of *England*'s Intentions, that they do quite deſpair of any Succour from thence: Which makes them the readier to put themſelves in Poſture; ſo that the Conſent of *Zealand* being come, the Committee Council of *Holland* are ſwearing the new Officers, and giving out Commiſſions, intending the latter end of this Week to deliver the Mony.

The *States* of *Holland* are expected here to Day, and will be compleat this Week, notwithſtanding a general Faſt and Thankſgiving, which will be kept to Morrow through the Seven Provinces, as is uſually done every Year.

Your Excellency does without doubt know that Captain *O-Bryan* and Sir *Thomas Sands* are here; as well as that my Lord *Oſſory* intends in few Days to paſs through *Flanders*, to *Nieuport*, or *Dunkirk*, whither the Yachts are gone to meet him. I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt humble

and moſt obedient Servant,

Wm. Blaithwayt.

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† That it was doubted here very much: That he knew, the Parliament was very zealous for the common Intereſts, but that the Court was not over-much diſpoſed to them. That however, they had made one laſt Effort in a Letter to his Majeſty, wherein they offered to make as ſtrict an Alliance as could be deſired. That for the Abſence or Return of your Excellency, they took them for an infallible Proof of the good or bad Will of *England*.

* Make him my Compliments, and tell him this from me.

From Mr. Blaithwayt.

My Lord, *Hague, May* 5. *N. S.* 1671.

UPON the Receipt of your Excellency's Letter of the 14th *April*, I went to Monſieur *de Witt* to ſollicit an Expedition in the Buſineſs of the *Engliſh* Ship. He promiſed me, *d'y tenir la main*, and to further it as much as poſſible; but withal told me that it was true, *Que nous avions raiſon au fond, mais que nous prenions l'affaire ſur un mauvais pied.* That we have no Reaſon in the World to lay the Blame upon the *Dutch*, and to demand Satisfaction for the Injury the *Spaniards* have done us. That we could not at all prove any Breach of Articles in what had paſſed. That in caſe (to uſe his Example) a Man borrowed my Sword, and with it commits Murder or Robbery, I am not in the leaſt Reſponſible for his Miſdemeanors, no more than the *Dutch* for what the *Spaniards* have done: And if this be true, we have not exhibited any one Argument that can hold good. But the Argument Monſieur *de Witt* ſays we ought wholly to inſiſt upon, is, That *Feroni* at the letting out his Ship made a Contract with the *Genoueſes* (which I have long ſince tranſmitted your Lordſhip) wherein it is poſitively ſaid that they ſhould not therein offend or moleſt the *Engliſh* Nation. So that now the *Genoueſes* having ſo evidently broken this Contract, and withal bringing their Prize into the Dominions of the *States*; the ſame *States* may with a great deal of Reaſon oblige them to make good the Contract they have made with one of their Subjects. And, juſt as, in caſe the Man that has committed Robbery with the Sword I had lent him, brings into my Hands what he has ſtollen, I am in Juſtice to render every Thing to the Owner. By the ſame Reaſon the *States* are obliged to make Reſtitution of the Ship and Lading to the Owners, as taken contrary to Promiſe, and by the means of a Ship belonging to one of their Subjects. For the State of the Buſineſs your Excellency ſent me, I eaſily gueſs'd by Monſieur *de Witt*'s Diſcourſe, that he had already ſeen it; and having been afterwards with Monſieur *Schimmelpenning* the chief Commiſſioner, as Monſieur *de Witt* had adviſed me, to recommend to him the Buſineſs, and to inſinuate this Argument; I found he had the ſame Paper already in his Hands in *Latin*.

As for the other Point, Whether Monſieur *Beverning* has offered a Defenſive or Offenſive League with *Spain*; your Lordſhip will pleaſe to remember, that in the Intelligence of the 2d of *April*, it is ſaid, * *Que cet Etat avoit toujours rejetté une Alliance defenſive que l'Eſpagne avoit offert, & qu'on avoit opiné qu'on la falloit encore rejetter.* But the ſame Paper ſays, That at the ſame time it was reſolved, that Order ſhould be given to Monſieur *Beverning* to propoſe a Treaty for one Year only. The *States* cannot yet have an Anſwer whether this Treaty has been accepted of or no. However, as ſoon as I can learn any thing farther in this Point, I will not fail to inform your Lordſhip of it.

Monſieur *Pompone* went laſt *Saturday* for *Dunkirk*, where the *French* King is by this time. I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt humble
and moſt obedient Servant,

W^m. Blaithwayt.

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* That this State has always rejected a Defenſive Alliance offered by *Spain*, and that it was thought they muſt ſtill reject it.

From

From my Lord Arlington.

SIR, *Goring-houſe, June* 28. 1671.

I Humbly thank you for your Cherries, which were ſo good, that I grieve for the Loſs of thoſe that could not find me at *Windſor*.

Having his Majeſty's Approbation of your writing to the *States* to take your Leave of them; and he refuſing to ſee your Letter, it was not at all neceſſary you ſhould ſhew it me; yet to comply with your Deſire I have read and approved it. You are beſt Judge, having lived among them, whether the Form be good; to the Matter I am ſure nothing can be objected; nor to my Profeſſion of being ever

Your moſt faithful and

humble Servant,

Arlington.

FINIS.

LETTERS
TO THE
KING,
THE
PRINCE of *ORANGE*,
THE
Chief MINISTERS of STATE,
AND OTHER
PERSONS.

By Sir W. TEMPLE, *Bart.*

Publiſhed by JONATHAN SWIFT, *D. D.*

LONDON,
Printed in the YEAR MDCCXL.

THE

PREFACE.

T*HE following* Papers *are the laſt of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the Author ever gave me his particular Commands. They were Corrected by Himſelf, and fairly Tranſcribed in his Life-time. I have in all Things followed his Directions as ſtrictly as I could: But Accidents unforeſeen having ſince intervened; I have thought convenient to leſſen the Bulk of this* Volume. *To which End I have omitted ſeveral* Letters *addreſſed to Perſons with whom this Author correſponded without any particular Confidence, farther than upon account of their Poſts: Becauſe great Numbers of ſuch* Letters, *procured out of the Office; or by other Means (how juſtifiable I ſhall not examine) have been already* Printed: *But running wholly upon long dry Subjects of Buſineſs, have met no other Reputation than merely what the Reputation of the* Author *would* *give them. If I could have foreſeen an End of this Trade, I ſhould, upon ſome Conſiderations, have longer forborn ſending theſe into the* World. *But I daily hear, that new Diſcoveries of* Original LETTERS *are haſting to the* Preſs: *To ſtop the Current of which, I am forced to an earlier* Publication *than I deſigned. And therefore I take this Occaſion to inform the* Reader, *That theſe* LETERS *ending with the* Author's *Revocation from his Employments abroad (which in leſs than Two Years was followed by his Retirement from all publick Buſineſs) are the laſt he ever intended for the* Preſs; *having been ſelected by himſelf from great Numbers yet lying among his* Papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the Rhetorick *of* Bookſellers, *or any other little Regards, I might eaſily, inſtead of* Retrenching, *have made very conſiderable* Additions; *and by that means have perhaps taken the ſureſt Courſe to prevent the Interloping of Others. But if the* Preſs *muſt needs be loaded, I had rather it ſhould not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one Word in the Style of a* Publiſher *(an Office lyable to much Cenſure, without the leaſt Pretenſion to* Merit *or to* Praiſe) *that, if I have not been much deceived by others and my ſelf, the* Reader *will hardly find one* LETTER *in this* Collection *unworthy of the* Author, *or which does not contain ſomething either of* Entertainment *or of* Uſe.

LETTERS
TO THE
KING,
THE
PRINCE of *ORANGE*, &c.

To the Duke of Florence.

Sheen, Novemb. - - - -
S I R, 1672.

AS I ought at all Times, and in every Manner poſſible, to ſhew the Senſe I have of the Honour done me by your moſt ſerene Highneſs, in the repeated Inſtances of your Goodneſs to me, and the many Expreſſions of your kind Remembrance of me; and as it is not long ſince my Lord *Stafford* ſhewed me a Letter of your Highneſs's writing, in as proper *Engliſh*, as if your Highneſs had been more Years than you were Weeks in *England*; I reſolved to ſend to your Highneſs the incloſed Papers, which are Part of the Fruits of that Leiſure and Retirement, which I have lately enjoyed in the Country. They contain the Three laſt Chapters of the Remarks I have made upon the preſent State of *Holland*; the firſt Thoughts of

Au Duc de *Florence.*

De Sheen, Nov. - - -
Monſieur, 1672.

COmme je dois toujours, & en toutes manieres, reconnoître l' bonneur que V^re. Alteſſe S^me m' a fait par tant des temoignages de ſa bonté & de ſon ſouvenir; & qu' il n'y a pas long tems que Milord Stafford m' a montré une lettre de V. A. ecrite auſſi bien en Anglois comme ſi elle eût ſejournée plus d'années en Angleterre, qu' elle n'en a fait des ſemaines; J'ay reſolu d'envoyer á V. A. ces papiers envellopés, comme une partie des fruits que j'ay cueilli dans l'oiſiveté des nos champs. Ces ſont les trois derniers chapitres des remarques, que j'ay tracé ſur l'etat de la Hollande, dont la penſée m'a eté premierement inſpiré par l'exemple de V. A. ayant admiré l'application & curioſité

of which Undertaking, I was inſpired with by the Example of your Highneſs; having with Admiration obſerved the great Application you uſed, and the judicious Curioſity you ſhewed on this Subject, during the Courſe of thoſe Voyages and Journeys you made with a moſt generous Purpoſe, thereby to advance and promote real Knowledge, and not to make a Shew of your own Magnificence and State. I make no doubt, but your Highneſs has it in your Intentions, to make the Speculations of Strangers Abroad, Part of your own Diverſion at Home, and to turn them to the Profit of your own Country; ſince great Part of *Tuſcany* is ſo advantageouſly ſituated for the carrying on Commerce in the ampleſt Manner. Nor did I think it would be diſagreeable, to lay before you in a clearer View, thoſe Occaſions and Conjunctures which conſpired together to ruin and overthrow, as it were, at one Stroke, that Republick which your Highneſs ſo lately ſaw in ſo great and flouriſhing a Condition, and under the Conduct of ſo wiſe a Miniſtry. It was on this Account, that I have choſen to ſend your Highneſs theſe Chapters concerning their Commerce, their Strength, and the Cauſes of their late Misfortune: and if I continue my Intention of publiſhing the Treatiſe entire, I ſhall not fail to preſent to your Highneſs the firſt Copy that comes from the Preſs; being ever ready to give all poſſible Marks of that Devotion, which I always pay to your Perſon and high Endowments, and to omit no Proof of that Zeal, which I ſhall ever have for your Service. Your Highneſs will reflect, That the Fruits of our poor Climate, can never come near thoſe of *Italy*, and are therefore only to be received for their Novelty, as our Apples are ſerved up among the Figs and Raiſins of *Florence:* And your Highneſs will pardon the Liberty I take on this Occaſion, to cultivate and inlarge that Part which your Highneſs has the Goodneſs to give me in your Remembrance, and to renew thoſe Profeſſions, which I have ſo often made, of that moſt real Paſſion with which I am,

Your moſt Serene Highneſs's
Moſt Humble and moſt
Obedient Servant.

curioſité judicieuſe qu'elle a employé ſur ce ſujet, durant le cours des voyages qu'elle y a fait ſur un deſſein ſi genereux que l'accroiſſement de ces belles connoiſſances, & non pas l'oſtentation de ſa grandeur. Je n'ay pas doûté que V. A. n'ait eu l'intention d'exercer chez elle les ſpeculations faites chez les étrangers, conſiderant l'aſſiette d'une partie de la Toſcane ſi propre pour l'établiſſement de plus grand commerce. Et j'ay crû que vous ſeriez content de conſiderer á plus pres les occaſions & conjonctures qui ont conſpiré á accabler, quaſi d'un coup, cette republique, que V. A. a veu depuis peu ſi grande & ſi fleuriſſante, & animée par un ſi ſage miniſtere. C'eſt pourquoy j'ay choiſi á luy envoyer ces chapitres touchant leur commerce, leurs forces, & les cauſes de leur dernier malheur: Et ſi je me reſoudray un jour á mettre en lumiere le diſcours entier, je ne manqueray pas á preſenter á V. A. le premier qui en ſortira, comme á luy donner toutes les marques poſſibles de la devotion, que j'ay toujours eu pour ſa perſonne, & ſes grandes qualitez, comme du zele que je porteray toujours á ſon ſervice. V. A. fera reflexion, que les fruits de ce mechant climat, n'approchent pas ceux d'Italie, & ne les doit conſiderer, que par la nouveauté, comme quelqu'uns de nos pommes parmi les figues & raiſins de la Florence. Et V. A. pardonnera la liberté que je prens ſur cette occaſion de cultiver la part qu'elle m'a donné en ſon ſouvenir, & de renouveller les profeſſions que j'ay fait ſi ſouvent d'une paſſion veritable avec laquelle je ſuis,

De V. A. S^{me}.

Le tres Humble & tres

Obeiſſant Serviteur.

To

To the Duke of Florence.

Dublin, May 20. *N. S.*
SIR, 1673.

THE Letter of the 15th of *February*, which your moſt Serene Highneſs did me the Honour to write, found me in *Ireland*, whither the neceſſary Care of my Family-Affairs had carry'd me, and obliged me to continue for Three Months. The Matters to be ſettled before I made this Voyage, took up ſo much Time, that I have but juſt compaſſed it; and this has brought upon me a Neceſſity of returning my moſt humble Thanks much later than I could wiſh; but yet with all due Eſteem and Devotion. Your Highneſs does me the Juſtice to regard me as one entirely belonging to You, and in this View it is, that Your Highneſs's Judgment concerning my Papers, has ſhewn it ſelf altogether partial to them: However, I will not preſume to gainſay it, and thereby Your Highneſs will have a freſh Aſſurance, that, like Your Will and Pleaſure, Your Judgment is with me inconteſtable. When Your Highneſs ſignifies, that the Reading my Writings gave You any the leaſt Satiſfaction, it gives me the greateſt Opinion of my own Glory, and while I poſſeſs the Letter You have honour'd me with on this Occaſion, I have the greateſt Senſe of my own Riches. Methinks, I have juſt made a Voyage to the *Indies*, and have purchas'd Gold and Precious Stones for Toys and Trifles. Even in the dark and dull Climate I am now in, I have Light enough to diſcover moſt clearly, that every Line of Your Highneſs has a far greater Luſtre, than the moſt excellent Compoſitions, that ſuch a Country as ours can produce; and appears like a Touch from the Hand of *Raphael*, infinitely ſuperior to the confuſed Deſigns of our *Engliſh* Painters. I did intend to ſend Your Highneſs the Book entire, of which You have ſeen a ſmall Part with ſo much Indulgence; but the Bookſeller at *London* being in ſuch Haſte, as to publiſh it in my Abſence, I found ſo many Faults in the Print, that I was aſhamed even to own

it

Au Duc de *Florence*.

Dublin, May 20. S. N.
Monſieur, 1673.

L'Honneur que V. A. S^me. m'a fait par ſa lettre du 15^me. de Fevrier, m'a trouvé en Yrland, ou quelques affaires domeſtiques m'ont attiré pour trois mois de ſejour. Les detours neceſſaires á ce voyage l'ont tellement retardé, que j'en ſuis depuis peu ſeulement en poſſeſſion, & me trouve par la, dans la neceſſité de rendre á V. A. mes tres humbles reconnoiſſances plus tard que je n'aurois ſouhaité, encore qu'avec toute l'eſtime & devotion que je dois. Je voy bien que V. A. me fait la Juſtice de me regarder comme une choſe qui lui appartient entierement, & que par lá elle s'eſt rendue tout á fait partiale au jugement qu'elle a fait de mes papiers. Mais je ne veux pas me defendre, & de lá V. A. ſe pourra bien aſſeurer que ſon jugement ſera toujours pour moy inconteſtable, auſſi bien que ſa volonté. Je me ſens trop glorieux de ce que V. A. temoigne avoir trouvé la moindre ſatisfaction en cette lecture, & trop riche par la lettre dont elle m'a honoré ſur cette occaſion. Il me ſemble avoir fait un voyage des Indes, & recueilli de l'or & des pierreries en retour de la plus chetive marchandiſe; & j'ay aſſez de lumiere en ce climat le plus obſcur, pour m'appercevoir clairement que chaque ligne de V. A. ait bien autre eclat que les plus belles compoſitions qu'un païs comme le nôtre pourra jamais produire, & paroît comme un rayon de la main de Raphael, au regard des pieces brouillées de nos peintres Anglois. J'avois pourtant l'intention d'envoyer á V. A. la piece entiere, dont elle a veu ſeulement les pieds avec tant d'indulgence; mais la precipitation d'un libraire l'ayant fait ſortir á Londres en mon abſence, j'ay trouvé qu'il y avoit tant de fautes de l'impreſſion, que j'avois honte de l'avoüer pour mien, & me contentois

par

it for mine, and therefore omitted ſending to Your Highneſs the firſt Copy, which I ſtood obliged to do, both by Promiſe and Duty. But by the good Luck of the Bookſeller, and through the Humour of the preſent Times, which at preſent are mighty inquiſitive after any thing that relates to *Holland*, the firſt Impreſſion has had ſo quick a Sale, that a ſecond is now printing, and almoſt finiſhed. I have my ſelf taken care of the Correcting of this Edition; and tho' I am upon my Return to *England*, yet I have ſent to my Bookſeller an expreſs Order by this Poſt to deliver into Monſieur *Tivieſſi*'s Hands the Two firſt Copies to be ſent to Your moſt Serene Highneſs. Had I a Capacity to do it, I would have tranſlated it into *Italian*, and have begg'd Leave to dedicate it to Your Highneſs; the Honour of ſo great a Name being the only Means to protect ſo mean and weak a Diſcourſe. But as it was owing to the Favour only which Your Highneſs has the Goodneſs to ſhew to the *Engliſh* Tongue, that I preſumed to ſend You the Pattern at firſt of this Diſcourſe; I ſend you the reſt of it likewiſe, in the mean and ordinary Dreſs of its own Country, rather than adorned with the rich Habit of a Foreign one, which would ill become the Simplicity of its Birth, as well as the Meanneſs of its Condition. What remains, but to intreat Your Highneſs to receive it as the proper Effect of Your own Commands, as well as a Teſtimony of that particular Zeal and Paſſion, with which I am, and ſhall be all my Life,

Your moſt Serene Highneſs's

Moſt Humble, &c.

par lá de n'avoir pas mandé á V. A. le premier, ſelon mon devoir auſſi bien que ma promeſſe. Mais par le bonheur du dit libraire, & l'humeur du tems curieux á preſent ſur le ſujet de la Hollande, il s'eſt trouvé au bout de la premiere impreſſion dans ſi peu de tems, qu'il va deja achever une ſeconde, á la correction de laquelle j'ay donné la main, & encore que je me trouve ſur mon retour pour l'Angleterre, je n'ay pas voulu manquer á luy envoyer un ordre exprés par ce courier de mettre en main de Monſieur Tivieſſi les deux premiers exemplaires pour être envoyé á V. A. S^{me}*. Si j'en étois capable je l'aurois traduit en Italien, & ſupplie V. A. d'honorer la dedication par un ſi grand nom, comme le ſeul moyen de proteger un ſi foible ſujet. Mais comme la ſeule faveur que V. A. temoigne pour la langue Angloiſe, m'a donné la hardieſſe á luy envoyer le premier êchantillon, je fais partir auſſi le reſte plûtôt dans le pauvre habit de ſon païs que paré d'un plus riche des païs etrangers; ce que ſeroit mal aſſorti á la ſimplicité de ſa naiſſance, auſſi bien que de ſa condition. Au reſte, V. A. recevra ſi luy plaît comme l'effet de ſon propre commandement auſſi bien que comme un temoignage de la devotion toute particuliere & paſſionnée avec laquelle je ſeray toute ma vie,*

De V. A. S^{me}.

Le tres Humble, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

SIR, *Sheen, February* —— 1673-4.

THO' the Honour I expected of attending Your Highneſs, upon ſo great and ſo happy a Conjuncture, has not befallen me; and his Majeſty's late Reſolutions, for my ſudden Journey into *Holland*, have been diverted, by Occaſions, that made way for a more ſpeedy Concluſion of the Peace: Yet I could not be ſatisfy'd, without making uſe of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*'s Favour to me, in charging himſelf with this Trouble; by which I might, at the ſame

Time, give Your Highneſs the particular Account of all that has paſs'd, in this late Tranſaction here; and withal rejoice with You upon the happy Succeſſes that have attended Your Affairs on the other ſide; in which, I will aſſure Your Highneſs, both his Majeſty and all his good Subjects, have taken ſuch a Share, as has very much contributed to the eaſie and ſudden Diſpatch of this great Affair; wherein both Your Highneſs and the States, and indeed the Happineſs and Safety of both Nations, are ſo nearly concerned. For my own part, I will only ſay, That as no Man gave ſo publick and ſo avowed Teſtimonies of the Devotion and Honour, I have always had at Heart, for Your Highneſs's Perſon and Service; and of the Eſteem that I knew was from all Men due to You, in the greateſt Decline of Your Fortune: So, at this Time, when Your Highneſs will receive the general Compliments and Applauſes of all Men; there is none among them, that can take a more particular Part in Your Highneſs's good Fortunes, nor make more paſſionate Wiſhes for their Continuance and Increaſe. But I know Your Highneſs does me ſo much Juſtice, as to believe all that can be ſaid from me of this kind, unneceſſary. Therefore, I ſhall proceed to tell Your Highneſs, That upon Receipt of the States laſt Letter, with Deſire of Paſſports for their Ambaſſadors, and Offers of a Ceſſation of Arms, his Majeſty was pleaſed, upon the 3d Current, being *Tueſday* Morning, to declare at the Committee of Foreign Affairs, That having thought of it in the Night, he was reſolved, for preventing all Delays, that attend the coming of Ambaſſadors hither, to ſend over into *Holland*; and that he would ſend me with the Project of a Treaty, and full Powers to conclude immediately, if the States were in the Mind they expreſs'd of doiug him Juſtice. This was receiv'd with ſo great a Concurrence, that I was immediately ſent for, acquainted with his Majeſty's Intentions, and commanded to be ready to begin my Journey the next Day, and to attend upon the Two Secretaries of State that Afternoon, at the drawing both the Project, and my Inſtructions. I told the King, I would obey him; but that I might the better do it, I begged of him, that I might go without any Character of Ambaſſador; which would delay me with the Preparations of Equipage here, and embarraſs me with Ceremonies there, unneceſſary for ſo ſudden a Diſpatch. His Majeſty thought it reaſonable, and ſo gave Order, I ſhould go without any other Character, than of Plenipotentiary; but gave me the Appointment of all kinds of an Ambaſſador, which he told me, I muſt take upon me, when the Peace was concluded.

The Project and Inſtructions could not be finiſhed till *Wedneſday* at Evening, nor the Commiſſion ſealed till *Thurſday* at Noon, which was deſigned for my ſetting out; and in order to it, I had kiſs'd the King's and Duke's Hands late on *Wedneſday* Night, and received their Letters to Your Highneſs, and ſent away my Servants toward *Harwich* on *Thurſday* Morning. But about Ten a-Clock the ſame Day, arrived the Pacquet, by a Trumpeter from *Holland*, which brought full Powers to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to treat and conclude the Peace: Upon the Knowledge whereof, I went immediately to the King, and told him, how inconvenient it would be, to expoſe the Treaty to the Accidents of a Journey, of Seas, and of Weather, when it might be finiſh'd here, perhaps, before I could be at *Harwich*: Beſides, that it would be more Honour for his Majeſty to treat it here than at the *Hague*, which was an Expedient only for Diſpatch, and therefore begg'd of his Majeſty, that no Conſideration of me, might divert him from falling into the Buſineſs here, at leaſt, till he ſaw it could not be effected. The King was pleaſed with what I ſaid, ſent me immediately to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to bring an Account of his Powers, and has done me the Honour to make me treat the whole Thing with his Excellency in all its Points, ſo as to leave Occaſion only for the Commiſſioners to meet once on *Saturday*, to agree upon drawing up the Treaty; and Yeſterday again at Four a-Clock for ſigning it. But after all this was agreed, and before that Hour was come, I was forced by an Accident in Town, to come down into the Country for two or three Days, and ſo have the Mortification of not ſeeing Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, before his going away with the Ratifications, which I left the King reſolved he ſhould do this Night.

It is not fit to entertain Your Highneſs farther from the Country; but I hope, upon my Return to Town, to have his Majeſty's Leave to ſend Your Highneſs, by next Poſt, the Letters he was pleaſed to encharge me with; as likewiſe that from the Duke, with very particular Expreſſions from them both, which, I ſuppoſe, You will not be willing to loſe, though You may receive of a later Date. In the mean Time, I beg Your Highneſs to believe, That upon all Occaſions, I ſhall be infinitely proud and pleaſed to give You the beſt Teſtimonies, of the ſinceereſt and devouteſt Paſſion, wherewith I have been ſo long, and ſhall ever be,

S I R,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

To the Duke of Florence.

London, February 11. 1673-4.

S I R,

DUring my Retirement into the Country it was not poſſible for me to find any Pretence for a Letter; ſo that I have not for ſome time been able to make uſe of that Liberty which Your moſt Serene Highneſs has had the Goodneſs to allow me of writing; but ſince my Return to Town, having within theſe few Days met with an Affair of great Importance, the Particulars of which I thought Your Highneſs would be pleaſed to know; I would not loſe any one of thoſe few Opportunities that I have, of giving Proof of the Paſſion which I have had ſo long, to diſcharge faithfully that Duty that I lye under, to do every thing that may be any ways for Your Highneſs's Service or Entertainment.

On *Monday* the 2d of this Inſtant, the King received certain News of the Reſolution taken by the States General, to make the Office and Dignity of the Prince of *Orange* Hereditary; and with this Account, a Letter from the States, deſiring Paſſports for their Ambaſſadors, and an Offer to agree to a Suſpenſion of Arms. About the ſame Time, the Two Houſes of Parliament had formally given the King their Advice to make Peace as ſoon as poſſible, and to enter upon a Treaty upon the Foot of thoſe Propoſitions offered by the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, which his Majeſty had communicated

to

Au Duc de *Florence.*

Londres, Fevr. 11. 1673-4.

Monſieur,

N'Ayant rien trouvé dans la ſolitude des champs pour me fournir de pretexte; je n'ay pas auſſi depuis peu pris la liberté que V. A. Sme. m'a autre fois donné de l'entretenir, mais ayant ces jours paſſés rencontré en ville une grande conjoncture, & dont j'ay crû que V. A. ſeroit contente de ſavoir le detail; Je n'ay pas voulu perdre une occaſion qui ſe preſente ſi peu ſouvent, pour faire valoir à V. A. la paſſion que j'ay eu ſi long tems à me bien acquitter de toutes ſortes des devoirs qui luy pourroient être ou de ſervice ou d'entretien.

Lundi 2d de ce mois, le Roy recent d'Hollande les nouvelles aſſeurées de la reſolution priſe par les Etats, de rendre hereditaire la charge & dignité du Prince d'Orange, & une lettre de la part des Etats avec la demande des Paſſeportes pour leurs Ambaſſadeurs, & l'offre d'une ſuſpenſion d'armes. Environ le même tems, les deux Maiſons du Parlement avoient donné au Roy leurs avis formels de faire la paix au plûtôt, & d'entrer en traité ſur les propoſitions offertes par l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne, leſquelles ſa Majeſté leur avoit miſe en

main

to them, when he asked their Advice. On *Tueſday* the 3d in the Morning, the King declared in Council, That having the Night before conſider'd of the Importance of the preſent Conjuncture, he had reſolved to avoid all Delays, by ſending an Ambaſſador to *Holland*, and that he had pitched upon my ſelf for that purpoſe. This Reſolution of the King's meeting with the Approbation of the whole Council, I had notice of it, and Directions given me to promote the Project, and act in purſuance of his Majeſty's Deſign, which was to conclude the Peace, and ſign it at the *Hague*. *Thurſday* the 5th, about Noon, was the Time appointed for my Departure. I waited for my Diſpatches, but ſent my Attendants before, reſolving to follow them Poſt to *Harwich* (there being no going down the River, becauſe the Wind was contrary). I had received the Money for my Equipage, and his Majeſty's Letters, and had kiſſed the King's and the Duke's Hand, when about Ten of the Clock in the Morning on the ſame *Thurſday* a Trumpeter arrived from *Holland*, bringing full and entire Powers to the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, to treat here of a Peace and bring it to a Concluſion if it could be done. I immediately waited upon his Majeſty with this News, and begged of him to lay aſide all Regard to me, and not expoſe a Treaty of ſuch Importance, to the Accidents of Time and Voyages, when it might perhaps be finiſhed here, before I ſhould get even to *Harwich*, and when the doing it here at *London*, would be more for his Majeſty's Honour, than at the *Hague*. His Majeſty received me very graciouſly, and was pleaſed to ſend me forthwith to the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, to ſee his Powers, and diſcover, as far as I could, his Inſtructions, to form a Judgment, whether the Peace could be now concluded. I have laid before his Majeſty my Opinion concerning the Validity of his Powers, and the Likelihood I found there was of bringing this Affair to a Concluſion here. Hereupon, his Majeſty ordered me to treat with the Ambaſſador ; which I have done Point by Point, and we have brought Matters ſo well to bear, that Commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty and the Am-

main quand il demanda leur avis. Mardi 3me. au matin, le Roy declara au Conſeil ſecret, qu' ayant ſongé la nuit à l'importance de cette conjoncture, il avoit reſolu pour eviter les retardements, d'envoyer en Hollande ; & me nomma pour cette Ambaſſade. La choſe ayant rencontré la concurrence entiere de tous ceux du Conſeil ; on me manda auſſitôt, & me donna part de la reſolution, & ordre d' aſſiſter à la digeſtion du projet, ſur laquelle ſa Majeſté ſeroit contente que la paix ſe fit, & ſe ſignât à la Haye. Jeudy 5me. à midy étoit le tems pris pour mon partement ; & en attendant mes depêches j' avois fait partir mes gens pour leur ſuivre en poſte à Harwich (le vent étant contraire à la ſortie de la Riviere). J' avois receu l' argent de mon equipage, & les lettres de ſa Majeſté, & baiſé la main au Roy & au Duc ; quand ſur les dix heures du matin dudit Jeudy, arriva un trompette d' Hollande, portant à l' Ambaſſadeur d' Eſpagne, les pleins & entiers pouvoirs à traiter & conclurre la paix icy s'il en pouvoit convenir. Je m'en allois auſſitôt au Roy pour luy porter la nouvelle, le ſuppliant de n'avoir aucune conſideration de moy en cette affaire, & de n'expoſer un traité ſi important, aux accidents du tems, & des voyages, quand il le pourroit peut être achever icy devant que ſerois à Harwich, & même avec plus d'honneur à Londres qu' à la Haye. Sa Majeſté le prit en bonne part, & m' envoya auſſitôt à l' Ambaſſadeur d' Eſpagne pour voir ſes pouvoirs, & le ſonder tant que je pourrois ſur ſes inſtructions, à fin de juger s'il y avoit apparence de conclurre icy. J'ay rapporté au Roy mes ſentimens ſur la validité des pouvoirs, & l'apparence que j'ay trouvé d'achever l'affaire. Sur cela ſa Majeſté m'a chargé de la traiter avec l'Ambaſſadeur, ce que j'ay fait de point en point, & nous en ſommes ſi bien demêlés que les Commiſſaires de ſa Majeſté & l'Ambaſſadeur ont ſigné le traité le

Lundi

Ambaſſador, have ſigned the Treaty the *Monday* following. On *Wedneſday* Monſieur *Sylvius* (who was to have accompanied me to wait on the Prince of *Orange*, and congratulate him on his Acceſſion to the Hereditary Dignity) went away with thoſe Compliments of Congratulation, and carry'd with him the Ratification of the Treaty; ſo that we expect the Ratification back again in two or three Days, ſigned by the States, after which the Peace will be proclaimed; which, I beg leave to aſſure Your Highneſs, will be both Honourable and Advantageous to his Majeſty. The Affair of *Pavillon* and *Surinam* is adjuſted entirely to his Majeſty's Satisfaction. There is ſo much the more likelihood of the Continuance of this Peace, becauſe the Queen of *Spain* is not only Guaranty of it, but alſo is appointed Arbitrator of thoſe Differences which may happen among the Commiſſioners which are to be appointed within three Months to determine all Points concerning Commerce to the *Indies*, and the Maritime Affairs.

I thought, That Notice of an Affair of this great Weight and Conſequence to all *Chriſtendom*, and of the ſeveral Steps taken therein, would not be diſagreeable to Your Highneſs, which made me encharge my ſelf with the giving it You; intreating Your Highneſs, by theſe ſmall Services, to judge in what Manner, and with what Satisfaction, I ſhould moſt willingly acquit my ſelf in Matters of greater Concern, if Fortune ſhould ever be ſo much my Friend as to put it in my Power; for no one can be with more Juſtice, or more Paſſion, than my ſelf,

Your moſt Serene Highneſs's

moſt Humble, &c.

Lundi ſuivant. Mercredi Monſieur Sylvius (qui me devoit avoir accompagné pour rejoüir avec le Prince d'Orange de la part de ſa Majeſté ſur ſon avenement à la dignité hereditaire) partit avec leſdits complimens, & la ratification du traité; de ſorte que nous attendons en deux ou trois jours que la ratification viendra de la part des Etats, & que la deſſus la paix ſera publiée; laquelle je pourrois aſſeurer V. A. être faite honorable & avantageuſe pour ſa Majeſté. L'affaire de Pavillon & de Surinam luy eſt tout accordé entierement à ſa ſatisfaction. Auſſi il y a tant plus apparence de la durée, que la Reine d'Eſpagne ne ſoit non ſeulement conſtituée dans la garantie de la paix, mais auſſi dans l'arbitrage de differens qui pourroient ſucceder ſur une commiſſion qui ſe doit faire en trois mois de tems pour decider quelques points ſur la matiere de commerce aux Indes, & de la Marine.

J'ay crû que la notice & les mouvements d'une affaire ſi grande & ſi importante à toute la Chrêtienté, ne ſeroient pas deſagreables à V. A. c'eſt pour quoy j'ay voulu m'en charger; la ſuppliant de juger par les petits ſervices de quelle maniere & avec quelle ſatisfaction je m'acquiterois volontiers de plus grands, ſi la fortune me ſeroit jamais ſi favorable que de m'en faire naître les occaſions: car perſonne ne peut être avec plus de juſtice ni avec plus de paſſion que moy,

Monſieur,

De V. A. Sme. &c.

To Monſieur Gourville.

London, Febr. 12. *N. S.* 1673-4.

S I R,

I Never enter'd into an Acquaintance with more Pleaſure, nor left off one with more Regret, than Yours. I flatter my ſelf, that the Beginning of it aroſe from that Similitude of Humours and Opinions, that is in us; as the Interruption of it was owing to thoſe unhappy Circumſtances, which have ſo long kept us aſunder. I am not willing to think my ſelf, however, either ſo Old, or ſo Unfortunate, as to be without Hope of enjoying once more in my Life, Your good Company, which I rather wiſh might be in *France*, than in any other Place. While I live in the Expectation of this Pleaſure, I have given my Son an Advantage which I am not ſo happy as to have my ſelf: He will, at the ſame Time, give you an Aſſurance of my ready Services, and make you an Offer of his own; that ſo the entire Poſſeſſion you have of me, may, as it were, become an Inheritance. If you have any Commands either for the Father, or Son, I intreat you to lay them upon us, with the ſame Freedom you ever did, during our long and ſtrict Friendſhip in *Flanders*; and if he ſtands in need of your Protection, I aſſure myſelf, that you never will refuſe it him; there being no one in the World with more Eſteem and Paſſion than my ſelf,

S I R,

Your moſt Humble, and

moſt Obedient Servant, &c.

A Monſieur *Gourville.*

Londres, *Fevr.* 12. S. N. 1673-4.

Monſieur,

JE n'ay fait aucune connoiſſance avec plus de plaiſir; ni perdu aucun commerce avec plus de regret que le vôtre. Je me flatte tant que d'attribuer le premier à quelque reſſemblance d'humeurs & d'opinions, & le dernier au ſeul malheur des conjonctures qui nous ont éloignés depuis ſi long tems. Je ne me veux pas croire encore ſi vieux ni ſi malheureux, que de ne vous voir pas encore un jour de ma vie, & j'aimerois mieux qu'il fût en France qu'en tout autre lieu. Mais en attendant j'ay voulu donner à mon fils un avantage que je ne puis pas avoir moy même: il vous aſſeurera en même tems de mes ſervices, & vous fera l'offre de ſiens; à fin que la poſſeſſion que vous avez acquis ſi entierement de moy, vous puiſſez paſſer en heritage. Si vous avez quelques commandemens pour le pere ou le fils, je vous ſupplie de nous en charger avec la franchiſe de nôtre amitié de Flandres; & ſ'il aura beſoin de vôtre protection, je ſay que vous ne la luy refuſeres point, puis qu'il n'y a perſonne qui peut être avec plus de paſſion ni plus d'eſtime que moy,

Monſieur,

Votre tres Humble, &

tres Obeiſſant Serviteur.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR, *London, February* 17, 1673-4.

I Did not think, a Fortnight ago, that you would hear from me, at this Time, from this Place, having been unexpectedly deſigned another Way, which you have had ſome Account of from my Siſter: But 'tis fit you receive a more particular one from me, upon an Occaſion, which I know you will not be diſpleaſed with, both as to what concerns the Publick, and my ſelf. You will eaſily imagine the Neceſſities, that prevailed with the King and his Miniſters, to fall into the Councils of making a ſudden Peace with *Holland*. So ſoon as this Reſolution was taken privately among them, my Lord *Arlington* ſent for me, and told me of it; and that, at the ſame Time, the King and my Lord Treaſurer, both together, at the foreign Committee (ſo as he could not ſay, which of them named me firſt) propoſed my being ſent over, upon this Occaſion; and the King added, That there was no Man elſe to be thought of; and ſo had commanded him to ſend for me, and acquaint me with it. I told him, I ſhould obey His Majeſty, as became me, and much the rather, upon a Point by which I thought He fell into His true Intereſt, wherein my Opinions were but too well known. After this, I went to the King, and ſaid the ſame Things; and what elſe I eſteemed proper upon that Occaſion; and that I would ſerve Him, as well as I could, though I doubted I was grown a little ruſty, by lying ſtill ſo long; and begun to ſhrink at a hard Journey, in ſuch a cruel Seaſon, after having given my ſelf all the Eaſe I could, for three Years at home. The King ſmiled, and ſaid, He would anſwer for me. I told Him, That would give me Confidence; but there was another Point, I deſired to govern my ſelf; which was, that my Lord *Arlington* having told me I was to go Ambaſſador, I had no Mind to charge my ſelf with that Character, upon ſo ſudden a Journey, and an Affair, that ought to be ſudden too. That the greateſt Piece of Service I had ever done Him, in all my Employments abroad, which was that of the Triple Alliance, I had created and concluded in five Days, and with the Character of Envoy; and I was confident, I could never have done it, if I had been Ambaſſador: That the Ceremonies of it hindred the Buſineſs where it preſs'd. That having been twice Ambaſſador, I needed not to value myſelf upon this Occaſion, eſpecially in *Holland*, where I was well enough known: And therefore I deſired I might go with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, and for this particular Affair only of the *Peace*. That when this was made, His Majeſty might ſend what Perſon, and what Character He pleaſed over, to reſide there, and go on with the Meaſures He ſhould have taken.

The King ſeemed very much to approve what I ſaid; and told me, That of Ambaſſador was only thought of, becauſe I had been Ambaſſador before; and they thought I would not be content to go without it; but He ſaw, I was a wiſer Man, and I ſhould not loſe by it; for though I went without the Character, yet I ſhould have the Pay of an Ambaſſador; and if I ſhould ſtay in *Holland*, after the Peace was made, I ſhould then have the Character. Hereupon, in two Days time, my Inſtructions were drawn up, my ſmall Equipage prepared, and my Servants ſent before to *Harwich*, where I intended to follow Poſt the Day after: But I would not ſuffer either my Wiſe or Siſter to engage in ſo haſty a Journey, and at ſo ill a Time of Year; though they were neither of them willing to let me go away alone, out of Care of my Health, which I promiſed to take my ſelf, and deſerve their good Opinion in it.

The very Day I was to go, came in an *Expreſs* from *Holland*, with full Powers from the *States* to the Marquis of *Freſno* (the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador here) to treat and conclude the Peace. My Lord *Arlington* immediately acquainted me with it, and deſired, I would go to the King, who was then at the Houſe of *Lords*, and tell Him this new Incident, and know his Pleaſure upon it;

his Lordſhip ſeeming a little in Pain at my Part in it. But I told him, I thought the Buſineſs had this way a better Turn than they themſelves had given it: That it would not only be diſpatch'd here with leſs Time, but with more Honour to His Majeſty than at the *Hague*: That for my Part, I was ſo far from being diſappointed, that I was very glad of it; that I confeſs'd I wiſh'd the Thing, but ſo it were done, was not fond of having any Part in it; and therefore was of Opinion, they ſhould preſently fall in Treaty with the Marquis, and ſo I would go and tell the King.

I will not tell you how pleaſed my Lord *Arlington* was with this Anſwer, nor how obliging Things he ſaid to me upon it; but I was ſorry he knew me ſo ill, as not to expect it, the Thing being ſo right: I went to the King, ſaid the ſame to Him, which found the ſame Reception; and He told me, though I did not treat it at the *Hague*, yet he was ſure I ſhould treat it here; and accordingly He ſent for the Marquis that Afternoon, and told him, He would ſend me to him that Evening, to fall into the Treaty; and that if he could agree with me, He ſhould reckon upon the Thing done.

I had my Orders, went to the Marquis, and we concluded all Points in three Days, though there was one of ſome Difficulty: The Inſtruments were diſpatch'd with the ſame Diligence, and ſigned by the Marquis and the King's Commiſſioners. And ſo that great Affair ended, to the infinite Satisfaction of all People here, as I doubt not, it will be in *Spain* and *Holland*, and give a great Turn, to the Conjunctures abroad.

Some Days after this Concluſion, my Lord *Arlington* told me, the King thought fit to recal Sir *William Godolphin* out of *Spain*, upon ſeveral Conſiderations, but chiefly upon Reports that had run of his Religion, which would not be very pleaſing in the Parliament, with whom the King was reſolved to live well; and therefore had ordered him to make me the Offer of going into *Spain*. That having been Ambaſſador in Ordinary ſo long ago, the King thought it was but Reaſon I ſhould make ſome Advance, and ſo would have me go Ambaſſador Extraordinary; which, to that Crown, was the Employment of moſt Dignity, and moſt Advantage of any other abroad.

I deſired his Lordſhip to make His Majeſty my moſt humble Acknowledgments, for ſo many and ſuch unſought for Honours, which were beyond what I could deſerve. But that the Thing was new; and that I had learnt, by a *Spaniſh* Proverb, not to make a ſudden Anſwer to a ſudden Queſtion. That beſides, the Journey was long, and You formerly had an Averſion to my undertaking it; that I could not do it now, without firſt conſulting you, whom I would not diſobey. That I therefore deſired his Lordſhip to excuſe my anſwering the King, till I had written, and had an Anſwer from You.

This is all I have to ſay, but that I leave it with you, to conſult if you pleaſe, with my Brother, and ſend me your Reſolution as ſoon as you can. I find my Wife inclined to it, both upon Reſpects of Advantages to my Fortune and my Health, which ſhe thinks ſuffered much in *Holland*. My Siſter, though the better *Spaniard*, has no great mind to it. For my own Part, I am pretty indifferent; I like the Climate; but you know I never cared for a Remove, being ever apt to like the Place and Condition I am in; and if I have a Mind to mend it, I believe I cannot want Occaſions, upon this great Revolution, and the Return of our Councils to the Point where I left them three or four Years ago.

I ſhall give you no farther Trouble at this Time, but expect your Anſwer, and remain ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To

To the Prince of ORANGE.

S I R, *London, February* 28, 1673-4.

I Thought Your Highneſs would not be diſpleaſed, with receiving thoſe Marks of Kindneſs, from his Majeſty and the Duke, which they intended You by me, though You have, I know, received others of a freſher Date. Therefore, by Leave from them both, I ſend You incloſed the Letters I had the Honour to be charged with, when I kiſs'd their Hands, upon my intended Journey into *Holland*. The Compliments I was commanded to carry Your Highneſs from their Mouths (beſides what went from their Hands) were, I will aſſure You, very particular. Eſpecially thoſe from his Majeſty; to tell you, How great an Inducement to the Peace, Your Highneſs's Advancement to the Hereditary Dignity had been, and with how much more Confidence He could now fall into good Meaſures with *Holland*, than before. And thoſe from the Duke, when at the End of a great deal ſpoken, very kindly, he bid me aſſure You, That he look'd upon Your Highneſs's Intereſts, as the ſame with the King's and his own; and that if there were any Thing, wherein You could uſe his Service, You might be ſure of it. I reply'd, Pray, Sir, remember, there is nothing You except, and you do not know how far a young Prince's Deſire may go; but I am reſolved to tell Him what You ſay, and, if there be Occaſion, to be a Witneſs of it: The Duke ſmiled, Well, well; you may tell him what I bid you: Upon which I ſaid; At leaſt I will tell the Prince, that You ſmiled when I told You ſo, which, I am ſure, is a great deal better, than if You had frowned. I know Your Highneſs will eaſily pardon me, for entertaining You with theſe Circumſtances; but I will ſay no more of this kind, unleſs You give me Encouragement; nor of any other, to encreaſe Your Trouble, at this Time; unleſs it be, that if in any Thing, either ſmall or great, Your Highneſs can find my Services uſeful to You here, You will ever find them at Your Devotion, in a Manner very particular; and that no Man alive, can be with more Paſſion, or more Truth,

S I R,

Your Highneſs's moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R, *London, March* 27, 1674.

UPon your Expreſſion of ſo much Diſlike to my Journey into *Spain*; I acquainted the King with it; and gave That, for the only Reaſon, of my excuſing myſelf from it. I made his Majeſty, at the ſame Time, the greateſt Acknowledgments I could, for the Honour he had done me, by the Offer of it; and aſſured him, how glad I ſhould be, to deſerve ſo good an Opinion, as he had pleaſed to expreſs, in thinking me worthy of an Employment, which, for my own Part, I eſteemed one of the beſt he had to give. The King was pleaſed to reply very graciouſly, That he thought ſo too, but yet he intended me a better; that he had been long engaged in the Remove at preſent deſign'd, but that upon the next, he was reſolved, I ſhould have it. He was pleaſed to ſay no more, but walked away; and I ſeemed to take no Notice of what he meant. But the Day after, I told all that had paſs'd to my Lord *Arlington*: He ſeemed a good deal ſurpriſed, at my refuſing the *Spaniſh* Embaſſy, and ſaid, He believed the King had few Subjects that would not be glad of it: That he had ſo little expected it, that he had told the Marquis of *Freſno* of the King's Reſolution in it: That for his own Part, unleſs I was ſure of his Secretary's Place, he ſhould not yet adviſe me to refuſe the other.

This was ſaid, with a Face, and in a Way, ſomething graver than his had been of late towards me; and, I confeſs, ſurprized me more than he pretended, I had done him. I told him, That I did not at all know what he meant, by ſaying, If I were not ſure of his Secretary's Place: That it was a Thing I never had once in my Thoughts, but when he had put it there, a great while ago, upon the Reſolution of Sir *John Trevor*'s coming into the other: That my Circumſtances had been ſince much changed; and he knew I had thought of nothing, but my Garden and a private Life, for theſe three or four Years paſt, till the King ſent for me upon this Peace with *Holland*. That he knew what had paſſed ſince, and he knew all; for I was no Man of Myſtery nor Intrigue; That I went abroad, when the King called me, and I liked my Errand; and when theſe did not happen, I ſtayed at home. But I was ſtill deſirous to know what gave him Occaſion of ſaying that to me; for what the King had ſaid could not be interpreted to mean any ſuch Thing.

He told me, That he knew I was related to my Lord Treaſurer, and heard I was much in his Favour; that he was now the Great Man, and could do what he pleaſed, and thought he might do this among other Things; and could not imagine I would refuſe the *Spaniſh* Embaſſy, unleſs my Lord Treaſurer and I had agreed upon the other. I found where this Matter pinch'd, and ſaid, ſmiling, That he was never more miſtaken in his Life: That it was true, my Wife was related to my Lord Treaſurer; and that we were great Companions, when we were both together young Travellers and Tennis Players in *France*: But that for near twenty Years paſt, we had not at all fallen in one another's Way, till upon what had paſſed ſince the late Councils, about a Peace with *Holland*, in which our Opinions ſeemed to agree: That ſince, we had met ſometimes, but not often, nor in any Confidences. That I knew he was a great Man, but could not tell yet, to what Points of the Compaſs he intended to ſteer: That I left him, as I did every Body elſe, to take his own Meaſures; and for mine, he knew very well how little I troubled my Friends about them.

Upon this he began with another Countenance than in the Beginning of this Converſation, to tell me, That he eaſily believed all I told him; that he was ſo far from diſliking my being well with my Lord Treaſurer, how ill ſoever he was with him, that he adviſed me, as a Friend, to be as well with him as I could. That he confeſs'd, he thought, I might have entered with him into a Concert, of getting into his Place, inſtead of Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, which would have been no Injury to him; for he knew I would not think of it, but upon the ſame Terms as the other: That ſince we were fallen into this Diſcourſe, he would go farther with me, and tell me, 'twas true he had a good while had a Mind to leave the Toil of his Place, and, perhaps, the Envy; and ſo had agreed with Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, to come in, and give him ſix thouſand Pounds, when my Lord St. *Albans* ſhould be willing to part with the Chamberlain's Staff, for which he was to give him ten. That my Lord St. *Albans* had been of late very much unreſolved in this Matter, and he knew not when he would fix: That whenever he did, he was engaged in the other to Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, by the King's Conſent, and would do nothing to break it. But if I had a Mind, and could make Intereſt enough in my Lord Treaſurer to turn it another Way, and bring my Lord St. *Albans* to a Reſolution, he would leave me wholly to play my own Game; and, for his own Part, it ſhould be all one to him, from whom he received the ſix thouſand Pounds: And he would not only be paſſive in it, but if the King ſhould ask his Opinion, as to the Fitneſs or Capacity of the Perſons, he would tell it him freely, with all the Preference to me that I deſerv'd.

I gave his Lordſhip many Thanks for the Kindneſs and Frankneſs of this Diſcourſe; but I told him, I believed it need go no farther. That, for my own Part, I was both againſt his going out of the Secretary's Place, and againſt my own, or any Body's, coming into it for Mony; and I ended this Converſation, with ſaying a great deal, to diſſuade him from leaving his Place.

About three or four Days after, Mr. *Sidney* told me, That my Lord *Arlington* had ſpoken to Mr. *Mountague*, about what had paſſed between us, and with a great deal of Kindneſs of me, eſpecially for being ſo earneſt with him to keep his Place, and the Reaſons I had given him for it; but yet in the Belief, that I ought not to neglect this Occaſion, becauſe he was reſolved. Mr. *Sidney* was mighty earneſt with me to reſolve too; and next Day Mr. *Mountague* ſpoke to me himſelf; and believing nothing could ſtick with me, unleſs it were taking up the Mony, he offer'd to help me to it: which was more than I had Reaſon to expect, from him or any Man elſe. My Wife is enough inclined I ſhould do it, though ſhe and my Children run moſt Hazard in it, if I ſhould die, and leave my Eſtate charged with ſuch a Debt, which, though ſmall at preſent, yet, I thank God, is clear. For my own Part, I confeſs, I find no Motions about me towards it, and ſhould have thought the *Spaniſh* Embaſſy a much better Employment. I have ever deteſted the Cuſtom grown amongſt us of ſelling Places, and much more thoſe of ſo much Importance to the Crown. I think it no great Honour to be preferred before Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*, and yet I would not do him an Injury neither, as this would ſeem to be. I have ſeen ſuch Changes at Court, that I know not yet what to make of this laſt; and ſtill remember poor Monſieur *de Witt*'s Word of, *Fluctation perpetuelle dans la conduite d'Angleterre*; which of all Things in the World I am not made for, and had rather, once for all, break my head with going on, than be wrenching my ſelf continually with ſudden Turns. I need ſay no more of this Matter; it lies before you. Pray pleaſe to talk with my Brother about it; 'tis what the Family is concerned in more than I, and, therefore, pray let me receive your Judgment upon it, which in this, as all Things elſe, ſhall ever have the greateſt Weight with,

SIR,

Your obedient Son, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

Sheen, May 16. 1674.

SIR,

I Have wholly followed your Opinion, both in declining the Motion about the Scretary's Place, and in fixing that of *Holland*; ſince I find That the only preſent Employment you are content with for me, and you are not content with none. My Lord *Arlington* ſeemed to take what I ſaid to him upon both very indifferently, and though at firſt he raiſed a Scruple about my going into *Holland*, in regard of a certain Lord's having been very hot, for ſome Time, in the Purſuit of it: Yet when I perſiſted in it, upon the King's having in *February* deſigned me for it, of his own Motion, he adviſed me to take my Meaſures, as well as I could, with my Lord Treaſurer, about the main Point, which was, what related to the Exchequer; and for the King, he knew very well there would be no Difficulty. Both theſe are now ſettled: The King has reſolved to ſend me over Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States: And my Lord Treaſurer is, after ſome Conteſt, fallen into the Terms I inſiſted, which is, to equal me with the other Embaſſies of the Crowns; and ſo I engaged in my Preparations for this Journey. His Majeſty is reſolved I ſhall offer his Mediation to the States, in their preſent War with *France*. If it be accepted by them and all the Parties, I reckon he will be Maſter of the Peace, and the Parties be hindred from making their ſeparate Treaties, when they are once engaged in a general one. I hope you will like what is done, as much as you ſeemed before to deſire it; which is all I aſk, and leave the reſt to God Almighty, for what is to come.

I reſolve to take my whole Family over; but yet that my Wife and Son ſhall firſt make you a Viſit, ſince I ſee you will not think of coming over. 'Tis their Turn now, and my Siſter and I will go firſt into *Holland*, though we ſhould both be very glad to wait upon you again, if it could have been allowed us. But my Wife will not conſent to my going without either her or my Siſter; and ſhe has a great Mind to carry over her Son to you her ſelf, after having been ſo long in *France*, and at an Age when commonly the great Changes are made, which you will judge of when you ſee him. I ſhall, at preſent, give you no farther Trouble than the Profeſſions of my being ever,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

SIR, *Hague*, *July* 17, S. N. 1674.

I Ordered an Account of my Arrival here, on *Friday* laſt, to be given Mr. *Cook*, by that Night's Poſt; which being all I had then to ſay, I thought might well ſave you any farther Trouble at that Time. On *Saturday* Morning I ſent to the Penſioner *Fagel*, to deſire an Hour of ſeeing him ſome Time that Day; He excuſed it, but ſent me Word withal, that he would not fail of coming to me ſome Time in the Evening; which he performed, in a Viſit about two Hours long. After the Compliments on both Sides, I fell upon theſe Points with him: The Satisfaction his Majeſty had received in the late *Peace* with the *States*; his Deſires and Reſolutions to continue and cultivate it; the Reaſon he had to content himſelf with the Poſture and Advantages in which he ſtood, by a *Peace* with all his Neighbours, while they were all engaged in a War; that if his Bounty and Piety did not prevail with him, farther than his Intereſts, he ſhould ſit down with his own Peace, and not trouble himſelf farther about that of *Chriſtendom*; but theſe Diſpoſitions, and the Deſire of ſo general a Good, had engaged him to offer his Mediation in the preſent Quarrels: That it had been accepted by *France*, and promiſed to be conſidered of by the Emperor and *Spain*, in Concert with their *Allies*: That the *States* Ambaſſadors in *England*, who underſtood our Conſtitutions, and the Diſpoſitions of the *King* my Maſter, better than Strangers could do, had promiſed all their Offices, that his Majeſty's Offer might be accepted here, and that the Parties might conſent to the Choice of *London*, for the Place of Treaty; and thereupon I had brought over a Letter from his Majeſty to the *States*, with the Offer of his Mediation: That they ought to believe, that if his Majeſty were partial to any Side, it muſt be to that wherein his own *Nephew* was ſo nearly concerned; and that they ought to think ſo the rather, ſince his Majeſty made the Offers of Mediation, at a Time when all the Advantage of the War had run ſo high on the *French* Side, and were, in all Appearance, likely to do ſo ſtill: That, perhaps, if his Majeſty had ſeen *Flanders* like to be defended, by the Arms of the Confederates, he might have ſpared or delayed this Office: That they knew he underſtood his Intereſt too well, to be content to ſee *Flanders* loſt; and that his Honour would not ſuffer him, no more than the Condition in which the laſt War hath left him, to go about preſerving it any other Way, than that of a Peace. That his Majeſty would be very glad ſuch a one might be made, as would leave *Flanders* in a better Poſture of defending it ſelf, than it was before, by laying the *Spaniſh* Territories together more in a Round, than the laſt Peace left them: And, that when this ſhould be concluded, I did not doubt, but they would find his Majeſty ready to enter into the beſt and ſtrongeſt Guaranties of it, they could deſire.

I need not trouble you, to tell you how this Matter paſſed between us; but ſum up together, what all I drew from him in the laſt Conference amounted to. He firſt gave me Thanks for the Advice I had given their Ambaſſadors there: and ſaid, he ſhould be glad I would always be their Counſellor, how they ought to comport themſelves to his Majeſty upon all Occaſions. He fell into a Relation of the Forces of their preſent League, eſpecially by the Conjunction of the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, whoſe Treaty with the Emperor and them, he aſſured me, was abſolutely concluded, ſo as to bring him into an Offenſive Part of the War. That though they could not expect another ſo great Conjuncture, and had but too great Teſtimonies of the Ill-will of *France*, particularly to this State; yet they had no other Thoughts but only of gaining ſuch a Peace, as might leave them and their Allies out of Danger, upon a new Invaſion from *France*: That for their own Part, they had recovered all they had loſt, except *Grave*, which they hoped ſuddenly for a good Account of, being already inveſted by Monſieur *Ralenboupt*; for *Maſtricht* they had given up by Agreement to the *Spaniards*. That it was impoſſible for them to leave their Allies, who, under God, had ſaved their State from abſolute Ruin; but whatever Terms of Peace they would conſent to, would ſatisfy the States. That they believed *Spain* would be moderate, and though their Treaty with that Crown, obligeth them to the Terms of the *Pyrenees*, yet there is a Clauſe, which alloweth it to be altered by Conſent: That they apprehend *Sweden* as too partial to *France*, but are content to make his Majeſty Arbiter in all their Affairs; and to this End, that they were reſolved to accept of the Mediation, were willing that *London* ſhould be the Place of *Congreſs*, and that they would leave it to his Majeſty there, either to propoſe the Scheme of a Peace himſelf, or to retrench and adjuſt, according to his Prudence and Equity, what Propoſitions ſhould be made on each Side, by the Parties themſelves: That they would perform all the Offices they could, to induce the *Emperor* and *Spain* to agree with them in theſe Points, both by the States writing effectually to their Miniſters in thoſe two Courts, and by his ſpeaking earneſtly, both with the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Miniſters here. That he was ſatisfied how ſafe their Intereſt would lye in his Majeſty's Hands; and that this State would ever make it their Endeavour, to deſerve the Friendſhip and Protection of the Crown of *England*; by which they knew it could beſt be preſerved, as well as it had at firſt been raiſed.

After this Conference with the Penſioner, I thought it beſt to neglect no Time in the Delivery of my Letters, and ſo went that Evening to the Preſident of the *Week*, and put into his Hands, both that of Credence, and the other of Mediation; which were both received by him, with great Applauſes, upon the Subject of the Peace, and the Recovery of his Majeſty's Favour and Friendſhip to this State.

Upon *Sunday* Afternoon, the Preſident, to whom I had delivered my Letters, came to me, and told me, He was ordered by the States General to attend me with the Account of their having peruſed his Majeſty's Letters: Upon the firſt, he made me their Compliments, which being chiefly perſonal, need no Relation. Upon the Letter which carry'd his Majeſty's Offer of Mediation, he ſaid, Without doubt, the States would receive it with Joy and with Thanks; but being engaged to ſeveral Allies, they could not do it, without firſt communicating it to them; which they would do immediately, and in ſuch manner, as they queſtion'd not to induce them to accept it too. I told him, That the *Emperor* and *Spain* having put their Delay in accepting of it upon their Allies, by whom I underſtood the States to be meant; I expected, at leaſt, that the States would have accepted it, as to themſelves, or their Part in the Quarrel. But he ſaid, That it ſelf could not be done by their Agreement, without a Communication, which they hoped his Majeſty would not interpret ill, ſince it could produce but the Delay of ſome few Days, and was meant to extend the Acceptance to their Allies. I deſired him to let the States know, however, what I had expected in this Point; and asked him, Whether they would not have heen glad, that upon his Majeſty's Offer of Mediation to all the Parties, *France* had refuſed it, or made Difficulties upon it, and the Confederates had accepted it with the beſt Grace that could be? He confeſs'd, He would: Upon which, I told him, Then they had Reaſon to be ſorry, that juſt the contrary had happen'd. He ſeem'd to be touch'd, and ſaid, He would likewiſe report this to the States.

I have not ſince been able to ſee the Penſioner, nor the Preſident of the *Week*; and therefore ſhall only ſay in general, That though the Aſſurances I received from the firſt, and the Account I had from the laſt, ſeem a little different, yet I am confident, his Majeſty may reckon, that an Obſtruction of the Peace will not ariſe from hence. For, beſides the general Diſpoſitions and Intereſts of Traders, and the Jealouſies natural between the Civil and Military Power, I find their Payments are on all Hands too great, to be long continued; their Hopes are very moderate from the Succeſſes of their Armies or Fleets; and I ſee no Advantages, that they propoſe to themſelves, tho' both ſhould proſper, beſides the running *France* a little more out of Breath; ſo that the Peace may be probable to laſt the longer.

I find, the Penſioner is the great Man here, and acts all under the Prince's Influence, though not without ſome Diſtaſte among the richer ſort of People in the Towns. He is a Perſon whoſe Diſpoſitions may, I am confident, be improved, to make him as partial to *England*, as thoſe of his Predeceſſor were eſteemed to *France*, in caſe there were any Competition of thoſe Two Intereſts here. The Point upon which I judge this to turn chiefly, is that of Religion, in which I find him, by his Diſcourſes, very warm; and hear by others, that he hath it very much at Heart.

I am ever, Sir,

Your moſt, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs, *Hague, Auguſt* 1. 1674.

THough I could not kiſs Your Highneſs's Hands, in the Way I deſired, immediately upon my Arrival Here, yet I could not forbear the doing of it this way, upon the very firſt Occaſion; and aſſuring Your Highneſs, with how much Ambition, both of attending and ſerving You, I enter upon this Employment; which without thoſe Motives, would be but a Point of mere Obedience, and not at all of Inclination. This, I am ſure, Your Highneſs will believe, when I have the Honour of entertaining You upon thoſe Points, wherein his Majeſty has pleaſed to inſtruct me, and which makes me ſo impatient to attend You, that I ſhall not ſtay to ſatisfy the Forms here, but only to recover Health enough for another Journey and Paſſage of Sea, that uſed me very ill. I hope this will happen within a Day or two, and give me the Occaſion both of acquitting my ſelf of his Majeſty's Commands, and of expreſſing ſome part of that Devotion wherewith I have been ſo long, and ſhall be ever,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Hague, Auguſt 18. 1674.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

WHatever the Succeſſes of the late Battel have been, or the Conſequences ſhall prove, Your Highneſs may be content to hear from a plain Man, and who has no Vein of Flattery about him, that the Accounts of Your Friends, Your Allies, and Your Enemies, how much ſoever they differ on other Points, yet agree perfectly in giving Your Highneſs all the Applauſes and Renown upon this Occaſion, that are due to the greateſt Captain and boldeſt Soldier. I cannot but give Your Highneſs the Joy of it, and put You in mind, at the ſame Time, how reaſonable it is, that in ſuch Adventures hereafter, You ſhould manage Your Life ſomething the better, for having managed Your Glory ſo well in this*. 'Tis not fit to give Your Highneſs longer Interruptions, and therefore I ſhall end this, with my Wiſhes for Your Safety, ſince thoſe for Your Fortunes, and Honour, have ſucceeded ſo well. I am ever with that Devotion and Truth which become me,

S I R,

Your Highneſs's moſt Humble,

and moſt Obedient Servant.

* *The Battel of* Seneffe.

To my Lord Arlington.

Hague, September 4. *S. N.* 1674.

My Lord,

I Was very glad to find, by Yours of the 11th paſt, the good Intentions, with which the Marquis *de Freſno* parted from you. If he can infuſe them into the Miniſters at *Madrid*, it will be a great Point gained toward the Peace, and ſuch as joined to the Diſpoſitions we ſhall meet here, will not leave room for the Imperial Councils to avoid the Progreſs of it. In the Diſcourſes I hold here upon this Subject with the chief Perſons of the States, when I tell them, how the Peace is like to be hinder'd by Intereſts wholly foreign to theirs, it is grown a common Word among them, *Je ne dis mot, mais je voudrois fort la paix:* And you may certainly reckon upon all that can be done towards it from hence, when this Campaign ends; and before that, I am apt to think ſo much, that nothing will be done, as to believe, the leſs 'tis offer'd at, the better. Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* left the Prince in the Belief, that there would be another Battel; and they tell me here, there is ſome great Deſign reſolved of by the Confederates, which muſt be ſuddenly executed; becauſe all agree, That the Imperial Troops have Orders to march towards the *Rhine* by the middle of next Month. Sir *Gabriel* tells me likewiſe, That at his coming away, he ask'd the Prince, Whether he would be willing I ſhould come to him any where, while he continued in the Field? but that his Highneſs anſwered, *Qu'il ſerait fort eloigné, & ces marches incertaines, que la campagne s'achevroit bientôt, & qu' alors il me verroit à la Haye.* Notwithſtanding all this, which is no more than I have known long enough; yet I have ſo well followed your Lordſhip's Advice, in underſtanding what had paſs'd, juſt as the Prince was willing I ſhould, that I am pretty confident I ſhall be as well with him at his Return, as the King can wiſh, for the Advance of the Service I have in Charge. I am aſſured by one, to whom Monſieur *de Mareſtes* (the *French*

French Miniſter here, who has great Credit with the Prince) told it a little before his Highneſs left the *Hague*, that upon Diſcourſe, in private, concerning the Affairs of *England*, and my coming over, the Prince ſaid, *Qu'il avoit telle opinion de ma probitè qu'il croyroit tout ce que je lui dirois là deſſus:* What the late Accident between us may have produced, I know not; but by a Letter I received this Morning, in Anſwer to one I wrote upon the late Fight, I could not believe any thing amiſs there. I ſend your Lordſhip a Copy of it, becauſe this is his own, though the laſt might very well be another Style, as you gueſſed.

I likewiſe incloſe what I ſaid to the States at my Audience, which, I hope, his Majeſty will find conformable to what he intended, which I ſhould be glad to know: And for the reſt of that troubleſome Ceremony, I will only tell you, that it paſs'd very well on all ſides; and I am ſure on mine, with a great deal more Expence, than any Embaſſy I have ever ſeen here; which (conſidering the Courſe of my natural Humour, when I am private) his Majeſty may very well attribute to the Regard of his Honour; that ought to be the greater, the worſe I found the Repreſentations made from *England* hither, of the Poſture of our Affairs, and eſpecially of the Revenue. After this, I am like to be idle for a Month or ſix Weeks, that is, till the Return of the Prince; and if I am left to my ſelf, I will not be too buſie; which is a Part rather over-acted by my Brother-Ambaſſador here, upon the Point of Mediation, and is grown to be taken for ſo much, of little to the purpoſe. But when the Prince comes, if his Majeſty gives me Leave to take my Times and Ways, and continues in the Mind I left him, of deſiring ſuch a Peace as might leave *Flanders* defenſible, and can but procure Powers from *Spain* to any Perſon within my reach here, I am pretty confident, by all the Proſpects I have on every ſide, that it will be a Buſineſs within Compaſs. I am not leſs confident of ſetting all Things right between his Majeſty and the Prince, and thereby preventing the Seeds of any future Miſchiefs in the Royal Family; both which Works, I deſire you will aſſure his Majeſty, ſhall be purſued with all my Skill and Induſtry, and in the Ways I conceive moſt conducing to their Succeſs; and if I have the Honour of atchieving them, it will be enough for ſuch a Life as mine. And the King will then give me leave, I hope, to go and ſleep at home, and leave my Son in the buſie World, which requires Men ſpirited with ſome other Heats, than I have about me. If upon his coming over, you can find any thing you would have ſaid to me, tho' he be Young, yet I am pretty confident, he may be truſted with it; for he has a good plain ſteddy Head, and is deſirous to do well.

I do not trouble You with any current News, having caſt a Digeſtion of all that occurs here of that kind upon my Secretary; as being unwilling to anſwer for what one hears, though, perhaps, it may be fit to tell, with the very Uncertainties that attend it. However, I take care, he ſhall be as well informed, as can be compaſſed in this Place.

I am ever, moſt affectionately,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

Hague, Sept. 4. *S. N.* 1674.

My Lord,

I Know ſo well how many Neceſſary Troubles attend ſo great Perſons as Your Lordſhip, that I have been very unwilling at all to increaſe them by any that are unneceſſary from hence; and ſuch, I was ſure, all muſt be that come this way, ſince Your Lordſhip has whatever You are content to be troubled with of my conſtant Diſpatches to Mr. Secretary. However, I could not ſatisfie my ſelf to be wholly out of Your Memory, and therefore reſolved to make an ill way to it, rather than none; though I had much rather put in my Claim to it, by ſerving Your Lordſhip, than by troubling you. The Diſpoſitions here are ſtrong towards a Peace, and, I hear, they are not weak in *France*. *Spain* would be glad to make a good War, but fears an ill one; which, by the Diviſion of their Councils and Miniſters, may well fall to their Share. The Emperor is moſt eager of the Four, to keep up the Ball, being armed at others Coſt, and growing into greater Conſideration by it at Home, whatſoever he does abroad. *Sweden* would, I believe, be glad to draw the Stakes they have in their Keeping, without entring into the Game; and though they have Treaties concluded with *France*, and begin to arm with their Money, yet they preſs on the Mediation with all the Inſtances they can, in hope that way to excuſe themſelves from any Share in this Year's Action. *Denmark* only obſerves the Motion of that Crown, and will be ever in the other Scale.

The Prince of *Orange* is, I doubt, reſolved to have more Honour yet before this Campaign ends, though he had his full Share of it in the laſt Action of *Seneffe*, and more than his Share of the Danger. This makes us here expect another Battel or Siege very ſuddenly; and while ſo great Adventures are ſtirring, no Man can judge of the Events of the Year. I incloſe a Copy of what I ſaid to the States laſt Week, at my publick Audience, that Your Lordſhip may judge whether it be conformable to his Majeſty's Intentions, which You are better acquainted with.

Among the many Pieces of Juſtice Your Lordſhip does every Day to indifferent Men, I hope you will not refuſe me that, of believing me always what I am with Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful,

and moſt Humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, Sept. 17. *S. N.* 1674.

SIR,

THIS Day I received a Viſit from the Penſioner, wherein he told me, Firſt, That by Letters from *Vienna* he had great Hopes given him, that his Majeſty's Mediation would be accepted by that Court, and that this Advice was ſeconded by the Emperor's Miniſters here; though he ſaid, he found by both, that his Majeſty's Subjects having had ſo great a Share in the laſt Action between Monſieur *Turenne* and the Imperial Forces, was taken very unkindly by that Court, and other Princes of the Empire. He told me beſides, That he had a particular Advice from the States Miniſters at *Vienna*, that Monſieur *Puffendorf*, the *Swediſh* Envoy there, endeavoured under-hand all he could, to hinder the accepting his Majeſty's Mediation by that Court, which he (the Penſioner) could not apprehend the Reaſon of; unleſs it were, that the *Swedes* had no mind to ſee the preſent Game end, without making yet ſome more Advantages of it; or that they had a Deſire to remain the ſole Arbiter of the *Munſter* Peace; whereas the Interpretation of ſome Articles of it might be referred to his Majeſty, in caſe his Mediation ſhould now be accepted by the Empire. But upon this Point the Penſioner concluded, That if this Matter ſhould be much longer delay'd, by either the Court at *Vienna*, or *Madrid*, this State would let them know, that they abſolutely accepted his Majeſty's

Mediation, which he did not doubt would be followed by a Concurrence from them both.

After this, he told me, That upon the Repreſentations he had made to the Prince of what had paſſed between us here upon the Subject of the Peace, he had received Orders from his Highneſs to come to me, and deſire to know more particularly what his Majeſty's Intentions were in this Matter, and upon what Terms his Majeſty deſired the Peace ſhould be made; and to aſſure me, that when he knew them, his Highneſs would endeavour that this State ſhould comply all that could be with them; and that, as to what concerned themſelves, he knew they would be content to leave all to his Majeſty's own Arbitrage; and he did not doubt, though they could not treat apart from their Allies, yet they might go a great way in diſpoſing them to receive any Overture that ſhould be made of a ſafe and laſting Peace. He told me farther, That his Orders from the Prince were to enter into this Matter only with me, and without the Communication of their Ambaſſadors in *England*, becauſe he thought it was the better, the fewer Hands it paſs'd.

I told the Penſioner, I would not fail letting his Majeſty know all that he had ſaid to me from the Prince, and returning him an Anſwer more particularly, ſo ſoon as I received it: in the mean Time, I was ſure, that it would be taken kindly by his Majeſty; and that the more Confidence he expreſs'd of the King's Kindneſs to him, as well as of his Juſtice in the Buſineſs of the Mediation, the more Reaſon he would have to rely upon both. That for the Terms of the Peace, I could only ſay in general, That his Majeſty deſired, as well as they, that it might be laſting and ſafe, being equally concerned in preſerving *Flanders*, which was only in Danger: But for Particulars, I thought it was not the part of a Mediator to propoſe the Terms, but rather receive ſuch as ſhould be propoſed by both Parties, and endeavour to agree them, by moderating what ſhould ſeem exceſſive, and finding Expedients for what was difficult in either of theſe Demands. That on the *French* ſide, all being in the Hands of one Prince, it might be reſolved in a Day; but the Intereſts and Intentions of ſeveral Confederates, were harder to agree upon; and therefore, I thought the Propoſitions towards a Peace ought to begin from thence; which if his Majeſty were once poſſeſs'd of, he would endeavour to make them go, as far as they could with *France*: Therefore I told him, That as I would tranſmit to his Majeſty the Prince's Deſire of knowing the King's Intentions in this Matter; ſo they ought to know what Terms *Spain* propoſed to themſelves, after a Campaign paſt, with ſo great Expectation, and ſo little Advantage on the Confederate Side.

The Penſioner told me, I had Reaſon in all I ſaid, and that he would ſpeak with Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, who he found had ſo much Credit in his Court, that he had never yet been diſavowed in any thing he had undertaken for. He ſaid, He knew it was a diſadvantageous Time for them to talk of a Peace now, but that, he hoped, they might yet have ſome Succeſs before the Campaign ended; which he deſired for nothing ſo much, as for the ſooner obtaining the Peace; ſince it might look unreaſonable for them to demand the Reſtitution of Places conquered in *Flanders* laſt War; and yet it was abſolutely unſafe for them to have that Country in the Poſture it was upon the Treaty of *Aix*: That if this could be admitted, they were ſure of the Peace; for he had received new Inſtances from the Count *d'Eſtrades*, by the Penſioner of *Maſtricht*, who had been with him again that very Morning, and aſſur'd him, That what the Count propoſed, was not only from himſelf, but by Orders from his Maſter; and hereupon he repeated to me what I wrote to You before of that Propoſition, which was grounded upon the Treaty of *Aix*, the reſtoring Commerce to the State as it was in 1662; and *Maſtricht* to the Prince of *Orange*, but not to the *Spaniard*. From this he fell into the Scheme of their preſent Affairs, aſſuring himſelf of *Grave* in a Fortnight's Time; of the Imperial Army on the *Rhine* growing very ſtrong, and Monſieur *Turenne*'s very weak; as likewiſe Monſieur *Schomberg*'s in *Rouſſillon*, where the Campaign was but now beginning; and for the reſt, excuſing, as well as he could, the ill Succeſs of their Fleet under Monſieur *de Ruyter*, and ſaying, They ſhould draw Four thouſand Men out of it, upon their coming home, for reinforcing their Armies: And a great deal of this kind, which ſignified no more, than the Reſolution of making the reſt of this Campaign.

In the mean Time, His Majeſty has it in his Choice, to open a Negotiation of the Peace, either by telling them here his own Thoughts or Intentions, as to the Terms of it; or elſe, by receiving from them ſuch Propoſitions upon it, as may be firſt digeſted here between Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, and the Penſioner; and this I ſhall endeavour all I can, to bring to ſome Head; and let it be as rough as it will at firſt, it will be the proper Part of a Mediator afterwards to work it into the beſt Form, that it is capable of receiving. For this End, I am reſolved to find out ſome Expedient or other to meet with Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, who hath not yet ſeen me, upon the Points of Ceremony that lie between our Characters. For the preſent, I ſhall only ſay, upon the whole Matter, That, I believe, in caſe *France* can be induced to leave ſuch a Frontier in *Flanders*, as may be thought defenſible, and ſo leave no Suſpicions of their Deſign to begin a new War when they are in a better Poſture, and theſe Countries in a worſe to purſue it, the Buſineſs of the Peace will hardly fail, nor any Intereſt, either private or foreign, prevail with this State to go on with the War. But, on the other ſide, if this Point cannot be gained, I believe, the Diſpoſitions here, how paſſionate ſoever towards a Peace, will not have the Force to bring it about; but that they will rather content themſelves to leſſen their own Charge, by ſetting out no more Fleets, and only maintaining a Body of Five and twenty, or Thirty thouſand Men at Land, which, as Auxiliary Forces, may, upon Occaſion, join with the Imperial or *Spaniſh* Troops, who ſhall be left as Principal in the War. I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, *September* 13. *S. N.* 1674.

SIR,

IN one of my late Letters I gave You Notice, of the many Complaints made me by the *Engliſh* Merchants here, concerning the Seizure of their Ships by the *French* and *Spaniſh* Privateers, to the great Diſcouragement of our Trade, and Damage of his Majeſty's Subjects. The Merchants here were not content, it ſeems, with the Promiſes I made them, of repreſenting this Matter to the King; but have ſince ſent me a formal Petition upon this Subject, (which I here incloſe) and written to me, at the ſame time, a very earneſt Letter, to recommend it to Your Favour, which I could not refuſe to do, believing it indeed my ſelf, to be a Buſineſs of the ſame Conſequence they repreſent it, and therefore, very well worthy of his Majeſty's Conſideration. For the Matter of Paſſes, mentioned in their Petition, I have hitherto refuſed to give them, as having received no Orders in that Point; though the Merchants here pretend to have Notice from *England*, that ſuch Orders have been tranſmitted to me. When they come, I ſhall obey them; but in the mean Time, have excuſed my ſelf, notwithſtanding all their Importunity.

I ſhall increaſe this Trouble no farther, than by my Profeſſions of being always,

S I R,

Your moſt faithful

Humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, October 5. *S. N.* 1674.

S I R,

I Have none from You of late to acknowledge, and doubt, I lie too much out of Your Way, to expect any longer the Honour of that Correſpondence, with which my Employment here began, and which I eſteemed one of the beſt Circumſtances that attended it. Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* gave me Notice laſt Poſt, both of his Promotion, and of the Affairs of this Province being fallen under his Care; as likewiſe, of what Commands his Majeſty had that Day ordered to be tranſmitted to me; whereupon I make him this Day the uſual Diſpatch in return. I know not whether by this Change You will be able to get wholly out of my Reach; becauſe, you know, 'tis hard for a Man to loſe a good Haunt, or an ill Cuſtom; and I ſhall not be content to forfeit the Profeſſion of your Favour or Memory, for want of ſometimes laying claim to it. I muſt, however, rejoice with You upon Your Removal to better Climates, and more proſperous Scenes; eſpecially, at a Time, when the Affairs of this have ſo very ill an Aſpect, by the Diſſentions and Diſtruſts among the Generals of the Confederates; which, I may tell You, are to the laſt Degree, and the moſt Criminal; and ſuch, as have not only ruined their Affairs this Campaign, but muſt do ſo, while theſe Men are in Play. I will not give you both a long and an unneceſſary Trouble: What Uſe You will make of me here, and in what Degree, ſhall be in Your own Diſpoſal; for no Man is with more Truth nor Eſteem than I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, October 5. *S. N.* 1674.

S I R,

THO' I gave You Joy of the Secretary's Place before I came away, and deſired Your Protection, as looking then upon it as a Thing done; yet, finding by the laſt Ordinary, that You were but now newly enter'd upon the actual Boſſeſſion of it; I could not forbear renewing the Expreſſions that become me upon both thoſe Subjects; and wiſhing You the Honour, and his Majeſty the Service, that You both propoſe to Your ſelves by this Promotion. I know very well, the Compliments I can make You, will be loſt, as they deſerve, among many others You will receive upon this Occaſion; and therefore I ſhall not increaſe them, or give a long and unneceſſary Interruption in the midſt of ſo much, and ſo various Buſineſs, as muſt have fallen upon

You with this Advancement; but ſhall end this Trouble, with the Profeſſions of my being,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the PRINCE.

Hague, October 15. *S. N.* 1674.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

I Cannot forbear rejoicing with your Highneſs, upon Your nearer Approach to theſe Countries, and wiſhing You all Succeſs in the Deſigns that have brought You where You are, and hinder'd Your coming farther at preſent, tho' Your Highneſs's Perſon may be neceſſary here, as well as in other Places. In my laſt, I gave Your Highneſs an Account of what I ſaid to the States at my Audience, and therein the general Scope of my preſent Embaſſy, as to what concerns his Majeſty's Diſpoſitions, both in relation to his own Peace with theſe Countries, and to the general Peace of *Chriſtendom*. Your Highneſs will have received, before this comes to You, from his Majeſty's own Hands, and at length, what You could deſire more of his particular Kindneſs to Your Highneſs's Perſon and Intereſts, and of his Intentions upon the Subject of the Peace, both as to the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and *Guaranty* of the Peace, if it were once concluded, towards which Your Highneſs muſt furniſh the firſt Materials.

If, upon this Occaſion, Your Highneſs has any Commands to lay upon me, I ſhould be very glad to know, whether you pleaſe to have me attend them here, till your return to this Place, or think fit to convey them to me by Monſieur *Fagel*, or any other Perſon; or whether You will command me to wait upon You at any Place or Time You ſhall pleaſe to appoint: In the mean Time, I pray God, continue Your Highneſs's Health and Safety, according to the conſtant Wiſhes of,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

Hague, October 16. S. N. 1674.

My Lord,

THE laſt Packets brought me Yours of the 29th paſt, which was in all Parts of it both uſeful and welcome to me, excepting only the Excuſes it began with, upon the Arrear You mention, of ſo many Letters during Your Illneſs and Abſence from Town. How unneceſſary any ſuch Expreſſions were to me, You will eaſily judge, by my having continued conſtantly the Courſe of writing, whenever I had any Occaſion; which I did, and ſhall do, upon the Belief You are content it ſhould be ſo, whether You write or no, 'till You diſcourage me in it. I was very glad to find by the Style of Your Letter, that Your Health was grown better, and Your Temper not at all worſe, ſince the ill Accidents that have lately fallen out; enough, indeed, to ſhake them both, if they had not been firm at Bottom. The beſt Wiſh I can make You, is, That You may long enjoy and continue them both; eſpecially that *æquam rebus*

rebus in arduis ſervare mentem; which I take to be either the beſt Profeſſion we bring with us into the World, or the beſt Acquiſition we can make while we are in it.

I muſt acknowledge the Honour his Majeſty does me, and, indeed, the Credit he thereby gives me with the Prince, by the Communication of what was the Subſtance of his laſt Letter; which, I think, was the righteſt underſtood that could be, and cannot but produce ſome good Effect; either by procuring a direct Anſwer from the Prince, upon the main Point; or, at leaſt, by introducing me, in the very beſt Manner, into the Overtures and Negotiation of it, when I ſee the Prince, which cannot be far off. In the mean Time, I have immediately, upon the Receipt of Yours, written to his Highneſs juſt the Points you directed me in; and, in a Manner, the very Terms you give me; deſiring to know, whether he will have me attend his Return hither; or ſend me his Commands by Monſieur *Fagel*, or any other Perſon; or have me wait upon him in any Place, or Time, he ſhall pleaſe to command.

I have never heard from him, ſince I gave his Highneſs an Account, of what I ſaid to the States at my Audience; and therein the Scope of his Majeſty's Diſpoſitions concerning the Peace, with the Offers of his Mediation; which made me think he would be ſtanch in all that Matter, till the Campaign ended; and, perhaps, the colder he is, the leſs he ſhould be preſs'd, till the Courſe of Things, and Occaſions bring him about, and diſpoſe him, rather to ſollicite his Majeſty's Offices, than decline them. This, I believe, may happen at his Return hither; eſpecially if *Grave* ſhould be taken; which would ſtill increaſe the violent Inclinations to the Peace, which grow every Day in theſe Provinces; eſpecially that of *Holland*, and moſt of all, in the Town of *Amſterdam*, which begins to apprehend a Loſs of Trade, that will be hardly recovered, after any long Courſe into another Channel.

By what I can find, from *Don Emanuel de Lyra*, the Diſpoſitions at *Madrid* are ſtrong towards a Peace too, ſo it might leave no Proſpect of a new War; and though I ſuſpect the Intentions at *Vienna*, upon the *Emperor*'s Power at home, as well as his Conſideration abroad, encreaſing ſo much, and ſo evidently, by the War; yet, knowing how abſolutely that Court muſt depend upon *Spain* and *Holland*, from whom they draw the Subſidies that maintain their Armies; I am of Opinion, That not only his Majeſty's Mediation would be eaſily accepted by all Parties; but the abſolute Arbitrage of all Matters in difference, would be left in his Hands; in caſe the Confederates were but poſſeſs'd with an Opinion of his Majeſty's being impartial in the Matter; to which, I hope, his laſt Diſcourſe with the Marquis *de Freſno*, and Letter to the Prince, may have a great deal contributed.

The Emperor's Reſident here, told me two Days ſince, That Court was reſolved to accept his Majeſty's Mediation; *Mais toujours ſous l'aveu de l'Eſpagne*: And that they were upon Choice of a Perſon, to be ſent over ſuddenly, with publick Character into *England*. The *Dutch* Miniſter writes to the States, That the Emperor will not accept the Mediation, till his Majeſty's Forces are recalled out of *France*: But the Reſident here ſays, There is no ſuch Condition mentioned; though he adds, modeſtly, It would be a great Inducement to the Emperor, and help to ſatisfy the Princes of *Germany*, with the Emperor's coming to that Reſolution; who took it to Heart, to ſee ſuch a Body of *Engliſh*, *en tous les dêmelès durant toute cette Campagne*. Beſides, I muſt needs tell You, That the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors have made ſuch Repreſentations of the Diſpoſitions and Intentions of our Court being ſo abſolutely in Favour of *France*, that they are very apt here to interpret the Inſtances we make towards a Peace, to be concerted with *France*; and ſome of them tell me, plainly and frankly, They knew the King would not make them, if *France* did not deſire the Peace, and find it neceſſary for their Affairs. When I ſay, Their Ambaſſadors, I do not mean Monſieur *Odyke*, nor what they have written ſince his being there: But I reflected upon a Paſſage, which one of the States told me, was in a late Letter from the other Ambaſſadors; which was, *Monſieur Odyke nous aſſeure, que le Roy a des fort bonnes Diſpoſitions pour nôtre Etat*.

The late Action near *Straſburgh*, will prove, I believe, at laſt, to have been a drawn Buſineſs, and leave each Party the Pretence of a Victory; as, I ſee, it has done of the Field: I am ſorry to hear his Majeſty's Subjects have ſuffered ſo much in it; and doubt it will make Way for a greater Battle ſhortly, in caſe the *Brandenburgh* Forces come up on the *Imperial* Side; and both the Troops of the *Ban*, and Detachment from the Prince of *Condé*, on the *French*; both which, I find, are ſuddenly expected. They begin now to apprehend *Sweden*'s entring into the War; which muſt engage *Denmark*, and open a greater, and longer Scene, in all Appearance; and leave his Majeſty the only Mediator in ſo general a Quarrel.

This is too long a Letter, to one that is but newly recovered, and engaged in ſo many other Thoughts; and yet it muſt not end, without my being ever,

Your moſt Faithful

and Humble Servant.

To my Lord Keeper.

Hague, Oct. 16, N. S. 1674.

My Lord,

THE Bearer hereof, Mr. *Edmund Curtis*, has an Opinion, That my Recommendation may have ſome Value with Your Lordſhip; and I have too much Vanity in this Point, to diſabuſe him. Your Lordſhip will, on the other Side, I hope, do me ſo much Juſtice, as to believe, I would imploy my Interceſſion to no Man, but leaſt of all to Your Lordſhip, where I were not invited to it, by what I eſteemed very evidently juſt and reaſonable; as I do, indeed, think this Affair; which is a Demand of Satisfaction from the Town of *Newcaſtle*, for having ſaved their Haven from being utterly ſpoiled; and by a Piece of Skill, peculiar to himſelf; which was the Reaſon of his Majeſty's commanding him down thither, upon that Occaſion. He is a Perſon who has deſerved well from his Majeſty, in ſeveral Matters; and in whoſe juſt Support, I muſt confeſs to have concerned my ſelf, eſpecially his Affairs of this Nature; as having been the firſt that put him upon this Invention of Wreck-fiſhing, for the Recovery of his Majeſty's Tin, caſt away before *Oſtend*, in the Year 1666, which he performed with great Succeſs; as he has done ſeveral others likewiſe ſince, upon his Royal Highneſs's Patent for fifteen Years; and a Contract his Highneſs commanded me to make with him, in 1669: And upon which, I doubt not, but he would have made greater Advantages to himſelf, than he demands from the Town of *Newcaſtle*; beſides conſiderable ones to the Duke this Summer, if this Purſuit had left him in Purſe, and at Liberty. Your Lordſhip's Favour and Countenance to him in this Affair, which I left his Majeſty very much inclined to, will, I am ſure, agree with Your eminent Juſtice in all other Caſes; and will do me a great deal of Honour, in letting him ſee, that You are pleaſed to own me, for,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Privy Seal.

Hague, October 16, *S. N.* 1674.

My Lord,

THE Bearer hereof, Mr. *Edmund Curtis*, having an Affair depending before the Council, with the Town of *Newcaſtle*, for Satisfaction of clearing and ſaving their Harbour, by a Piece of Skill peculiar to himſelf; which was the Cauſe of his Majeſty's ſending him thither, to that Purpoſe. He has deſired me to recommend him to Your Lordſhip's juſt Protection: and I was very glad of an Occaſion of pretending thereby to be in ſome Degree of Your Lordſhip's Favour; and of ſupporting, as far as I could, a Man I have known long, and a Caſe I eſteem very juſt; and, at the ſame Time, of profeſſing my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, October 26, *S. N.* 1674.

My Lord,

MY Letters could never pretend more than your Lordſhip's Pardon, and have had too great a Return, in the Honour I received of one from Your Lordſhip, intended me by my Son; who, I doubt, will be grown too proud, by your Lordſhip's owning him: But he is young, and may live to deſerve ſome Place in Your Service; which when You pleaſe to allow him, I ſhall own him no longer, than while he acquits himſelf well. I ſhould be extreamly glad to receive the ſmalleſt Command from Your Lordſhip, in that Particular You pleaſe to mention, or any other; that ſo by my Diligence in ſmall ones, I may deſerve greater; and thereby find ſome better Ways of acknowledging the Favours I have received; and the Troubles I have given Your Lordſhip, than by increaſing them.

The Notices You pleaſe to command from Time to Time, of any Thing that happens extraordinary, ſhall not fail You. As to the Enquiries in Your laſt, concerning the Diſpoſitions to a Peace, and their tampering with *France*; I may aſſure Your Lordſhip, That the firſt grow very violent; and will, I believe, appear ſo more, if they come to be Maſters of *Grave*, where they are engaged, both upon Honour, and Revenge of ſo many Men as it has coſt them; and being the only Place of theirs, remaining among the *French* Conqueſts, (ſince they have, by Treaty, quitted *Maſtricht* to the *Spaniards*) whenever they recover it, they will, I believe, begin to play the Mediators in the reſt of the Quarrel. But that which makes the Bent of the People in general, ſo paſſionate for a Peace, is the unmeaſurable Burden of their Taxes; and the Intereſt of the Trading Towns, that ſay, upon all Occaſions, There is none gets by this War but *England*; and that if it ſhould continue a Year or two longer, the general Courſe of Trade would run ſo far into our Channel, that they ſhould be in Danger never to recover it. Beſides, the rich Men here are generally of the *Arminian* Party, and jealous of the Prince's Greatneſs, which muſt encreaſe by a War. So as all theſe Humours flowing together, make a

Current that nothing can ſtem, but the Force of their Engagements to their Confederates; and of their Intereſt in preſerving of *Flanders*, to ſuch a Degree, and in ſuch a Poſture, as may leave *France* without the Deſign of another War that way; or, in caſe they attempt it, may prove a ſtrong Bulwark to theſe Countries, and eaſily defenſible by their Aſſiſtances, without entring as Principals into the War.

By this Your Lordſhip will eaſily conclude, That no Obſtruction to the Peace is like to come from hence; but from *Spain*, or the *Emperor*. For *Spain*, their Government is ſo broken, by the Faction of the Miniſters, and Minority of their King, that they find themſelves very unfit for any great Action in the World; and ſo would, I am confident, be very glad of a Peace; provided it might leave them, out of Fear of another Invaſion from *France*; and ſo they may neither be compelled to ſo vaſt an Expence, as the maintaining of great Armies in Time of Peace, nor deſpair of defending their Country, whenever a War ſhould begin: And they think neither of theſe can be brought about by a Peace, upon the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*; which left *Flanders* neither of a Size to keep great Armies, nor of a Figure to be defended by ſmall.

For theſe Reaſons, though the Want of Succeſs this Campaign has made them, I believe, willing to come to a Peace, much under the Terms of the *Pyrenees*; which were fix'd by the Confederates, upon the laſt Treaty between the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and this State; yet, I doubt, they will rather try another Campaign, upon the Hopes of what their preſent Conjunction may yet produce, than end the War juſt where it begun.

For the Emperor, I doubt more the Diſpoſitions to a Peace on his Side, than any of the reſt; finding himſelf powerfully armed, and at others Coſt; and thereby his Conſideration growing greater every Day in the Empire, whatever it does abroad. Beſides, whatever Battles may coſt, the Reſources of Men are ſo great in *Germany*, that they can never fail, whilſt *Spain* and *Holland* can furniſh the Money; or the ſeveral Circles of the Empire, continue animated in the Quarrel. Beſides, the Emperor foreſees himſelf engaged in a War with *France*, upon the Succeſſion of *Flanders*, if the King of *Spain* ſhould fail without Iſſue; and, therefore, had rather drive on the War, 'till he can ſee *Flanders* ſecured, and *Lorrain* in ſafe Hands, than leave thoſe Points to be diſputed by a new War, at a Time, perhaps, when he may not find himſelf ſo ſtrong; either in Confederates abroad, or the Concurrence at home of the ſeveral Princes and Circles; nor ſo diſengaged from the *Turk*, or the Troubles of *Hungary* at his Back.

For the Princes of the Empire, though they ſeem a good deal ſpirited in the preſent Quarrel, by the late Invaſions of *France*, and the Exchange of many Cruelties between the two Nations in the *Palatinate*; and by the Poſſeſſions given them of the Safety, as well as Honour of *Germany*, being engaged in this War; yet, I believe, after the firſt Heat is over, the Diſſentions natural to Bodies that have ſo many Heads; the Jealouſy of too great a Growth of the Emperor's Power; and the Fear of drawing the *Swedes* again into the War, or Spoils of *Germany*, will incline them generally enough to a Peace, and without ſtraining further than the Treaty of *Munſter*; beyond which *France* has not pretended any Deſign, that I remember in the Courſe of the War.

For *Sweden*, I look upon them as engaged with *France* by Treaty and Mony; both already received, and more lying ready at *Hamburgh*, upon their entring into Action: which, I believe, they will be glad to avoid, at leaſt, for this Year, if they can any Way excuſe it to *France*: and this makes them ſo earneſt upon the Mediation, and uſe ſo great Inſtances towards agreeing a Place of *Congreſs*; which might look like the Beginning of Treaty, and make their Offices in it, paſs for ſome Satisfaction of what they owe to *France*. If they engage in the War, they will, I believe, try to ſet the Biſhop of *Munſter* again upon his Legs: And, on the other Side, the King of *Denmark* will join with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, to make Head againſt *Sweden*, in theſe Weſtern Parts of the Empire.

For theſe States tampering with *France*; All I have found of it with Certainty, I gave Notice to the Secretaries about ſix Weeks ſince; which was a Negotiation begun by the Count *d'Eſtrades*, Governor of *Maſtricht*, and formerly in the Service and Ambaſſage of this Country. He aſſured the Penſioner here, of his Maſter's reſtoring, not only the *Grave*, but *Maſtricht* too, provided it might not be given to the *Spaniards*: Of returning all Points of Commerce to the State they were in by the Treaty of 1662: Of advancing all that could be any Intereſts and Advantages of the Prince, upon a Treaty; and of making the Peace with *Spain* upon the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*. Tho' I ſaw a very earneſt Letter upon this Occaſion, in general, from the Count *d'Eſtrades* himſelf, yet no Particulars have paſſed further, than between the Penſioner here, and the Perſon to whom it was writ, and who was ſent to him from *Maſtricht*: And the laſt Anſwer I could hear of, was, That when they ſaw any thing in Writing, they would give an Anſwer to it. Upon the whole, I do not doubt of this State's having very advantageous Terms from *France*, if they would make a Peace ſeparate from their Allies; but I ſee not how that can be done, either with Honour or Safety, conſidering the Opinion they have of our new Intelligence with *France*, even in all our Offers of mediating the Peace; and which their Ambaſſadors in *England* have long infuſed into them. On the other ſide, the Diſpoſitions on all Hands conſidered, I am confident, if the Confederates were poſſeſs'd with any Belief of his Majeſty's being impartial in the Buſineſs, they would not only accept his Mediation, but wholly remit their Differences to his Arbitrage.

I beg Your Lordſhip to believe, I do not intend You many ſuch Troubles, or would have given You this, without Your encouraging me: And that by opening the Scene for once, Your Lordſhip might the better judge, as any Actors come in, what Paces they are like to make.

I beg Your Lordſhip's Pardon, and the Belief of my being, with great Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, November 6. N. S. 1674.

SIR,

I Was extremely glad to find by Yours of the 20th and 30th paſt, that his Majeſty had reſolved to ſupport me in the Claim I had made here of a free Trade for all our Ships, and the Merchandize they carry (if not counterband) without any Exception of their Trading from one Enemy's Port to another; which cannot, I am ſure, be drawn from the Words of the Articles. This made me confident, even before the Arrival of Your Letters, by a ſecond Memorial to the States General, to demand the Reſtitution of the *Rebecca*; and to tell them, very plainly, That if any Doubt might ariſe upon the Senſe of any Article in Treaties ſubſiſting between his Majeſty and them, it could not be reſolved without his Majeſty's Conſent; and till that was obtained, they could not make themſelves the Sole Judges or Interpreters againſt the plain common Senſe of any Words, and to the Prejudice of his Majeſty's Subjects. This was the Point I put all the Weight upon in my Memorial; but having the Day after received his Majeſty's Pleaſure, with Your Account of what had paſſed here in Your Return this Way, and Your Arguments upon this Subject; I demanded an Hour of the Penſioner, and run through a very long Debate with him upon this Matter. The Heads of his Arguments were, The Judgment, he pretended, of ſeveral Authors upon the Point: The Practice of *France*, and *Spain*, and *Sweden* with them, and ours, in the Time of his late Majeſty and King *James*; which he undertook to give me Examples of: And, laſtly, That it could not be the Meaning to drive an Enemy's Trade, but only to preſerve a Friend's. I eaſily eluded this laſt, by the Anſwer You made it, and by my own very true Proteſtations, That at my ſigning the Confirmation of thoſe Articles, I had no ſuch Senſe of them, as he would now give them; but took the Meaning of them to be juſt the ſame with the Words: That free Ships made free Goods, in all Caſes, unleſs that of counterband. For the Senſe of Authors writing upon general *Themes*, and for their own Credit, or that of their Profeſſions, I ſaid, They could not be admitted to interpret any particular Treaties between Princes and States; who might make what Agreement they pleaſed between themſelves, and very different from what Authors call *Jus Gentium*, or General Reaſon; by which, I think, they commonly mean their own: That, for the Practice of other Kings with Them, it was no Rule of Theirs with his Majeſty; nor any Agreement, that We ſhould not have Juſtice from Them, becauſe They could not obtain it from Others: But, on the contrary, though they had it not, yet they ever demanded it both of *France* and *Spain*; which was a certain Proof, that they eſteemed that Juſt in their own Caſe, which they will not allow to be ſo in ours: That, for the Practice he offered to produce on our Parts, in his late Majeſty's Time, I ſhould be content to ſee it, but could not tell how it could ſquare with the preſent Caſe; ſince it was grounded upon Articles never in Force between his Majeſty and this State, till the Treaty of *Breda*. I added to what I ſaid in my Memorial, How unjuſt their Pretences were, to make a wreſted Interpretation of plain Words, without his Majeſty's Conſent: That it was not fair to do it at a Time, when the Advantage of ſuch an Article was only caſt on our ſide by the common Revolutions of War and Peace, which might be in their Favour to Morrow, as they were in ours to Day; whereas, when the Advantage was, by like Accidents, caſt on their ſide, as it had been with *France* and *Spain*, they had ever inſiſted on the very ſame Point that we do now, and never given over the Inſtances upon it, whether they received Satisfaction or no. After a long and a warm Debate, I gained this from the Penſioner; That, for his own part, he was content it ſhould be as I deſir'd it, ſince the King underſtood it ſo, and it was to be reciprocal between us: That he could do nothing upon it in the States General, till the States of *Holland* aſſembled, which would be about a Fortnight hence: That he would then propoſe it there, and endeavour their Compliance with his Majeſty, eſpecially if the Prince, at his Return, approved of it; and that, in the mean Time, he would endeavour to have the Goods in the *Rebecca*, or the Product of them depoſited, till the States came to a Reſolution in this Matter; the Ship it ſelf being already free and gone, purſuant to a Reſolution taken by the State in *May* laſt upon this Point.

I have been larger in ſtating this Matter, as it ſtood between me and the Penſioner, that, being of ſo mighty Importance to our Trade at this Time, his Majeſty might both ſee the Right he had on his ſide, and be the firmer in maintaining it: And you may pleaſe to inſtruct me in any further Arguments, againſt I enter the Liſts with Commiſſioners here, if they ſhould prove difficult, tho' the Penſioner be ſatisfied with it.

For the Paſſes and Orders to be ſent with the Ship of Advice for *Surinam*, he aſſures me, They ſhall be ready againſt I receive the Names of Ship and Perſon; but excuſes their going with Blanks, as a Thing contrary to the conſtant Forms of this State; which, indeed, I doubted of before, and therefore took the Liberty to deſire Your inſtructing me thereupon as ſoon as You could.

Tho' the current News here be ſtill favourable to the Strength, or, at leaſt, good Countenance of the Confederate Troops in *Alſatia*, yet I ſaw a Letter Yeſterday, from a very good Hand, which makes a different Story, and ſays, They had given over all Thoughts of fighting Monſieur *Turenne*;

and that tho' the *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh* Troops talk'd of taking up their Winter Quarters in the *Upper Alſace*, while thoſe of the Emperor and the other Circles deſigned theirs in *Suabia*; yet it was believed at *Straſburgh*, Monſieur *Turenne* would ſtill keep the Field, and either engage the Confederates, or elſe force them all to retire beyond the *Rhine*. All the Countenance that has been made by the Horſe of the Confederates Armies in *Flanders*, has been, I ſuppoſe, only to keep the *French* a little alarmed, ſo as to ſend no more of their Forces towards Monſieur *Turenne*. The Prince came to a Houſe he is building in the Province of *Utrecht*, on *Sunday*, made a great Hunting Party for Yeſterday, and intended to be here, as ſome ſay, to Day; but as others, not till *Thurſday*, being the Day after the Bonfires intended for *Grave*. Yeſterday were ſent into my Yard about forty Pitch Barrels upon this Occaſion, being ſaid to be ſent by Order of the States; and the like, or in proportion, to other foreign Miniſters; but I order'd them to be ſent back, and told ſome of the States, That whenever I made any ſuch Fire, I would do it upon his Majeſty's Charge, and no others: That, in the mean time, I did not think fit to do it at all upon this Occaſion, when his Majeſty had offered his Mediation in a Quarrel lying between two of his Allies; and that it would not look like the Part of a Mediator, to have his Miniſter thus concern himſelf in Succeſſes of either ſide. They pleaded an old Form in this Matter, and that it was intended to be done by thoſe the States employ'd, and eſpecially in the chief open Places of the Town. Upon which I told them, They might do it how they pleaſed, but that I ſhould no way concern my ſelf in it.

I ask your Pardon for ſo long a Trouble, which I ſhall end, with the Profeſſions of my being always,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, Nov. 30. S. N. 1674.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

HAving ſeen the Prince twice ſince his Return hither, and at Leiſure, I thought it became me to give Your Majeſty an Account of what I could obſerve, as to his preſent Diſpoſitions, both in general, and more particularly, in what concerns Your Majeſty, and the Buſineſs of the Peace. In general, I believe, he is pleaſed with the Life he has led this Summer, and loves the Trade, and thinks himſelf better in Health and Humour, the leſs he is at reſt: ſo that, I doubt, the Motions towards Peace, muſt be made from his Intereſts, rather than his Inclinations. For what touches Your Majeſty, I find all the Expreſſions of Duty, and Service, and Affection, to be ſuch, as You can deſire, and to have all the Appearance that can be of Sincereneſs and Truth. And I believe them ſo the more, by his Highneſs's enlarging ſo much upon the Intereſt of a near Conjunction with Your Majeſty, and between the Nations; which, he ſays, would make You both ſafe at Home and Abroad, and in need of no other Alliances: And a great deal more of this kind.

For the Buſineſs of the Peace, tho' he complains very much of the ill Performance of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialiſts*, yet I find him poſitive upon theſe Points: That this State can make no ſeparate Peace upon any Terms that *France* can offer them: That a general Peace cannot be made without leaving *Flanders* in a Poſture of defending it ſelf from any new and ſudden Invaſion of *France*, againſt which no Guaranties could defend it: That *Spain* cannot quit the County of *Burgundy* nor *Cambray* upon any Exchange; nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the Terms of the *Pyrenees*, unleſs it be *Aire* or *St. Omer*. That he had written to Your Majeſty all he yet knew of the *Spaniards* Intentions; but if he might know upon what Terms You thought a Peace reaſonable, and deſired it, he would do all in his Power to bring it about, as he had done in the Buſineſs of the Mediation, which, he told me, was now accepted at *Madrid*, as well as *Vienna*. When I ſaid, Your Majeſty having been the Author and Guarand of the Peace at *Aix*, and not having ſeen the *French* yet beaten out of any one Town that was given them by that Treaty, could with ill Grace propoſe any thing to *France* beyond thoſe Terms, or ſomething equivalent, He ſaid reſolutely, That 'twere better going on with the War, let it laſt as long, and coſt as much as it would; and that he believed all Men of any Senſe in this Country were of the ſame Mind. I told his Highneſs, That I doubted it, and wiſhed, that, upon Trial, he did not find it otherwiſe. But ſeeing him unmovable upon theſe Diſcourſes, I turned them another way, and ſaid, Tho' Your Majeſty would omit nothing that became a Chriſtian King and a Friend to his Highneſs, in the good Offices towards a Peace, yet, if they were not underſtood to be ſo, Your Majeſty might, perhaps, content Your ſelf to grow rich by the Encreaſe of Your Cuſtoms and of Trade; and let them and their Neighbours knock their Heads together as long as they pleaſed. He ſmiled, and ſaid, He believed ſo; and for that Reaſon, I talked of Terms which I knew the *Spaniards* could not accept of: And then he fell into Talk, How eaſie it was for your Majeſty to bring *France* to ſuch a Peace as You pleaſed, and how much it was your Intereſt to leave *Flanders* ſafe; and many Things upon that Theme, that Your Majeſty hath heard enough of before from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*. The End was, That he would expect to know Your Majeſty's Mind upon his laſt Letter, to which he could add nothing till then. And I thought Your Majeſty by this Account, and the Knowledge of your Mediation being accepted now by all Parties, would the better reſolve what Step to make next in this Matter; which was the Occaſion of this Trouble. It is already too long, but muſt not end, without the Marks of that Devotion wherewith I am,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient Subject,

and moſt Humble Servant.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

Hague, November 13. *N. S.* 1674.

My Lord,

I Have given his Majeſty a particular Account of the beſt Obſervations I could make upon my firſt Audience from his Highneſs, and a Viſit he has ſince made me; beſides what I writ to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* the Day of his Highneſs's Arrival. By all which, You will judge what ſort of Diſpoſitions You have to deal with in this Prince; little favourable, I doubt, to the Deſigns of a general Peace, as little inclin'd to the unactive Life which ſuch a Scene muſt introduce. Beſides, he finds his Authority riſe with his Credit among the People here, by every ſmall Succeſs of his Arms, which is attributed perſonally to him; while the Want of it in the Confederate Armies, is laid wholly upon the Conduct or Qualities of the other Generals. He hath a very good Opinion of his own Troops, and a very great one of the *Germans*;

believes, if the Count *de Souches* had pleaſed, the Prince of *Condé* had been certainly beaten at *Seneſſe*; and reckons, that by a better Conſtitution of the Imperial Court and Miniſters, the Confederates may hope for more Honour next Campaign, than they had this. On t'other ſide, He thinks *France* will find it hard to furniſh ſo many and ſo good Men as *Germany*; and that if the Confederates loſe this Conjuncture to free themſelves and *Flanders* from any further Fears that way, they are never to hope for another. Beſides what I gather from my ſelf, I hear, all that have attended his Highneſs this Campaign agree, That he is pleaſed with the Life, both the Fatigue and the Dangers he meets with, which have great Effects upon the Soldiers Kindneſs to him, and muſt coſt him but little, if it be true what the Miniſters ſay, That he believes the Point of Predeſtination the firmeſt that ever any body did, and laughs at any of them, that ſpeak modeſtly of it.

All theſe Points look dangerous to the Peace. Now thoſe that look favourable, are, The General Diſpoſitions of the Towns here, upon the Point of Trade; The Jealouſie of our getting into a Poſſeſſion of it too far to be retrieved; and, underhand, of the Prince's growing too far into the ſole Influence upon the State: The Revolt of *Meſſina*, which, if it grows higher, and the Contagion ſhould reach *Naples*, as well as other Parts of *Sicily* (as is diſcourſed here) would make *Spain* glad to ſecure thoſe Parts, by the expoſing of *Flanders* a little more than they would otherwiſe be content to do: And, laſtly, The engaging of *Sweden* in the Party of *France*, by open Action, (ſince the Agreements between them are no longer, I think, a Secret any where) which might change the Scene in the Affairs of *Germany*. I know not what to ſay to the Talk here, that runs privately (but among Perſons of the State) of the Conſpiracy of Prince *Lobkowitz*, and others, at *Vienna*, having reach'd as far as the Emperor's Life; or, of the ſharp Reſentments of that Court againſt *France*, upon ſuch Pretences. But I look for all the Difficulties that can be given the Peace from thence, upon ſeveral Regards, which I have formerly touched, and am ſtill as apprehenſive of as before, by what I hear from all Hands.

I thought it not unneceſſary to mention all theſe Points, that his Majeſty might have the fulleſt Light towards the firſt Steps he ſhall make in this Matter, after the Acceptance of his Mediation from all Parts, and the Anſwer he hath received from the Prince to his laſt Letter upon this Subject. And tho', perhaps, his Majeſty may not think fit to ſignifie upon what Terms he would have the Peace made, as the Prince hath deſired him; yet, ſince ſome Ground to work upon will be expected from his Majeſty, it may not be amiſs to ſay, That upon ſuch or ſuch Terms, his Majeſty hath ſome Hopes of inducing *France* to an Agreement, and leave the Draught of them with the Prince of *Orange*, whoſe Anſwer upon it will give, at leaſt, ſome Entrance into this Negotiation.

I am ever, and very unfeignedly,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, December 4. *N. S.* 1674.

My Lord,

THE Unkindneſs I complained of from Your Lordſhip, in giving me no Knowledge before-hand of my Lord *Latimer*'s Journey, has been by his Lordſhip fully made Amends for ſince: When upon his Arrival he was ſo kind as to come ſtraight away to my Houſe, as to his own, and uſe it ſo, as he at leaſt makes me believe; which I ſhall, I am ſure, love him for as long as I live, and ſerve him as far as I ſhall ever be able, both for Your Lordſhip's ſake, and for his own. I waited upon his Lordſhip to the Prince, who received him not only well, but kindly; and, I am ſure, will uſe him ſo while he ſtays in this Country. I knew the other * Two Lords had no need of any Introduction, though they were pleaſed to deſire it, and therefore, by Agreement between us, it was excuſed; and the Two Conferences they have had with his Highneſs have been without my Intervention, or any other part, than what my Lord Chamberlain has ſince given me. By all I yet know, there is nothing deeper in this Buſineſs, than what Your Lordſhip was pleaſed to tell me, ſo frankly and ſo kindly, in the Letter I had the Honour of receiving by my Lord *Latimer*; for which I return Your Lordſhip my very hearty Acknowledgments, as I am ſure becomes me: And, I may ſay very truly, That the Lights You pleaſed to give me there, were more than I have yet received any other way: For tho' I am told the main Errand of the Journey to be the ſame, as I receiv'd it from Your Lordſhip; yet I hear nothing of a Letter from the Prince to Monſieur *Odyke*, having given a Riſe to it; and if your Lordſhip had not told me ſo, I ſhould be apt to doubt it, and to believe, that other Circumſtances muſt have had their part in the firſt Conception of this Matter. I find by the Prince, as well as my Lord Chamberlain, that what your Lordſhip ſays only, You believe, is true, of their having no Powers or Inſtructions written, but a Credential as ample and honourable as can be. And upon the firſt part that was given us hither of this intended Journey, I remember the Prince told me, what Your Lordſhip ſays with more Ground, that he was ſure Monſieur *Ruvigni* had his part in it. For what Your Lordſhip ſays of theſe Two Lords Acquaintances and Intereſts ſo great with the Prince, having occaſioned the Choice of their Perſon; all I know is, that if they doubted it, they did well to try; becauſe Friends that have been long aſunder, know not how they are together till they meet, eſpecially if they parted laſt, no better than I know ſome of theſe did.

* *Lord* Arlington & *Earl of* Oſſory.

Upon the whole, I am of Opinion, that this Buſineſs will produce no Effect at all, proportion'd to the Noiſe it has made both in *England* and here; and that it may not go much farther than Expoſtulations and Compliments on both ſides; And, perhaps, if it were upon any great Buſineſs, the leſs of both might not be the worſe. When I ſaid Compliments, I intended not ſuch Expreſſions of Kindneſs as are not meant, but ſuch as are more or greater than there is need of; and if what paſſes of this kind, have no farther End than I know of, I cannot tell whether there has been any great Occaſion for them; ſince the Prince cannot ſay much more than he has done to me ever ſince our Meeting, of his Affection and Service to his Majeſty. And on the other ſide, I take him to be an unmoveable Perſon in all Points of what he eſteems his own Honour and Intereſt, and not to be talk'd into, or out of any Points, where he eſteems either of them much concerned.

This is all I can yet ſay upon this Occaſion, and may be too much to have troubled Your Lordſhip with, had not You given me the Encouragement. If I meet with any thing more important to Your Lordſhip's Knowledge, I ſhall make uſe of the Way You preſent me by a Servant of my Lord *Latimer*'s, and ſhould have been glad Your Lordſhip had ſent me a Cypher over, which might have been neceſſary upon ſome Occaſions. My Wife is Your Lordſhip's moſt

Humble Servant, and acknowledges the Honour of Your Remembrance: We are both ſo to my Lady. My Son will, I doubt, take notice of us no longer, having the Honour of being abſolutely retained in my Lord *Latimer*'s Service ſince his Arrival here.

I will add no more to Your Lordſhip's preſent Trouble, beſides the Aſſurance, That the Confidence Your Lordſhip is pleaſed to uſe me with, ſhall never be forgotten, nor undeſerved, as far as lies in the Reach of ſo much Sincereneſs and Paſſion, as that wherewith I have always profeſſed my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, December 4. *S. N.* 1674.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

I Received ſo great an Honour by a Letter which my Lord Chamberlain brought me from Your Majeſty, that I am ſure I ſhall never forget it, whether I live to deſerve it, or no. Though his Lordſhip might juſtly have pretended to my Services here, from the Friendſhip between us, yet, I hope, Your Majeſty believes Your Commands are ſo ſacred to me, as to need no Help from my Inclinations to make them obey'd: And therefore I ſhall only ſay, That if his Lordſhip fails of any Aſſiſtances or Services that I can give him here, it ſhall be his own Fault; ſince I reſolve to go on as I have begun, in deſiring from him the Knowledge in what Manner, and to what Degree, he would uſe them. I eſteem this Journey of ſo great Perſons, and ſo much my Friends, the beſt Fortune, and moſt Honour that could have befallen me in this Place, and hope the Succeſs of it will be whatever Your Majeſty propoſed to Your ſelf by it; and beg your Majeſty to believe, That ſo Your Buſineſs be well done, and Your Majeſty grow as Great and as Happy as I wiſh You, I ſhall have nothing left to ask for my ſelf, by whoſe Services ſoever that be atchieved.

The Two Conferences my Lord Chamberlain hath had with the Prince, have paſs'd by Concert between his Lordſhip and me, without my Intervention, or having had other Part in them than what his Lordſhip has ſince given me. All the Light I have offered to give to a Perſon that knows his Way ſo well, hath been only my Opinion not to go too far in Expoſtulations: For, beſides what I know of the Prince's Nature in that Point, I have obſerved them apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends.

The Knowledge of all worth Your Majeſty's Trouble from hence, will, I know, be tranſmitted from my Lord Chamberlain, and leave me no other Part, than that of my Humble Acknowledgments upon the Confidence Your Majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs of me in ſo great Occaſions, and the plain Offers of that very ſincere Devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall ever be,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subject,

and moſt Obedient

Humble Servant.

To

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, December 21, *S. N.* 1674.

SIR,

UPON a long Conference Yeſterday with the Deputies of the States, I agreed, in the firſt Place, upon the Inſtrument for continuing the Marine Treaty of 1668, until the expiring of the Time appointed for the Exchange of the Ratifications of the laſt Treaty concluded at *London*; wherein I have purſued his Majeſty's commands tranſmitted to me in Your laſt, without reaſoning at all upon them.

The Inſtrument will, I hope, be ſigned before the Cloſure of this Diſpatch; and the Publication of it made immediately here, as the Notice of it is already ſent to the Admiralties of the ſeveral Provinces. After our Agreement upon this Matter, we fell upon the ſeveral Heads tranſmitted to me from the Commiſſioners of Plantations, upon the Affair of *Surinam*. I obtained, in the firſt Place, That new Orders ſhall be ſent to the Governor there, by the Perſon to go along with the Advice Yacht, and containing the very Words tranſmitted to me in the laſt Paper; with the Addition only, Of uſing no Threats to ſuch as deſire to ſtay: Which I find my Lord Chamberlain, as well as I, underſtands to be agreeable to his Majeſty's Intentions.

In the next Place, I gained the Conſent of all the Deputies, excepting him of *Zealand*, That his Majeſty ſhould ſend a Man of War to convoy the three Fly-boats, and lie out in the River till they were ready to return. And tho' the Deputy of *Zealand* would not abſolutely conſent, without the Communication of the other Deputies of his Province; yet he gave me Reaſon to be confident the Thing would be yielded to, though it paſs'd with very much Conteſt; not upon any Jealouſy, as they pretended, of his Majeſty's good and fair Intentions; but of ſuch Perſons as might be employ'd in the Execution of them: And thereupon would have enter'd into greater Complaints of Major *Banniſter* than he made of them; but that I cut them off as no Patt of my Buſineſs.

After this, we fell upon the Heads of the Orders deſired for the Commiſſioners his Majeſty intended to ſend. Upon the ſecond Article they inſiſted, to have our Riding in their Rivers and Creeks, and moving from Place to Place, to be with Conſent of their Governor. But I found this Expedient, To have it only with his Communication; which Words are added to it upon the third Article. The Deputy of *Zealand* affirming, That it ſometimes happened, that there was ſo great a Scarcity of ſome Sorts of Proviſions, that they had not enough for the Uſe of the Colony; we added theſe Words, That they might buy them at the uſual Rates, *en telle quantité que çela n'incommoderoit pas la Colonie*. Upon the twelfth Article we agreed, That it ſhould be reciprocal on our Side as well as theirs. All the reſt we agreed in our own Words; except the ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, which run all upon the ſame Foot. Nor could I obtain them, after all our Debates; but, on the other Side, the Penſioner *Fagel* was peremptory, and poſitive in it, That they could not poſſibly be agreed to: And that, not only becauſe there was no Ground for them, in the Article of our laſt Treaty; but becauſe, he ſaid, The States themſelves, or, at leaſt, thoſe which are called ſo here, as repreſenting the States, have not the Power to do it, or to alter the Courſe of Judicature amongſt any of their Subjects. As for Example; Not to order Men to be tried, in any Caſes of Contract or Debt, before any others, beſides the uſual and conſtituted Judicature of the Place. Not to force any Man to accept of another Creditor, than him to whom he had lent his Money. Not to force any Man to accept of Land or Houſes, in Payment of Money he had lent: And ſo the other Matters, relating to the reſt of thoſe fore-mentioned Articles. And theſe Points they argue to be not only out of the Power of the States; but contrary to the known Conſtitutions of the Civil Law, from many common Places, not neceſſary to repeat. All they offer upon theſe Points is only, in the firſt Place, to order the Accompliſhment in full of the Words of the Article in the laſt Treaty; whereby it was agreed, His Majeſty's Subjects there, ſhould be tied to no other Rules and Laws, in Points of Buying, Selling, or Commutation of Goods, than what were practiſed among all the other Inhabitants of that Colony; but ſhould in all Points of Civil Juſtice, have the ſame Privileges with the reſt. In the next Place, they offered to give Order to certain Commiſſioners of their own, to aſſiſt any of his Majeſty's, with the utmoſt of their Power, towards the diſpoſing any Parties concerned in any ſuch Debts, to adjuſt them, either by Exchange of the ſaid Debts for others; or by taking Satisfaction from them in Lands or Goods; ſo they might be agreed by the Conſent of the Parties concerned. But if that could not be done, they could not force their Subjects, nor deny them the Right of having Recourſe to the Juſtice of the Place, for the final Determination of all ſuch Matters. And in this they were unmoveable, as a Thing out of their Power. And, on the other Side, I told them, What they offered was not at all what I could accept of: So that I had nothing to do, but to repreſent it to his Majeſty, and purſue the Orders I ſhould thereupon receive. In the mean Time, I am aſſured, That the Orders neceſſary to the *Advice Yacht*, ſhall be in my Hands before the cloſing of this Pacquet. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, January 22. S. N. 1675.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

SINCE my laſt, I heard of a long Letter, come hither from the Count *d'Eſtrades* to the late Penſioner of *Maſtricht*; by whoſe Intervention the ſaid Count at firſt began, and hath ſince managed, a ſecret Correſpondence here, with the Penſioner *Fagel*, and, by his Conveyance, with the Prince. I gave Your Majeſty ſome former Notices of it by Your Secretaries; and I find, that ſince that Time it has run coldly, and moſt upon a Treaty of Commerce, and a Cartel of Priſoners. But hearing this laſt Letter run into Things more general, I fell into the Diſcourſe of it, with the Penſioner *Fagel* yeſterday; and, at laſt, engaged him to ſend me a Copy of the Letter, which he confeſs'd to have by him; but that the Prince had the Original. I cauſed it to be tranſcribed immediately, and ſend it Your Majeſty incloſed. Upon the whole, I find the Penſioner fixed, That this State muſt venture all, rather than quit their Allies; but for what concerns themſelves, not only deſirous, but impatient for a Peace. For the Match propoſed in the Count's Letter, I find him little inclined to it; but very much to that of *England*. Upon this Talk I asked him, Whether he had not heard of another, between the King of *Spain*, and *Madamoiſelle*. He confeſſed he had, and ſeemed to wonder at this in the Letter; becauſe he thought the Advice of the other came the ſame Way, though not directly. I asked him, What he thought of the Match with *Spain*? And when he ſaid a great deal of wiſhing and applauding it, upon the Conditions of *France*'s endowing her with the Conqueſts of *Flanders*, I told him, He had Reaſon; and that the State might very well give a Queen's Portion, to have the Match and the Peace made upon thoſe Terms. He confeſs'd it, and ſaid, at laſt, *Je me fais fort de faire donner deux cent mille Jacobus a cette condition*; and when I ſaid, They might very well undertake for *Spain*'s giving as much more, we ended this Converſation.

I thought it became me to give Your Majeſty Knowledge of what paſs'd; and only to ſay upon it, That, in my weak Opinion, this were an Adventure worthy Your Majeſty's Atchievement: By which alone, in all preſent Appearance, the Peace of *Chriſtendom* may be reſtored: By which *France* may come out of the War with Honour, and *Spain* with Safety: By which Your Majeſty leaves a Neice, with one of the greateſt Crowns of *Chriſtendom* on her Head: By which You may draw a mighty Treaſure into Your Purſe: And by which, after the Applauſes of all the World abroad, and all Your Subjects at home, upon a Peace whereby *Flanders* is ſecured; Your Majeſty will have Glory and Eaſe together attend all the reſt of Your Life. And ſo I leave it to Your Majeſty's Thoughts, and beg Your Juſtice in believing me,

Your Majeſty's, &c.

I beg of Your Majeſty the incloſed Copy may be ſecret, whether it be uſeful, or no.

To the KING.

Hague, *January* 29. *S. N.* 1675.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

UPON the Diſcourſes with the Penſioner, of which I gave Your Majeſty an Account in my laſt, the Prince took Occaſion to enter with me upon the ſame Subject, juſt upon his leaving the Town. He ſpoke of it with great Hopes, That Your Majeſty would fall in with ſuch a Project of the Peace; with Confidence, That You might moſt certainly and eaſily effect it, if You pleaſed; and with Deſpair, of ſeeing it brought about any other Way. Upon my mention of Money, in general, he ſaid, That ſhould not fail: And upon my raiſing Difficulties, of *France* quitting ſo many conquered Places, though upon Conſideration of ſuch a Match; he ſaid, If all would not be conſented to, he believed it might be done upon thoſe that were moſt neceſſary to the Security of *Flanders*. That he knew ſo much of the Condition of *France*, as to believe they would be glad of a Peace, if they could have it with Honour, which this would give them; and that, however, he was ſure they would not refuſe it Your Majeſty, if they ſaw You deſired it. He ſpoke of it as a Thing that would give him Aſſurance of Your Majeſty's Impartialneſs in the general Affair; of Your good Meaning to his Highneſs, and the Safety of theſe Countries; and of that which would make Way for the firmeſt and cloſeſt Meaſures between You, for ever after. He deſired me to write of it perſonally to Your Majeſty, and to give him immediately an Account of what Anſwer I received; which makes me give Your Majeſty more Trouble than I ſhould have preſumed to do, upon any other Occaſion; and take Notice of it to no other Hand, till I receive Your Majeſty's Command upon it, what I ſhall ſay to the Prince. I confeſs, I took it for a Scheme of great Honour, Happineſs, and Eaſe to Your Majeſty. And if You ſhould effect it, and after a general Peace fall into thoſe cloſe Meaſures with the Prince and this State, which my Lord Chamberlain ſo much diſcourſed of here; I ſhould not deſpair of ſeeing them brought to give Your Majeſty, upon a defenſive League, a Clauſe of Guaranty upon all Quarrels You might have by Your Right to the Flag: Which would be certainly the Way to give Your Majeſty an undiſputed Poſſeſſion, of what hath been hitherto a diſputed Claim; and thereby leave to Your Majeſty's Crown and Reign, the greateſt Glory that hath arrived to any of Your Anceſtors.

I had troubled Your Majeſty with this by laſt Poſt; but that hearing ſomething more had paſſed in the *Maſtricht* Correſpondence, I reſolved firſt to ſpeak with the Penſioner *Fagel*; which I could not do till *Sunday*. He told me, There was another Letter come from the Count, and all the Arguments that could be, uſed to draw this State off from the Meaſures with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and into the old ones with *France*; and that beſides all other Advantages of Trade, it was propoſed to give them a Port in the *Mediterranean*, upon the Coaſt of *Italy*. But upon the whole he ſaid, They could not leave their Allies; diſcourſed much of the Forces they ſhould have next Campaign; of the little Appearance to make a Peace, at preſent, any other Way, than by the Project mentioned. And concluded, That if all Succeſs failed, ſo as their Allies ſhould break into ſeparate Treaties; he doubted not, but they could take better Meaſures with *France*, than any of the reſt.

I humbly beg Your Majeſty's Pardon for theſe Troubles; and Your Acceptance of that Devotion and Truth, wherewith I am, and ſhall ever be,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient,

Subject and Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, February 22. *S. N.* 1675.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt, I have received Yours of the 5th, which brought me a Copy of the moſt Chriſtian King's Anſwer to his Majeſty, upon the Propoſal of *Meurs* for the Place of Congreſs, and his Majeſty's Commands how to proceed farther with the States in this Matter. The beſt Account I can give You of my obeying them, will be by the incloſed Memorial; which being the firſt I have put in to the States, upon the Subject of his Majeſty's Mediation, I thought might be fit to trouble You with; that ſo I might know, whether, being left ſo much at large in this Commiſſion, the Conceptions I have upon it, agree as they ought to do with thoſe of his Majeſty; both as to the main Scope, and as to the Manner and Circumſtances of proceeding in it. One of the great ones, and moſt to be conſider'd, I take to be that of perſuading the Confederates, that his Majeſty is as impartial as a Mediator ought to be, in the Conduct of this Affair; and, therefore, You will find this Deſign run through the whole Contexture of this Memorial: The reſt is, I hope, juſt what his Majeſty commanded me to purſue upon the Point of *Nimeguen*, and the Inſtances as ſtrong as I could make them; and may not poſſibly be leſs ſucceſsful for the Penſioner's Abſence; if the States think fit to come to a Reſolution upon it, without his Communication, which I may yet know before the Cloſure of this Letter: In the mean Time, I ſhall give You the State, as well as I can, of the *Swediſh* Mediation, in Anſwer to the latter Part of Your Letter; and your Commands of doing all by Concert or Communication with him.

Hitherto he has always brought, or ſent me, Copies of all the Memorials he has put in upon the Subject of his Maſter's Mediation, within a Day or two after he deliver'd them; but without any Communication before of what they imparted; though they have been many, ſince he knew and complimented me, upon his Majeſty's Mediation being accepted by all Parties. I have obſerved the ſame Courſe with him, and ſtill give him Part of what paſſed at the Conferences between me and the States Deputies upon the ſame Subject; and we live in all Points the beſt and the friendlieſt that can be together.

gether. But upon the whole Matter, I take his Majeſty's Mediation, and that of the Crown of *Sweden*, to be different ſo eſſentially, as well as in Circumſtances, that I know not how they can be ſo abſolutely joined as You ſeem to intimate; nor whether it ought to be endeavoured farther than maintaining the beſt Correſpondence that can be with them, and making, as near as we can, the ſame Pace, though ſeparately, in the Courſe of this Affair.

For the firſt; You know when the *Swedes* Mediation began, We and *France*, and theſe States, were all the Parties in the Quarrel: That during the Mediation at *Cologn*, by an Alliance with *Spain*, the Houſe of *Auſtria* came, with other Princes, to be Principals in it: That after this Incident, though the *Swediſh* Mediation continued, yet it reached no farther in the Negotiations of their Ambaſſadors, than the firſt Parties: And though it was endeavoured (whether it failed upon Punctilioes, or more important Speculations) 'tis certain, that neither the Emperor, nor the Court of *Spain*, have ever yet been induced to accept of that Mediation. So that neither they on one Side, being refuſed by ſome Parties, nor the Pope, who will be refuſed by others, can pretend to make the ſame Figure in this Buſineſs as his Majeſty does, who is accepted by all.

In the next Place; though Monſieur *Ebernſteyn* has ſince his Arrival here, very induſtriouſly kept up the Part of a Mediator, by very frequent and voluminous Memorials, which he has lately printed all together; yet they have been conſidered by the States little farther, than either as general Diſcourſes, or Declamations upon the Theme of Peace; or elſe Diligences affected purpoſely to preſerve the Figure of Mediation in that Crown, with this State, while they were at firſt preparing, and ſince engaged in open Hoſtility, with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, one of their Allies: For whoſe Defence, they knew this State was by Treaty obliged to employ all their Forces; and come to an open Rupture with the Invader.

Ever ſince I came hither, I have been frequently entertained by thoſe of the States, and particularly by the Penſioner, with very ſharp Complaints of the *Swedes* towards them; and their open and avowed Partiality to *France*, in the whole Courſe of the Mediation. But more of the *Deſhonnetetè*, as they term it, to continue the Offers and Paces of Mediator, after the Treaties formerly concluded with *France*; their Money ſo openly received, and their hoſtile March into the Duke of *Brandenburgh*'s Country. But after the News of this laſt Adventure, the Penſioner, at the Head of the States Deputies, in the next Conference upon their Deſires upon his Majeſty's propoſing *Meurs*, told me, The States had at firſt ordered the ſame Deſire to be made to the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, but had ſince reſolved that ſhould be omitted; becauſe they could not conſider that Crown any longer as Mediator, after their being engaged actually in a War with one of their principal Allies, and upon Meaſures formerly taken with their Enemies.

You know ſince, how this Motion of the *Swediſh* Army has been a blind ſort of Buſineſs on both Sides; they, on the one Side, apprehending the reſolute Profeſſions of this State to declare open War by Sea and Land; and not only to engage their Confederates, but endeavour it with the *Muſcovite* too, in caſe they did not retire their Forces out of the *Brandenburgh* Country, have ſeemed of late very irreſolute how to go on, or come off from the Adventure: And by a middle Courſe of only quartering in his Country, but attacking none of his Towns, and paying ſometimes for what they take, that they might not be ſaid to live wholly at Diſcretion, as in an Enemy's Country; they have ſeemed to deſign the giving juſt ſo much Satisfaction to *France*, as might preſerve their Treaties with that Crown; and ſo little Offence to the Confederates, as might keep off a general Breach with the Emperor, as well as *Spain* and this State; and, perhaps, moſt of the Princes of the Empire too, in Conjunction with *Denmark*.

On the other Side, This State, tho' they have, from the firſt March of the *Swediſh* Troops, declared poſitively to the Ambaſſador here, That they would open the War, unleſs his Maſter recalled his Forces out of the *Brandenburgh*

Territories; yet they have delayed it all this while, upon pretence of that Reſolution's running the Circle of all the Provinces with ſome more than uſual Delay: But in Truth, that before they begin an Action of ſuch Conſequence, they may be firſt aſſured of their Confederates Intentions, take their Meaſures with them, for beginning, as well as carrying on the War; and in the mean time, give *Sweden* Leave to avoid it, by recalling their Forces. As this Matter has played upon theſe Circumſtances and Diſpoſitions, ſo You will eaſily imagine the Buſineſs of their Mediation has ſometimes appeared alive, and ſometimes dead; and whether it be one or t'other, for my part, I cannot tell. For, notwithſtanding what the Penſioner told me, as I before mentioned, and what I hear was replied at a Conference by the Deputies to the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors upon that Occaſion; yet, I find, he ſtill continues his Memorials in the ſame Style, and will, I know, make all the Paces imaginable, to preſerve this Figure of Mediation as long as can be done.

Now, whether this continue or no; which yet I will formally aſk the Penſioner at his Return, as You deſire; yet, I doubt, for my part, whether it will not weaken the Force of his Majeſty's Mediation (which will chiefly conſiſt in the Opinion of its being impartial), to join it openly and formally with that of *Sweden*; which, whether the War go on or no, will ever be interpreted not only partial to *France*, but even to be managed by the very Motions they ſhall receive from thence.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

Hague, February 26. *N. S.* 1675.

My Lord,

I Was extreme ſorry to find by Your laſt of the 9th, that Your Illneſs was returned, after I had flatter'd my ſelf, with its having left You, from what Your former told me. God ſend Your next may bring me better News of it, which will be welcomer to no body, than me. I am very glad to find his Majeſty has that Propoſition ſtill in his Thought and Endeavour, and hope, he will purſue it till it falls one way or other: For, in all Buſineſs of publick or private Concernment, I have always thought the beſt Rule is, as in Hunting, one Thing at a Time, and ſee the End of it before another begins. I am very proud to find his Majeſty's Opinion, as well as Yours, agree with what I had at the firſt upon this Buſineſs of *Gelderland*: 'Tis now over; but the Smart of it will not wear off, without further Time; and bending the Stick a contrary way, muſt make it right. I think his Majeſty, for his own ſake, as well as the Prince's, has Reaſon to be of the mind he is, in this Matter: For all Offers of that kind, loſe us as many Friends in this Country, as they gain to *France*: And it was a common Voice of *Amſterdam*, That they had better be under the Subjection of that Crown, than of an abſolute Sovereignty at Home. In thoſe few Days the Noiſe laſted, there was above Three hundred thouſand Pounds drawn out of the Bank of *Amſterdam*; the *Eaſt-India* Actions fell above Thirty; and thoſe upon the *Cantores* of *Holland* fell from a Hundred to Seventy five, which was Five lower than at the moſt deſperate Criſis of the laſt War. Which are Effects that might amaze ſuch as do not either underſtand or conſider, how much Trade, and indeed all Government, depends upon Opinion.

The Prince has, in his Letters to the Province of *Utrecht*, thanked them for their Kindneſs expreſs'd to him in their Advice, and fallen very ſharp upon thoſe in other Provinces, who could ground ſuch Suſpicions, as they had, upon that Occaſion: Which makes me fear, He does not yet know enough of the Temper of his Patient, nor how little any ſort of rough Phyſick agrees with it. And, let me tell You, between us, That among ſome younger or warmer Heads, they, ſay, our Friend has been the chief Conſulter of this Affair, which, for my part, I think, agrees very well with what others ſay, of his being at Heart as much a Republican as Monſieur *de Witt*. For, I am ſure, nothing could have given ſo great a Check to any Deſigns of Dominion here, as this has done. Whereas, by a Courſe of very popular Councils, with ſome Succeſſes in the War, the States themſelves, in ſome little Time, might have been the Inſtruments of increaſing the Prince's Authority, or the People might have forced them to it, by their Truſt and Kindneſs to the Prince, and thereby preferring his Government before their own.

I cannot tell You any thing yet, what is like to be done about his Majeſty's Propoſition of *Nimeguen* for the Place of Congreſs; the States having ſent it to the Prince, as I had done at the ſame time I put in my Memorial to them. I have preſs'd it both with his Highneſs and here, as the only way of meeting: But after all, I am apt to think, the Campaign will begin before the Treaty; and the Events of one, will be governed by thoſe of the other. I believe, the Method of the next Action will be, To have the Emperor's Army act either by it ſelf, or in Conjunction only with that of the Circles; and for the *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh* Troops to fall in as Auxiliaries only to the Prince of *Orange*; who ſhall command alone, and, upon Occaſion of a Siege or a Battel, receive other Auxiliary Troops likewiſe from the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*; who will live in the beſt Intelligence, and, I believe, with very great Deference, to his Highneſs, in the Councils and Actions of the Campaign.

I write You particular Things, which go no other way; but ſuch as I imagine his Majeſty, as well as You, may be content to know.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Chamberlain.

Hague, March 22. *N. S.* 1675.

My Lord,

I Have newly received Yours of the 8th Current, and rejoice with You upon Your Journey to *Huſton*, where I wiſh You the Health and Satisfaction You propoſe to Your ſelf, and which is neceſſary both to the Service of our Maſter, and to the Contentment of Your Friends. What You wonder ſo much at, both as to the Prince's ſaying, You had given him no Anſwer to what he propoſed to You about the Peace; and as to my ſuffering him to ſay it; I muſt tell You, That I very well remember what You writ to me about Monſieur *Ruvigni*'s Scheme of that Matter; and I told it the Prince, whether You writ to him, or no. But his Highneſs never took that for any Anſwer to what he had advanced to You, at Your being here; which, he ſays, was not to *France*, nor, to know their Mind upon it, but his Majeſty's. Therefore the Anſwer the Prince expected upon it, was, To know whether his Majeſty thought that Propoſal, or ſomething near it, a reaſonable Ground for ſuch a Peace, as his Majeſty judged ſafe and laſting: And, Whether his Majeſty would thereupon endeavour it with *France*, while his Highneſs did the ſame with the Confederates. If his Majeſty ſhould be of this Mind, then the Prince expected, He would propoſe it to *France*, and ſignifie their Anſwer upon it: If that ſhould be juſt what Monſieur *Ruvigni* ſticks at, and no Appearance of going leſs, I ſuppoſe, in plain Terms, the Treaty ends, before it begins, and is not to begin again till the Campaign ends. This, at leaſt, is my Opinion; and that, whatever the Succeſs of the one ſide, and Diſaſters of the other, have been the laſt Year, yet the Confederates will rather throw away the

Sheath, and buckle again to the War, than take a Peace upon ſuch Terms, before they are abſolutely beaten into it.

I have, upon Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*'s Order, at Two Conferences, deſired of the States, to propoſe a Plan to his Majeſty, upon which, or near it, they think their Allies will conſent to the Peace. By next Poſt, You will ſee it from them in Writing: In the mean Time, I may tell You, It will be much ſuch another on the one ſide, as Monſieur *Ruvigni*'s is on the other: And ſo muſt all be, that comes this open way from the States. Nor ſhould I have deſired it, but by Mr. Secretary's Orders, or expected an Iſſue from any thing here in this kind, but what is firſt privately concerted between his Majeſty and the Prince.

What the States will do, as to interpoſing for Prince *William* of *Furſtemburg*, I know not: But I hear it talk'd among the foreign Miniſters, That the Emperor will not part with him, unleſs a Peace be made; and, in that Caſe, he will oblige himſelf to give him his Liberty, and pardon him. I have very good Reaſon to believe the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, both at *Paris* and here, make it their Buſineſs to hinder the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*, by throwing in this Incident, as well as otherways, and ſtomach his Majeſty's being left the ſole Mediator, by their being ſo formally rejected; as well as having obtained this Point from the States, after their having failed of *Breda* ſo long contended for. However, Monſieur *Ebernſtein* and I live the beſt that can be together; which I do, not only by his Majeſty's Command, but by my own Diſpoſition too, having viſited him four or five times, and communicated all that has paſs'd in his Majeſty's Mediation, ſince he has ſtirred out of his Chamber, where he has lain ſick either of the Gout, or of Trouble, ſince he is grown, as he calls it, *tout à fait inutile*: And, I think, indeed, I never ſaw a more dejected Man than he has been upon this Occaſion.

For my own part, I think You have ended Your *Indian* Treaty the beſt You could: And You know very well, I ever told You, The State here would break, rather than come up to what our Merchants (or the Contrivers of ſome Unkindneſs between the Nations) reſolved at firſt to aſk, and have ſince ſtood upon juſt as You ſay, either to have All they asked, or Nothing. Nor do I believe, there will be much Uſe of the Commiſſioners to decide the Quarrels of the Companies, when other Quarrels are not intended on one ſide or t'other.

I am ever, &c.

To the KING.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty, *Hague*, *March* 22. *S. N.* 1675.

I Have this Day received the Honour of a Letter from Your Majeſty of the 5th, for which I return my humble Acknowledgments, and eſteem it much the greater, for having been written upon a Subject, which I knew Your Majeſty would not treat otherwiſe than in Confidence; being, indeed, a very tender Point, and which touches the Strings; upon the good or ill tuning whereof, very much of your Majeſty's greateſt Concerns at this Time depends. I will confeſs, that I was extremely ſurprized, to read what Your Majeſty ſays has been whiſper'd to You, concerning an intended Journey of the Prince this Spring into *England*; and I ſhould be extremely aſhamed to be found ignorant here of a Matter of ſuch Conſequence, that were known ſo far off. I have very little Belief of Infallibility, and leſs of no Man's than my own: But I am as confident as I can be of having any of my Five Senſes about me, that the Prince has never had yet one Thought of ſuch a Journey this Seaſon; unleſs it had happened, that the Peace had been abſolutely made, which he has not lately had much Reaſon to hope for; and for the preſent, I believe, he thinks no more of a Journey to *London*, than to *Venice*; nor indeed of any thing, but how to get out this War with a little Honour and Safety; towards which, I am confident, he reckons upon pleaſing Your Majeſty, as a much better and nearer way, than diſobliging You in any kind.

This is my Opinion, and I have not yet been out in any of my Calculations here. But becauſe I cannot reckon any thing to be neglected, that deſerves Your Majeſty's Thoughts, I will, at my firſt ſeeing the Prince upon his Return (which is expected after to morrow) let him know, that I hear ſuch a Thing has been whiſper'd to Your Majeſty, and how I conceive it muſt be underſtood, and will, upon this Occaſion, talk it to the Bottom, if I find it needs, either from what I meet in his Diſcourſe upon it, or can obſerve from his Countenance. But if I find it wholly, as I expect, without any manner of Ground, I ſhall, with your Majeſty's Leave, neither ſhew him Your Letter, nor ſpeak of it as a Thing Your Majeſty believed, or reflected upon. And of all this, I hope to give Your Majeſty an Account by the next.

I can eaſily imagine, what Errand the Whiſperers of this Story muſt have pretended, to give ſuch a Journey of the Prince, about the Time of the Parliament's Sitting: And I will not anſwer for Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s buſie Talk at ſuch a Seaſon; tho' he may have as little Thanks for it here, as for all he has lately entered into of his own Head with Monſieur *Ruvigni*. But I ſhould be very ſorry to ſerve Your Majeſty in this Figure, upon a Scene where any Motions ſhould ariſe towards the diſcompoſing your Majeſty's Affairs, either at Home or Abroad, or thoſe Meaſures You ſhall think fit to hold, in a Point ſo material to the Happineſs of Your Reign. And, on the contrary, I am pretty confident, that I could prevail both with the Prince and the State here, as to all that concerns themſelves, to refer the Buſineſs of the Peace wholly to Your Majeſty, not as a Mediator only, but as Abſolute Arbiter and without thinking of any other Recourſe, but to Your Majeſty's perſonal Diſpoſitions, and Judgment of what you eſteem ſafe for them and their Neighbours. And if the Point of Honour, and thereby, indeed, of Intereſt, were not in it, not to abandon their Allies, to whom they owe their own Preſervation, and are tyed by ſo many Treaties, I doubt not but I ſhould be able to ſend Your Majeſty ſuch a Scheme from hence before I am a Week older.

If my Opinions are right, and Your Majeſty be ſo ſafe and ſo eaſie here, as I believe, it will then be poſſibly worth Your Majeſty's obſerving, from what Quiver this Arrow came, and whether there be no Poiſonin it, That You may know the Hand another Time. If I am miſtaken, and there was Reaſon for ſuch a Suſpicion, Your Majeſty, I am ſure, has a very ignorant Ambaſſador here, and who has loſt the Talent of ſerving You with the Succeſs has formerly attended him; though, I am ſure, he has loſt none of that hearty Zeal, wherewith he has been, and ſhall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majeſty's

moſt Faithful, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March 25. *N. S.* 1675.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

IN purſuance of what I writ laſt Poſt, I waited on the Prince Yeſterday at his Return, and took Occaſion to tell him what I heard had been whiſpered to Your Majeſty about his intended Journey this Spring into *England*, without taking notice of having heard any thing of it from Your Majeſty. The Prince told me, He knew very well what muſt be the Meaning of ſuch a Report: That he was very ſorry to ſee ſome Perſons about You reſolved to do him all ill Offices to Your Majeſty, and endeavour to make Things ill between You, let his Carriage be what it will: That, for his part, he would never deſerve it, but he knew not how to help Peoples Talk: They might ſay, if they would, *That a Cow could catch a Hare*; but he did not know why any body ſhould believe it. I interrupted him, and ſaid, He might be confident, Your Majeſty would be the laſt to believe any thing of his Highneſs's ill Intentions towards You in any kind: And that, I was ſure, You believed nothing of this, whatever had been told You: That he knew very well, how glad Your Majeſty would be at all times to ſee him; but that it might be at ſome times inconvenient to You both; and therefore, Your Majeſty was confident, that whenever he had any Thoughts of it, the firſt thing he would do, would be, to acquaint You with it, and know Your Opinion, and your Pleaſure upon it. The Prince reply'd, That he would be ſure to do ſo, whenever there was Occaſion, but hitherto there had been none: That, it was true, when my Lord *Arlington* was here, they talked ſometimes of his going into *England* this Spring, in caſe the Peace were made; or that, if it were ſo far advanced, as to let him ſee it would be done, he ſhould have been content to go and conclude it in *England*: But this was only talk'd at their being here, and that my Lord *Arlington* had firſt begun it, and put him upon theſe Thoughts: That, ſince that Time, he had never thought more of it: And that I can tell very well, as Affairs went, if he had the greateſt mind in the World to go, he could not; and that if he could, he was ſure he ſhould never think of it, without firſt asking Your Majeſty's Leave, and knowing that You liked it. With that, he ſaid in ſome Heat, Would to God none about the King had worſe Intentions to his Service, than I have: But if he will not believe me, what can I do? I would be very glad to ſee the King, and have but too much Reaſon to deſire it; but I have ſomething elſe to do at this Time, than to think of ſuch Journies.

I tell Your Majeſty, as juſt as I can, his own Words; by which You will beſt judge of his Meaning: And upon this, I told his Highneſs, I was very glad I was not miſtaken in him; for, upon hearing what had been told Your Majeſty upon this Subject, I had written to You the laſt Poſt; and thereupon repeated ſome of the Aſſurances I had given You, both of his never having had any ſuch thing in Deſign; and of his Duty and Intentions towards Your Majeſty, being in all Points what became him. The Prince told me, He was very much beholden to me for it, and ſwore, He would always make my Words good; and that he would never deceive You.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I had written thus far in the Morning, and thought I had very little to add; but about One a Clock Afternoon, the Prince came to me, and ſent for me out of my Cloſet, where I was locked up. When I came to him, he made me Excuſes, at firſt, in good Humour enough; but ſuddenly changing Countenance, he told me, He had received a Letter from my Lord *Arlington*, that he could not but come and ſhew me; for he knew not, for his part, what to ſay to it, nor what he meant by it: Thereupon he read it all to me; and upon that part which concerned his Journey into *England*, he ſaid, His Lordſhip knew well enongh, how far that was ever thought of, for he was the firſt that put me upon it. Then he went on, and read a long Period in Cypher, that begun about *du Moulin*'s being ſtill about him, and fomenting the Deſigns of engaging the Parliament, this next Sitting, in the Affairs of *France*; telling him thereupon, His Highneſs knew beſt, whether ſuch Friendſhips were to be relied on, that were made *à coups des bâtons*: And that he knew very well, there were Diſcontents here, as well as in other Places; and that, *Si on les touchoit on les pourroit faire ſaigner encore.* I repeat the Words as near as I can remember, becauſe I know not whether this was written or no by Your Majeſty's Communication or Command: And the Prince reading it with ſome Stammering upon the Interlining of the Cypher, and yet with a good deal of Emotion, I will not anſwer for every Word; but I am ſure I am right in the groſs, upon reading the laſt Words, *On les pourroit faire ſaigner*. The Prince ſaid, He underſtood this very well; for it was the ſame with what my Lord *Arlington* told Monſieur *Reed* in *England*; That if the King would go about it, He could make him be ſerved as Monſieur *de Witt* was: Then he ſwore in a Rage, That he could not bear this Language from my Lord *Arlington*, nor live any longer with him as he had done: That under Profeſſion of Friendſhip, and of dealing plainly with him, he ſaw very well, that he did him all the Miſchief he could; and that he could bear it no longer. When I told the Prince, That what my Lord *Arlington* writ, was upon what others had ſaid, and endeavoured to make Your Majeſty believe, he ſaid, No, he believ'd it was my Lord *Arlington* himſelf; and that he had made his Brother *Odyke* hinder *du Moulin*'s going to *Surinam*, on purpoſe that he might ſtill have that Pretext of doing him ill Offices to Your Majeſty: That, however, if he had been ſuch a Friend as he pretended, whenever any body elſe offered at doing him ſuch ill Offices to Your Majeſty, my Lord *Arlington*, that knew his Intentions ſo well, ſhould have given them the Lie, and have anſwered to Your Majeſty for him, and not gone away himſelf with the Belief of them, or write him ſuch impertinent Language upon no manner of Grounds: Then he wiſh'd he might die on the Place, if he, or any Man he knew here, had the leaſt Thoughts of making any Intrigues with the Parliament, or offering at any ſorts of Application to them; or if ever he had thought or done any thing in the War it ſelf, that deſerved any ſuch Language as this. But then he ſtopt, and ſaid, He would write to my Lord *Arlington* what was fit to be ſaid to ſuch a Letter: But he would write to Your Majeſty too; and deſired me, I would convey it to You, ſo as it might be delivered You in private; for, unleſs he could enter into a perſonal Confidence with Your Majeſty, he knew not how to live with You, for he knew not which of Your Miniſters he could truſt, ſince my Lord *Arlington* uſed him after this manner. I promiſed his Highneſs to convey his Letter to You: And, after a great deal of Paſſion vented, and with all the Profeſſions imaginable, not only of his own Innocence, but that no Man ſhould dare do any thing againſt Your Majeſty's Service, whilſt he had any Power; he left me. And I thought it my Duty to give Your Majeſty this bare Account of all that paſs'd, which I thought of ſo great Concernment.

What is ſo to Your Majeſty's, will ever make me loſe all other Regards. I told Your Majeſty at my coming away, I would depend upon none but Your Self: When that fails, I know the Way to my Garden again. In the mean Time, You ſhall be ſerved with the ſincere and particular Devotion that becomes,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient Subject and Servant.

To the Governor and Company of Merchant Adventurers.

Hague, March 16, *S. N.* 1675.

SIR,

I Received not long ſince a kind Letter from You, in the Name of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of *England*, and ſhould be very glad to deſerve the good Opinion You therein expreſs of me, and of my good Intentions towards the Service of your Company, in its juſt Pretenſions here. It would be an Honour to me, during my preſent Embaſſy, to retrieve them, after what happen'd to their Prejudice before my laſt Arrival; as it was one to me in my laſt Embaſſy to reprieve them, which, I think, indeed, I may wholly attribute to my ſelf. I am ſure, no Man can be a greater Servant, and Well-wiſher to all Deſigns of advancing the Trade of our Nation, than I; nor, conſequently, to the Proſperity of your Company, and of the City of *London*, where it reſides, and where I eſteem it an Honour to have been born. But as to the particular Branches of it, eſpecially this at *Dort*, I dare not take upon me to judge, how much the Eſtabliſhment of it in its former Conſtitutions, imports the Advancement of our Trade; becauſe his Majeſty and Council ſeem to have put ſome Diſcountenance upon that Opinion, by the Liberty or Connivance given, for ſo many Years paſt, to the interloping Trade, which makes it look as if the preſent Intereſt of Your Company here, were no more than the bare Intereſt of ſome few Merchants habituated at *Dort*, and their Enjoyments of certain Exemptions, which are conſiderable, perhaps, to their Domeſtick and Perſonal Concernments, but very little ſo to the Woollen Trade of the Nation, in which they have but a very ſmall Share, in proportion to what the Interlopers drive.

I may have Leave to ſay, That in what Tranſactions have paſs'd thro' my Hands upon this Subject, during my laſt and preſent Embaſſy, I have gone to the Bottom of this Affair, and ſeen by what Springs it has moved: And being a very plain Man, I will deal ſo with you in this Matter, and tell You, That I believe, the Diſcouragements given to Your Company in *England*, by the Liberties allowed the interloping Trade, both at firſt raiſed, and have ever ſince fomented, the ill Talent that You know has been born to it for ſeveral Years, by this Province of *Holland*: For, as to the reſt of the Provinces, they have none at all againſt You. I believe, the Bottom of it here is, That they ſee plainly, whatever Privileges are allowed Your Company at *Dort*, will be given by the other Towns, either openly or covertly, to all thoſe Interlopers, who bring their Woollen Manufacture directly thither: And in this, the very States themſelves cannot hinder what each Town will do for their own particular Advantage. And the Effect they apprehend from this, is, A general Encreaſe of the imported Manufactures from *England*, and thereby a proportionable Decay of their own; upon which the Intereſt of this Province very much turns: So that I have had it ſaid to me, almoſt in plain Terms, by the Penſioner here, That if the King will forbid the interloping Trade, and reſtore Your Company to its full Rights and Privileges from his Majeſty, they will do the ſame to all they have formerly enjoyed from the States.

When I have ſaid this, I have told You all I know in Your Affair, the States General having deferred their Anſwer to my Memorial, till the Repreſentations upon it ſhall come from the States of *Holland*: But I have not told You all I ſuſpect: which is, That in the preſent State of Your Company in *England*, it will be very difficult to reſtore it to the former State here, both from what I have already ſaid, and from the Conſtitution of this Government; by which it is very eaſie to prevent a Reſolution of the States in any ſuch Matter, becauſe the engaging of one Town in a Province, or of one Province in the States, may do that: But, on the contrary, 'tis very hard to revoke a Reſolution paſs'd, becauſe the Conſent of all is neceſſary.

Upon this, You will beſt judge what Reflections, as well as what Paces, to make in Your Buſineſs. And, for my part, as my Duty muſt ever engage my Obedience to whatever Commands I receive from his Majeſty upon this Matter, ſo my Inclinations will always improve it, all that may be, to the Service of Your Company, which bears, at leaſt, the Name of our Nation and Commerce, tho' many would have it believ'd, that neither of them are much concerned in it. I am very much ſo, in the Good-Will and Opinion of ſo Worthy and Honourable a Society; which I deſire You to let them know, and how much I ſhall, upon all Occaſions, endeavour to obſerve them; being to them, and to Your ſelf,

SIR,

An Affectionate

Humble Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, April 16. *S. N.* 1675.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge Yours of the 30th paſt, but cannot take upon me to juſtifie, or to clear any part of that *Paper* given me by the States, concerning the Terms of a Peace: They would have been glad to have been excuſed from doing it at all; and when 'twas done, were glad 'twas off their Hands; and, I ſuppoſe, have thought little of it, either before, or ſince. I preſs'd them to it, becauſe You were pleaſed to preſs me; but knew very well, it could be nothing but a Piece of Form, and that the ſecret Hinges of ſuch an Affair could not turn before forty People, but muſt faſten firſt between his Majeſty and the Prince, and then paſs the Forms of the States. His Highneſs is now perfectly well, has been up, and eat Fleſh theſe Four or Five Days, and ſhifted to Day; ſo that his Life may be reckoned much ſafer, than it has been theſe Seven Years. The Stories, You ſay, are much wonder'd at there, of his having been viſited by the Foreign Miniſters, and others, every Day in his Sickneſs, were ſo far from having any Ground, that there were but Four People, beſides the Phyſicians, that ever went to him; which were, the *Rhingrave*, Monſieur *Odyke*, Monſieur *Overkirke*, and Monſieur *Bentinck*, of which the two laſt were all that watch'd with him a-Nights in turns; and, indeed, I never knew any Sickneſs of a great Man ſo well govern'd as his; for, You know how apt they are, upon theſe Occaſions, to be endanger'd by the officious Exerciſe of too much Care and Skill. Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Aſhton* arriv'd here on *Sunday*, and deliver'd their Letters that Night; but the Prince excus'd ſeeing them in Two or Three Days, ſo as they are gone to *Amſterdam*. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* will, I hear, come hither, either the End of this Week, or Beginning of next; and I hear for a Secret, That the Two Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, that is, *Cell* and *Oſnaburg*, will be here too at the ſame time, upon an Interview with the Prince, in which the Marquis *de Grana* intervenes from the Emperor, to agree upon the Meaſures of this next Campaign. The *Daniſh* Miniſters have receiv'd the Money, or the greateſt Part of it, agreed by their late Treaty to be paid them before they take the Field; that is, the whole *Quota* of *Spain*, amounting to 85000 *M.* Crowns, is paid by Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, and the *Quota* of *Holland* and *Zealand* is likewiſe paid; but whether they will immediately break with *Sweden*, or ſtand upon this State's doing it firſt, or at the ſame Time, I cannot tell; or whether this State will go ſo high or no.

I have one from You by Monſieur *de Bas*, who ſhall want no Aſſiſtance I can give him here. I have likewiſe a Letter from his Majeſty, counterſigned by You, in Favour of the *Elizabeth*, a Ship taken upon the ſame Pretence with the *Rebecca*, concerning which I wrote in my laſt, and deſired the Declaration of his Majeſty's underſtanding that Article to include the Trading from Enemy's to Enemy's Ports: When this is done, I hope to retrieve theſe Two Ships, if the owners are not wanting to themſelves in attending the Proſecution.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To Sir William Lockhart.

Hague, April 18. *S. N.* 1675.

My Lord,

I AM obliged to Your Excellency for the Favour of one of the 5th paſt with the Account of Your ill Uſage on that ſide, in point of Your Letters; which, methinks, does not agree very well with the good Intelligence between our Two Courts, deſerving more Confidence, and fairer Appearances, as far as I underſtand. Your Lorſhip knows beſt the Ways of redreſſing it, tho' the Loſs or Delay of my Letters hardly deſerve that Care.

The Tumult at *Bourdeaux* was, in my Opinion, very prudently appeaſed; tho' I know not whether the Succeſs or Example of ſuch an Adventure, may not ſtir Humours, or raiſe Hopes of the ſame kind in other great Towns. I confeſs, as much as I have read and thought, makes me of Opinion, That thoſe Governments are ſafeſt and happieſt for thoſe that govern, which are eaſieſt for them that obey; and which engage Subjects to love and ſupport them, by the Opinion they ſhall loſe by any Change. And the contrary of this might be poſſibly felt in *France* it ſelf, if ever they ſhould meet with a Misfortune from Abroad: But that is very unlikely from the preſent Proſpect of their own great Force, and wiſe Conduct, compared with the ill Concert and ill Succeſs of their Enemies; and the laſt is like to continue as long as the firſt, which, You know, is natural to all Confederacies. Yet, whoever goes to Sea, or to War, runs a Venture, which is all I ſhall ſay of Matters out of my Way, and my Reach; and not trouble You with the great Things ſaid here by the Marquis *de Grana*, of his Maſter's Army this Year like to act under *Montecuculi* in *Alſatia*. All the News I can tell your Lordſhip from hence, is, The Safety of the Prince; whoſe Illneſs has paſſed without the leaſt ill Sign or Accident; and his Carriage in it, with ſo great Equalneſs of Temper, and Conſtancy of Mind, tho' it be not a Thing of moment; yet has much confirmed the great Opinion I ever had, of his Perſonal Qualities being very extraordinary. I believe he will be abroad to morrow, unleſs he keep in one Day to take Phyſick, which he is but hardly perſuaded to.

Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Aſhton* came hither on *Sunday* from the King and Duke upon this Occaſion of the Prince's Illneſs; but have not yet ſeen him, and will not return till next Week.

I am ever with great Reſpect and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt Obedient Humble Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, Auguſt 13. *S. N.* 1675.

SIR,

SINCE my Return on *Sunday* laſt, after a ſlow Paſſage in very calm Weather, I find my ſelf obliged, by the Advance You have pleaſed to make me in Yours of the 30th paſt; which, by bringing me Excuſes there was no Occaſion for, hath given me a very juſt one of making my Acknowledgments: This I ſhould do more at large, if I thought the Omiſſion of Ceremonies were not allowed in an Intercourſe of Buſineſs; and were not, indeed, the beſt Manners to a Perſon that hath ſo great a Share as You have always upon Your Hands.

I have ſince my coming hither, performed in Two Conferences with the Penſioner, what I found my ſelf encharged with in the Inſtructions I now brought over; and acquainted him with his Majeſty's Reſolutions concerning the Warranty of *Flanders*, whenever the Peace is made, even with a Rupture upon any Invaſion; as likewiſe the Defenſive Alliance with this State. I valued them both ſo far, that I left him extremely ſatisfied with the firſt, and not unſatisfied with the other, tho' it went not up to the Height he could have wiſhed, and, as he ſaith, was in Propoſal when my Lord Chamberlain was here. He will be ready to fall into the Conſideration of both theſe, whenever I deſire it, which I ſhall do, when his Majeſty thinks fit to poſſeſs me with the Project or Heads of them, and to ſend me further Inſtructions how far to proceed upon them. For the Peace, he expreſſeth ſtill the ſame Diſpoſition towards it in this State, he hath ever done; and the great Deference they will always have for the Sentiments of his Majeſty upon the Conditions of it. Though he ſays, He doubts not but the State will be induced to furniſh the Expence of another Year's War, if *France* continue the Height of their Demands, and the Succeſs of the *German* Army anſwer the Expectation they have given by the late Encounters. He told me, He would ſpeak with the Miniſters of the Confederates here, and acquaint them with the Continuance of his Majeſty's good Diſpoſitions and Offices, towards the Advance of the Peace; and endeavour to find, whether any nearer Approaches might be made towards it, by any new Overture they could agree in, and ſhould be content to put into his Majeſty's Hands.

I fell afterwards into the Diſcourſe of the Two Points our late Marine Treaty is ſtill a little lame in; The Liberty of Trade from Enemy's to Enemy's Port; and, The manner of Reviſion. For the Firſt, I found, he did not at all underſtand where the Difficulty lay; and that Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* had never yet informed the State of the Difference he had ſo long entertained You with there, between concluding the future and the paſt. After opening the whole Matter, and reading at laſt the Declaration as You had drawn it up, I prevailed with him to fall in with it, upon theſe Conditions: That, on our ſide, it ſhould not extend to any thing that happened before the laſt War: And, on their ſide, it ſhould extend to the Releaſe of all taken upon that Pretence ſince the laſt Peace. And the firſt of theſe I was eaſie in, becauſe I knew very well, there could be no Caſe that concerned it before the laſt War, when both We and They were in Peace with all our Neighbours, from the firſt Concluſion of this Article in 1668, till the laſt War began. Hereupon he reſolved, (tho' it cannot be abſolutely concluded till an Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*) however, to propoſe it to the States General, and endeavour to have it agreed by them, under the Approbation of the States of *Holland* at their next Aſſembly, which will be about a Month or Five Weeks hence.

For the Point of Reviſion: When I found him conſtant that the Forms of Judicature could not be changed here; which did but agree with what You told me, concerning ours in the Admiralty there, however the Words of the Treaty may ſeem to own: I at firſt made him ſenſible of the great Inequality in the Expences of our Reviſions and theirs; and thereupon propoſed the only Expedient I can poſſibly think of in the Caſe: Which is, That inſtead of Seven of the firſt Judges, and Eight Reviſors added to them, according to the preſent Forms; all Reviſions ſhould be made by Three of the firſt Judges, and Four Reviſors joined with them; which reduceth the Number from Fifteen to Seven, and thereby abates one half of the Charge. This, I told him, was only an Expedient of my own, and which I had not yet offered to the King; but that I would do it, if he would offer it to the States, and with the Favour of his own Opinion falling in with it. And this we agreed to do on both Hands: So that You will pleaſe to let me receive his Majeſty's Opinion upon it, as ſoon as it may be without Trouble; the Buſineſs of the *St. Joſeph*, and others, depending upon the Concluſion of this Affair.

I aſk Your Pardon for beginning Your Trouble of this kind with ſo much Length, and Your Belief of my being always,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful

Humble Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, Aug. 13. *S. N.* 1675.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

SINCE my Return to this Place, I have had Two very long Conferences with the Penſioner, which I will not trouble Your Majeſty with the Detail of. The Iſſue was, That tho' they are grown here into better Heart, by the Succeſs in *Pomerania*, and upon the *Rhine*, yet I found him ſo ſenſible of the Hazard this State runneth in the Perſon of the Prince, and of the Advantage they will receive by the *Guaranty* of *Flanders*, and defenſive Alliance Your Majeſty is reſolved on with them, in caſe they come to a Peace by Your Intervention; that he at length fell in ſo far with what I told him were Your Majeſty's Thoughts upon the Conditions of the Peace, as to aſſure me, That he would repreſent them to the Prince of *Orange* with all the Advantage he could. Beſides the Difficulties he made about *Burgundy*, in the Conſequences of it both to the Emperor and *Spain*; he fell on himſelf, with great Perplexity, upon that of the Prince's own Patrimonial Eſtate in that County; and ſaid, Thoſe Lands, with *Orange*, would give him too great a Dependance upon *France*; whereas, he deſired to ſee his Highneſs have all upon *England*, and none there. Upon the whole, we both concluded, That it was a Matter which could not be ſo well deduced to the Prince by Letter, as by Diſcourſe; and that it were beſt for the Penſioner to find ſome other Pretence of attending his Highneſs, and as ſoon as he could. The Penſioner, tho' he agreed with me in it, yet ſaid, The Prince was ſo unwilling he ſhould leave the *Hague*, that he would not do it without firſt aſking his Highneſs's Leave, which he would do by an Expreſs immediately; by whom I writ likewiſe to the Prince upon the ſame Occaſion; but referring all Particulars to the Penſioner, when he ſhould attend him. We expect a return of this Diſpatch on *Thurſday*; and whenever it comes, the Penſioner will away the ſame Day, and in the mean time, ſtart ſome Pretence, that may give no Jealouſie to the Confederate Miniſters here, with whom we agreed this Matter ſhould not take Air, but by conſent between Your Majeſty and the Prince. I ſee more Appearance of a Peace than a Truce; for I find the Penſioner as averſe from this laſt, as inclined to the other. His chief Reaſons are, That there needs as much Negotiation to obtain the one, as the other: The Charge of a War will not be leſſen'd by a Truce; and if the People here fall once into the uſual Courſe and Security of Trading, they will not be prevail'd with to return again into the War, tho' *France* ſhould inſiſt upon the moſt unreaſonable Terms.

For what concerns the *Swede*, the Penſioner is of Opinion, that nothing can be negotiated with them, ſeparate from the Confederates on both ſides; tho' he ſaith, A private Overture has been made, that in this Caſe this State will procure a Peace between that Crown and the Confederates, *Sweden* will employ not only their Offices, but their Forces too, if there be need, to induce *France* to a Peace upon the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*, with an Exchange of *Aeth*, *Charleroy* and *Oudenarde*, for *Aire* and *St. Omers*. Whether this have any Ground or no, ſo much is, I think, out of doubt, That the *Swedes* have an extreme Deſire to get out of the War, and into the Mediation again, but will, I believe, find Difficulties in both. I have entertained Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* by this Night's Pacquet upon thoſe Matters which were pointed at by my Inſtructions; but thought it became me to trouble Your Majeſty with the Account of ſuch as I had the Honour of receiving from Your own Diſcourſes; and choſe this Conveyance by the Captain of the Yatch, as both ſurer and ſpeedier too, if not hindred by croſs Tides in the River.

I cannot end this Trouble without my humble Acknowledgments for that particular Confidence wherewith Your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to honour me, in my late Attendances upon Your Majeſty in *England*; and which I am much prouder of, than I could be of any Titles or Advantages that are the common Objects of other Mens Purſuit and Ambition. I aſſure Your Majeſty, mine ſhall never go farther, than to deſerve, or, at leaſt, acknowledge the Honour You are pleaſed to do me, by all the Services of my Life; and by the moſt conſtant Devotion and perfect Truth, wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient,

Subject and Servant.

To Mr. Sydney.

Hague, September 3. *S. N.* 1675.

SIR,

I Writ to You from *London* two or three times, whether acknowledging any of Yours or no, I cannot tell; for the Thoughts of thoſe common Forms enter not into our Commerce, farther than to make the coming ſafe of what is intended between us. Therefore 'tis fit to tell You, That I had Two from You while I was in *England*; one by Mr. *Greenwood*, and the laſt, of *July* 21, juſt before my coming away. I ſtay'd there juſt Seven Weeks, which was much longer than was intended when I was ſent for; as, I muſt tell You, I was by the King, though, I think, not above Two knew of it; and I was to make my Journey a Thing of my own Deſire, and deſigned for my private Occaſions; which, You know, I do not much trouble my ſelf about. The King happened to have no Buſineſs ſo much in his Head, all the Time of my ſtay, as what turns a good deal upon my Hands; and ſo, by falling very often into very long Converſations, and privately with me, gave Occaſion for a great deal of Talk both There and Abroad, and Expectations of ſome very deciſive Meaſures taken upon the Buſineſs of a Peace; which, when all is done, both as to Conditions, Place, Time and Manner of Treaty, will depend much upon what ſhall prove the final Event of this Campaign. Things have hit ſomething worſe of late for the *French* than before: But the Armies, both in *Alſatia* and *Flanders*, having been left by our laſt Letters in ſight of one another, will tell us how the Year, and the Hopes of both Parties will end. Before this can come to You, 'tis likely, You will hear the Succeſs a ſhorter way; for I ſend this by Mr. *Lock*'s Conveyance, having found no kind of Encouragement to uſe the *French* Poſts between this and *Paris*; and ſo intending this for no further Intelligence, than of what paſſes between our ſelves; that it ſelf is nothing more, nor like to be, it ſeems, in haſte, than the very needleſs Aſſurances, of what, I know, we both feel at Heart, in the Continuance and Warmth of our Kindneſs and good Wiſhes to one another, where-ever we are; and the Satisfaction we ſhall receive in the Knowledge of what becomes of us.

There ſeems not yet any Certainty of the *Congreſs*, and till then, I ſuppoſe, I am fixed here: Whenever that happens, 'tis intended I ſhall make a Part of it, with what Company I know not; my Lord *Berkley*'s Embaſſy into *France* being like enough to break that Deſignation. Mr. *Fenwick* has my Lord *Clare*'s Regiment, and will find Advantages here, if he deſerve them; being the only *Engliſh* Man of Quality in the Prince's Service. I expect You ſhall be as good as Your Word in writing ſometimes where You are, how You do, and think to diſpoſe Your ſelf. I never wanted You more, than I did all the Time I was in *England*; and never loved You better than I do, and ſhall do while I live.

SIR,

Yours, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, *September* 6. *N. S.* 1675.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

THE Penſioner came to me upon his Return from the Camp, and gave me this Account of the Prince's Anſwer to the ſeveral Points I had diſcourſed to him here. First, That his Highneſs gave Your Majeſty humble Thanks for the Confidence You had uſed towards him, in letting him know Your own Thoughts upon the Subject of the Peace; which he would endeavour to deſerve, by communicating all His to Your Majeſty, upon this and all other Matters, as he would do to a Father: That he was very glad of the Intentions Your Majeſty expreſs'd, to enter into cloſer Meaſures with him and this State; which his Highneſs would promote all that could be on this ſide: And that he eſteemed this a better Guaranty for *Flanders*, than any formal one that could be given upon the Peace: And therefore deſired, That the Project of ſuch an Alliance as Your Majeſty will be content to make with them, may be agreed on as ſoon as Your Majeſty pleaſeth; tho' You ſhould not think fit to conclude it formally before the Peace, which yet his Highneſs rather deſired; becauſe after, there will be no way of keeping a Party in this State from endeavouring to renew their old Meaſures with *France*; but letting them ſee, they were already taken with *England*, and their Security found with us, which they pretend to by the *French*.

That for the Terms of a Peace, the Prince, for his own part, would be very well content to refer them wholly to Your Majeſty. But being, with the States, engaged to their Confederates by Honour and Treaties, they were forced, in ſome meaſure, to conſider what would ſatisfie them. That he doubted, as Things now ſtood, they would not be induced to a Peace, without the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*, and the Reſtitution of *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, and *Oudenarde*; as abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome Frontier for *Flanders*. That if *France* inſiſted to have the County of *Burgundy*, it would find more Difficulty; and that the *Spaniards*, but eſpecially the *Emperor*, put ſo great Weight upon it, that, he doubted, they would not only expect thoſe Three Towns, but likewiſe *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Liſle*, and *Doway*.

That the Prince, for his part, rather wiſh'd Your Majeſty would propoſe the Peace upon the firſt of theſe Plans; wherein, he had very good Aſſurance, You would be ſeconded by *Sweden*: But if You ſhould rather chuſe to have *Burgundy* left to the *French*, neither his Highneſs, nor, he believed, the States, would make any Difficulties upon it. And tho' he were very ſenſible of Your Majeſty's Kindneſs, in the Offers concerning his own particular Intereſt there; yet, he aſſures Your Majeſty, whatever he hath or may ſuffer in them, that ſhall be no ſort of Hindrance to the Peace.

That whatever Propoſition towards a Peace Your Majeſty ſhall think fit to make, the Prince deſires it may be done, as ariſing wholly from Your Self, without notice of any private Intelligence with him: And he thinks, the beſt Way of doing it, will be at the *Congreſs* at *Nimeguen*; where he doth not believe the *French* will make any farther Difficulty of ſending their Ambaſſadors, when thoſe of Your Majeſty ſhall be there; and that the *Swedes*, as well as the Confederates, will certainly ſend theirs immediately upon it.

This is the Sum of the Penſioner's Diſcourſe to me from the Prince. And when I told him, That, I ſuppoſed, his Highneſs meant, the Reſtitution of thoſe Three Places ſhould be made in Exchange for *Aire* and *St. Omers*, as was ſpoken of at my Lord *Arlington*'s being here; he told me, The Prince mention'd no ſuch Thing; and tho' he confeſs'd what had paſs'd in the Winter; yet, he thought, as Affairs had ſince changed, *France* might find Reaſons to induce them to a Peace upon theſe Terms: Yet, upon farther Argument, he ſaid, That if Your Majeſty ſhould think fit to propoſe an Exchange at the Treaty, he believed the States would not be againſt it. But he deſired, That whatever Your Majeſty reſolved on, might be propoſed at the *Congreſs*; and not be, in the mean Time, communicated to Monſieur ——; but that if Your Majeſty deſired any farther Lights from hence, You would pleaſe to receive them as You have done theſe; aſſuring me, That no Perſon but the Prince and himſelf had been, or ſhould be acquainted with what had paſs'd; and adding, That it was great Kindneſs in Your Majeſty to avoid the Noiſe which my going to the Prince would have made, ſince his own had made too much among the *Spaniards* in the Army. Upon the whole, I find, the Hearts of the Confederates are grown high with their late Succeſſes, and with Hopes of greater before this Campaign ends; and that the Prince is very much bent upon having his Share in the Honour of it, either by a Siege or a Battle, which, I believe, we may ſuddenly hear of, and that *Charleroy* is deſigned. The Event hereof, as well as of the farther Action yet expected in *Alſatia* and *Treves*, will ſo much govern the Conditions of the Peace, that I do not ſee how Your Majeſty can, at preſent, be Maſter of them, farther than by bringing it to a *Congreſs*, and making the Overtures there, according to the Poſture of Affairs at that Time, when no new Succeſſes on either ſide ſhall ariſe in that Seaſon to change the Scene. I can yet ſee no farther, unleſs Your Majeſty can think of any Temper, wherein *France* and the Prince may be like to agree before-hand, which will depend upon the Opinion each ſide hath of their Affairs: Your Majeſty will gueſs at that of the Confederates by what I have written; and, I hope, knows that of *France* by better Hands. I humbly beg Your Majeſty's Pardon for the neceſſary Length of this Trouble, and Your Acceptance of the true Devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall ever be,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and moſt

Obedient Subject and Servant.

To

To my Lord Chamberlain.

Hague, September 10. S. N. 1675.

I Am to acknowledge the Favour and Kindneſs of one from You of the 18th paſt, and of the Account You therein give me of Your ſelf, as well as the Reflections You make upon the Affairs at preſent in the Scenes here. To the Firſt, I ſhall ſay nothing at all; knowing how good a Judge You are of other Mens Affairs; and, conſequently, how much better You muſt needs be of Your own; in which all Men are to be allowed for the beſt Maſters, till they either confeſs to have failed of their Ends, or not to have found what they expected in them. I hope you find good Recruits of Health in the Country, ſince You reckon upon ſtaying ſo long there, as the Accounts I receive of the King's intended Motions, make me gueſs. But for the Proſpect You have there of the general Affairs, I do not think You could mend it by any Removes; for All will ſtill depend upon the laſt Events with which this Campaign ſhall end: In which, I find, if the Prince had no wiſer Counſellors than You and I, he would be content to preſerve his Army and *Flanders*, till he ſaw the Force of theſe *German* Expeditions ſpent one way or other. But, I hear, he is reſolved to have a Share in the Honour of the Campaign, and will endeavour by a Siege of *Charleroy* to bring the *French* to a Battle, though they are near as ſtrong in Number as he is, and much ſtronger in Horſe. To this end he is drawing together Eighteen Regiments towards *Ruremonde* from the Garriſons of this State, which will make his Foot ſtrong when they join him. But, when all is done, *Flanders* is the only Scene where the late Succeſſes of the Confederates can, in any Probability, receive a Check this Year; and whoever fights a Battle, runs a Venture. His Grandmother died on *Monday* laſt, and has, I ſuppoſe, thereby left a conſiderable Addition to his Fortune.

The News here to Day, is, Of taking *Treves*, wherein Monſieur *Crequi*, and all the Officers, remain Priſoners; but the Soldiers both *French* and *Dutch*, are ſent away free, with Engagement not to ſerve againſt the Confederates in Three Months; and the *Lorrainers* either to remain Priſoners, or to take Service under that Duke. If this Army ſhould march into *Lorrain*, as was intended after the taking of *Treves*, I know not in what Condition *France* would be to receive them, conſidering how ill the Prince of *Condé* has yet been able to deal with *Montecuculi*. But I have an Opinion, That the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, who make the greateſt Strength of it, will march back with their Troops, to make good their Share in *Bremen*, if the *Swedes* ſhould not be able to defend it; which will depend on the Reſolutions of the Duke of *Hanover*, that are not yet known. A Commiſſary of *Sweden*, who ſtill remains here, ſays, That *France* will no longer inſiſt upon the Point of Prince *William*; at leaſt, no further, but that he ſhall be ſet at Liberty upon Concluſion of a Peace. If this be ſo, I ſee not how a Congreſs will fail; if not, I know not how it will be.

In the mean Time, this State is very earneſt to have it begun by the King's ſending his Ambaſſadors thither, which, they undertake, ſhall be followed not only by thoſe of the Confederates, but the *Swedes* too; who ſeek all ways of drawing their Stake as ſoon and as well as they can, out of the preſent Game.

This is all I know of to be told You at preſent from this Place of Solitude and Leiſure. And for my ſelf, I will only ſay, That the Journey or further Remove You mention, and were told I was to make immediately after my Return, is a Thing I never heard of before, and ſo know not what Your politick Informers meant by it; unleſs it be the ſame which I believe they meant by ſeveral other Things I found they told You, of my Actions or Diſcourſes while I was in *England*, and with as little Grounds. God be thanked, that among ſo many Purſuits and Journeys I have of late, by Report, been engaged in, I know of none of them, but find my ſelf a Man of great Repoſe, and without other Deſigns, than of going on that dull, eaſie, and indifferent Pace, that is natural to me; and by which, as I can make no great Fortunes, ſo, I hope, I may make no great Faults, and get no great Falls; but ſhall ever be,

Your moſt Faithful

Humble Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, September 20. *S. N.* 1675.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty.

HAving found the Penſioner ſenſible how little Reaſon this State would have, upon any Succeſſes, to change the Terms they propoſed to themſelves for a Peace, ſince they had no Pretenſions of their own for carrying on the War; and having touched the ſame String in a Letter I writ to the Prince, upon the Death of the Princeſs Dowager; I received one Yeſterday from his Highneſs of the 17th, wherein were theſe Words; “*Je ne voy pas qu' avant* “ *que j'arrive à la Haye je pourrois faire quelque choſe pour l'avancement de la* “ *paix, laquelle pourtant je ſouhaite paſſionnement ſur le pied que je vous ay toujours dit.* I ſhould be glad Your Majeſty and the Prince were ſo agreed, before a *Congreſs* begins, as to draw Things towards the ſame Head in all Matters that ſhall be negotiated there: And I ſee no other Difference, than what there may be in the Value of the County of *Burgundy*, or *Aire*, and *St. Omers.* I find them here of Opinion, That nothing can be advanced towards a Peace otherwiſe than at a *Congreſs*; which they ſeem to ground only upon the great Variety and Number of Parties and Intereſts, that are ingaged now in the War. But, I believe, this proceeds chiefly from the *Spaniards*, who are extreme jealous of all private Meaſures that may be taken between Your Majeſty and the Prince, upon the Subject of the Peace.

Your Majeſty will beſt judge, whether You are likely to prevail with the Emperor to releaſe Prince *William* before the Concluſion of a Peace; or with *France* to inſiſt no farther upon this Point, before a Treaty begins; and will pleaſe accordingly to apply Your Offices towards ſome way or other of overcoming this Difficulty, which muſt be the firſt open Step that can be made towards the Peace, that ſo as little of the Seaſon for a Treaty may be left as the Campaign will allow.

I will not encreaſe Your Majeſty's preſent Trouble, beyond the Profeſſions of that Humble and Hearty Devotion, wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal

and moſt Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, September 27, *S. N.* 1675.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

SO great an Honour as I received by a Letter from Your Majeſty, has made me equally ſenſible how much I am to acknowledge it, and which Way I may beſt deſerve it, by applying my whole Endeavours to what I find is ſo much in Your Majeſty's Thoughts. We are now ſo near an End of the Campaign, that I do no longer expect any deciſive Action from it: And when all the Fights and all the Bonfires are done, I believe, the greateſt Effect of it will be beſt judged by the Winter Quarters of the Imperial Army: Whether Count *Montecuculi* will be able to gain them in *Lorrain* and the *Upper Alſatia* (as he propoſes, and, I hear, has promiſed the Emperor) or ſhall be forced to ſeek them on t'other Side the *Rhine*, which muſt happen, in caſe he does not maſter *Haguenau* and *Saberne*. For the Battles expected either in *Pomerania* or *Flanders*, I am apt to think, neither Party will ſeek them, without ſuch Advantages as the other will not give; ſo as the Year may end without them. And Your Majeſty may already gueſs how the next Scene is like to open, and upon what Foot the Negotiations of a Peace are like to begin. On this Side, I find, the Overtures of them are expected from Your Majeſty (though, I believe, both the Court of *Rome* and of *Sweden* may affect that Honour) and they are, I ſuppoſe, to be made by Two different Motions at the ſame Time, the one publick, by advancing the *Congreſs* and ſome Propoſition there (or middle Scheme between the Pretenſions of the Parties), that may ſerve for a Ground upon which the Treaty may begin: The other private, by feeling the Pulſes on each Side, and judging from thence, whence the neareſt Approaches are like to be made. For the *Congreſs*, Your Majeſty has all the Reaſon in the World, not to ſend Your Ambaſſadors, till You have Aſſurance, that thoſe of both Parties will immediately follow; and towards this, I ſee no other Motions to be made on this Side, than for Your Majeſty either to write to the Emperor, or to give me a Command to ſpeak to his Miniſter here; and, by one of theſe Ways, either to make it Your Deſire, that in Conſideration of Your Majeſty as Mediator, he will make way for the *Congreſs*, by putting Prince *William* of *Furſtenburgh* into ſome Neutral Hands, without further Condition; or elſe propoſe, That he may be ſent to *Venice*, upon Caution taken from the State, that if the Peace ſucceed not, he ſhall be returned to *Vienna*.

For the Pulſe on this Side, I will aſſure Your Majeſty, it ſtill beats very faſt and very high, in all theſe Provinces, towards the Peace; ſo that, in caſe the *Congreſs* begins, and at *Nimeguen*, as it is at preſent agreed (that is, in the Eye of theſe People) I think, I might undertake to make them agree to Your Majeſty's abſolute Arbitrage, in any Difficulty that might ariſe upon it. And the Suſpicion of ſuch violent Influences from the Bent of the People here, will make the Houſe of *Auſtria* endeavour (tho' upon other Pretences) to remove the *Congreſs* to ſome remoter Place. As to *Spain*, I am not of the ſame Opinion; and find by my laſt Diſcourſes with Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, what Reaſon the Prince had in his laſt with the Penſioner, to make ſo much Difficulty upon the Point of *Burgundy*: For, when I began only to touch that String, by ſaying, the greateſt Difficulty would lie there, and that Your Majeſty agreed with the Confederates in the Opinion of an abſolute Neceſſity to make a Frontier for *Flanders*; Don *Emanuel* interrupted me *briskly*, and ſaid, *Qu' on ne ſe flatte pas ſur ce point, car nous perdrons plûtôt toute la Flandre par la guerre, que de ceder la Bourgogne par la paix.* However, I do not deſpair upon this Point itſelf, if Your Majeſty and the Prince ſhould come to agree in it; becauſe I know how unwilling the Houſe of *Auſtria* will be to break from this State, in the Courſe of the Treaty; and that in all has paſſed of late between them, they have not ſo much conſidered any Advantages they expected from the War; as what they might hope by cloſing ſuch Meaſures with this State, as might ſerve them upon all Occaſions, even after the Peace; and in any new Conjunctures that may open when the King of *Spain* grows of Age, by himſelf or ſome ſettled Miniſtry to direct the Councils, and head the Actions of that Crown.

But this is the hardeſt of the Game: Whereas, if Your Majeſty ſhall, on the other Side, find *France* diſpoſed, by the late ill Current of their Affairs, to come up to the Prince's firſt Project; which was, The Four Towns for *Aire* and *St. Omers*; I ſhall look upon the Peace as made, notwithſtanding any new Incidents that may fall in, either from the Empire or the *Dane*. I will deſire Your Majeſty, not wholly to forget the Advantages that were offered You from hence upon that Scheme, of a Marriage between the Two Crowns, in caſe any way ſhould open towards it, by the great Variety of Accidents that may yet poſſibly happen in the Progreſs of a War; becauſe, in all Events, *France* with that may find an Iſſue with Honour, and Your Majeſty with Profit, as well as Applauſe.

For that wherein Your Majeſty wiſhes the Penſioner's Eyes were opened; I have often diſcourſed upon that Subject to him and others in the chief Direction here, ſince the Scene began to change to the Diſadvantage of *France*. But they all anſwer, Theſe Conſiderations will not be in Seaſon till *Spain* ſhall arrive at the Terms of the *Pyrenees*; beyond which, if any Step ſhould ever be made, they ſay, the Intereſts of this State will change, and not before. But there is yet another Byas in this Matter; and that is, The *Loveſtyn* Parties being ſo much bent upon the Meaſures with *France*, which turns thoſe of the Prince and the preſent Government here, ſo much more upon *Spain*. But theſe will leſſen by nothing ſo much as by Your Majeſty's Advances into cloſer Meaſures and Confidences with them, and, by that Means, taking off their Dependences from the other Crowns, and turning them wholly upon Yours. All which lies, as I ſuppoſe, in Your Majeſty to do, at what Time, and in what Degree ſoever You pleaſe; as You may judge by the laſt Account I gave of the Prince's and Penſioner's Diſcourſes upon this Subject.

I am to beg Your Majeſty's Pardon for this Length, which I have been engaged in, by the Deſire of giving what Lights I thought might be neceſſary now at Your Majeſty's Entrance upon this great Work of the Mediation: I am, and ſhall be all my Life,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, October 15. *S. N.* 1675.

SIR,

I Have the Honour of Yours of the 28th paſt, with his Majeſty's Commands upon the Two Points of the Marine Treaty, in purſuit of thoſe Gentlemens Opinion to whom the Conſideration of them was referred, which I likewiſe received in a Paper incloſed. To-morrow I ſhall have a Conference with the States Deputies upon them, and by the next ſhall be able to give You an Account of them, and doubt not at all, but his Majeſty will have Satisfaction in them, which way ſoever he pleaſes to turn them, ſo it may be reciprocal on both Sides.

Upon my Memorial to the States, renewing the Offices of his Majeſty's Mediation, and deſiring that Paſſports might be prepared, the States have reſolved it ſhall be done without Delay or Difficulty; and in the ſame Form with thoſe for the Congreſs at *Cologn*. They are content to give them with Blanks for the Names of Plenipotentiaries, and likewiſe, if his Majeſty pleaſes, with a Blank for the Name of the Place of Treaty; and either to deliver them here to me, or ſend them to Monſieur *Van Beuningben*, to be diſpoſed of by his Majeſty's Order. In all which Points if you pleaſe to ſignify his Majeſty's Pleaſure to me, I ſhall not fail of ſeeing it performed; and queſtion not but it will be abundantly in Time, conſidering from what Diſtances the other Parts of this Kind are to be performed, and how little Uſe can be made of all theſe Diligences till an Expedient be found out in the Buſineſs of Prince *William*.

I have, upon Return of the Emperor's Miniſter to this Place, performed likewiſe, by his Intervention, the ſame Offices, in his Majeſty's Name, to the Court at *Vienna*: Upon which he told me, That he queſtion'd not the Emperor's ready Compliance with his Majeſty in this Matter, provided that *France* would reciprocally furniſh the Paſſports neceſſary for the Imperial Miniſters, and thoſe of the Allies; but more particularly thoſe of the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon which there had been ſo great an Obſtruction given to the late Treaty at *Cologn*. I could anſwer nothing to this Point; whereupon he deſired me to inſinuate it with the firſt to his Majeſty, that ſo the Reſolution of *France* might be clearly known; adding, That he ſuppoſed there would be no Difficulty in this, or any other Matter which concerned the preſent Duke of *Lorrain*; ſince all the Pretences given by *France* to any Action againſt that Dutchy, had been raiſed from their perſonal Quarrels with the old Duke, and Jealouſies, or Exceptions, againſt his perſonal Qualities, which could not lie againſt the preſent Duke. From this he fell into the general Diſcourſe of the Mediation, and how powerful all his Majeſty's Offices would prove, in Caſe he preſerved the Authority of a Mediator; which conſiſted chiefly in the Opinion of his impartial Diſpoſitions to all Parties. That he did not queſtion this of his Majeſty, ſince he had charged himſelf with the Mediation; and that he ſuppoſed, it was ſome of his Miniſters, without his Knowledge, that had given Occaſion to the Reports which were ſpread in the *German* Princes Courts, of the Elector Palatine having begun a private Negotiation with *France*, by the Intervention of the Court of *England*; which had interrupted the Meaſures of Count *Montecuculi*, and drawn him back with his Forces towards thoſe Parts. I had nothing to reply upon this Subject, but that it was a Story I knew nothing of; and that the Account Monſieur *Spanbeim* gave me of his Journey into *England*, was very different from any ſuch Intentions of his Maſter: And ſo I turned the Diſcourſe to the Buſineſs of Prince *William*; wherein he ſaid, all the Orders he had received was to declare, That the Emperor was willing, at the opening of the Congreſs, to expoſe that whole Matter before the ſeveral Miniſters there concerned, and leave them to judge of the Reaſon he had for that Seizure and Detention.

By what I could gather from much Diſcourſe between us, upon a Point wherein neither of us had Order to ſay any Thing from our Maſters, I am apt to believe, If his Majeſty will propoſe an Expedient in it, as a Mediator, and with the Strength of his own Deſire upon it, that the Emperor will not eaſily refuſe it. And if his Majeſty ſhall reſolve to make this Trial, and tranſmit it hither, in a Letter to be conveyed to the Emperor; I ſhall, at the ſame Time, engage the Offices both of the Imperial Miniſter here, and Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, to make Way for it. This laſt was with me Yeſterday, and among many Diſcourſes upon the Subject of the Peace, fell upon the Difficulty there would ariſe about the Pope's Nuntio, who could not intervene at a Congreſs at *Nimeguen*, though his Maſter's Mediation had been accepted both by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and likewiſe by *France*: And thereupon asked me, Whether the Place of Congreſs might not yet be changed; which I have found of late both him and the Emperor's Miniſter much endeavouring. I told him, I believed though his Majeſty had named *Nimeguen*, yet he had no other Engagement to it beſides the Difficulty of any new Agreement among the Parties, who had already accepted this; and it was not eaſy to find any fitter in the Provinces of this State admitted by *France*: And all others ſeemed to be excluded by a Reſolution of *France* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, not to treat in either of their Dominions. That for the Difficulty of the Pope's Nuntio, it was firſt to be conſidered, That though his Maſter's Mediation had been accepted by the Emperor, and the two great Crowns, yet it could not be ſo by *Sweden*, *Denmark*, or this State. So as the Pope could not be eſteemed in this Negotiation as an univerſal Mediator, which was a Figure would belong to his Majeſty alone. And therefore it would not, perhaps, be of Neceſſity for his Miniſter to intervene at the Place of Congreſs, but only to reſide at ſome Place in the Neighbourhood, where he might have conſtant Communication with thoſe Princes Miniſters who had accepted his Maſter's Mediation; and might poſſibly make Uſe of it in Points that were purely between themſelves, without Concernment of the other Parties. That to this Purpoſe there was *Cleve*, within two Hours of *Nimeguen*, where the Exerciſe of that Religion was free, and performed in the great Church; or if not, there were other Convents at the ſame Diſtance, very fit for receiving a Nuntio. Don *Emanuel* ſeemed to find no great Exception againſt this Expedient; but ſaid, It would not be agreed upon, unleſs his Majeſty propoſed it to *France*, which he therefore deſired I would inſinuate in my next Letters.

The Penſioner told me in my laſt Conference, That the Expedient I mentioned in my laſt, to have been offered Monſieur *Van Beuningben*, concerning the Buſineſs of Prince *William* to be agreed in the firſt Article of the Treaty, was offered him by one of his Majeſty's Secretaries of State; which I could ſay nothing to: But I am very confident, if *France* will inſiſt no farther than that, there will be no Difficulty in this Congreſs. He told me at the ſame Time, That the Duke of *Nieuburg* had done his Majeſty and the Mediation a great Wrong in *Germany*, by endeavouring to form a Third Party among the Princes of the *Rhine*, and giving out that his Majeſty would be the Head of them. To which I only replied, It was a Thing I knew nothing of; but that I was very confident his Majeſty would upon no Occaſion quit the Figure of Mediator, having once undertaken it, and being ſo univerſally accepted.

I am ever,

Sir, Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, November 1. *S. N.* 1675.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

SINCE the Prince's Return, I have had two large Diſcourſes with his Highneſs, and ſhall give Your Majeſty only the Sum of what paſſed, not troubling You with the Length of many Circumſtances. The Prince received the Aſſurance Your Majeſty was pleaſed to give him in ſome Lines of Your own Hand, with very great Senſe of ſo much Kindneſs; which he ſaid, He had all the Reaſon that could be to believe from thoſe Expreſſions, and would ever deſerve them the beſt he was able.

Upon the Subject of the Peace, he was, at my firſt Audience, dryer and more careleſs, than I ever found him laſt Winter, or Spring. He ſaid, It was out of his Head at preſent: That we ſhould find the *Spaniards* much ſtiffer than Six Months ago: That *Montecuculi*'s Deſire of going to *Vienna* had hinder'd der'd his taking up Winter Quarters in *Alſatia*; and ſome Difference between himſelf and the *Spaniards*, had ſpoil'd the Effect of this Campaign, without which it might have gone far towards a reaſonable Peace. That he ſaw the only way of making the War in *Flanders*, would be with Two ſeparate Armies, which might be compaſs'd next Campaign. And that if the Forces of *Lunenburgh* and *Munſter* could clear *Bremen* of the *Swedes* this Winter, he believed *France* might have their Hands full next Spring.

All his Diſcourſes being of this kind, I thought not fit to purſue them far the firſt time: But Yeſterday, at a ſecond Audience, I reſolved to bring it to ſome Point; and deſired his Highneſs to tell me, Not what he thought of *Spain* or the Empire, but upon what Terms he himſelf would be content to ſee the Peace made, and to fall into a Concert with Your Majeſty for effecting it; which I knew You would expect ſome Knowledge of by this Poſt. He ſaid, at firſt, It was a hard Queſtion, and that he would think of it: But when I preſs'd him hard, he ſaid, at laſt, He found the *Spaniards* ſo difficult upon *Aire* and *St. Omers*, which he had firſt thought of upon an Exchange, that, for his part, he would be content with the quitting of *Burgundy*, if the *French* would give Two Towns more in *Flanders*, than thoſe Four Your Majeſty propoſed; that is, *Tournay* and *Doway*; becauſe, he believed, *France* would make more Difficulty of *Liſle*. And ſince Your Majeſty firſt made Your Scheme, the *Swedes* had loſt ſo much, that this, he thought, might very well be given in their Conſideration. After much Reply and Argument, all I could clear by this Diſcourſe, conſiſted in theſe Two Points: That the Prince does not think fit the Peace ſhould be ſtopp'd by Pretences of the Princes of the Empire, to retain their preſent Conqueſts upon *Sweden*; and that he will be content to yield the Point of *Burgundy*, if the Reſtitution of Places in *Flanders* may be enlarged as an Equivalent to it, and for the reſt, the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*: So that between Your Majeſty's Thoughts, and thoſe of his Highneſs, there will be the Difference only of a Town or two, more or leſs: By which Your Majeſty will be able to judge in what Compaſs this Matter will turn, when it comes to a Treaty.

I am ſenſible of having given Your Majeſty too many and too long Troubles of this kind, and will not therefore lengthen this beyond the Profeſſions of that conſtant and ſincere Devotion, wherewith I am, and ſhall ever be,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To Sir John *Temple.*

Hague, December 12. N. S. 1675.

SIR,

I Have ſeldom troubled You ſince my laſt Return out of *England*, leaving it to my Siſter to entertain You with any thing that is Domeſtick, and to the Paper that is uſually ſent You, to inform You of common Occurrences: And little of Negotiation having lately paſſed here, farther than the formal Progreſs of the King's Mediation, in propoſing, and, at length, fixing the Place of Treaty to be at *Nimeguen*, which You deſire to know the Reaſons of.

I propoſed this Town to the King, and his Majeſty to the Parties, not as a Matter of Choice, but almoſt of Neceſſity; for the Emperor would not ſend his Ambaſſadors to any in the *French* Territories or Conqueſts; and the *French* would not ſend theirs to any in the Juriſdiction of the Confederates; ſo that we fell at firſt here into the Thoughts of *Bazil* or *Hamburgh*, but many Inconveniences were found in both; and *France*, upon the Hopes of falling into particular Meaſures or Treaties with ſome of the Confederates, was content this laſt Year with any Difficulties that might keep off a general Congreſs, which was likely to unite their Intereſts rather than ſeparate them. And the Confederates, on the other ſide, upon the Confidence of their great Numbers and Forces, had a mind to ſee the Events of the Two laſt Campaigns, before they fell into any ſerious Thoughts of either Peace or Treaty: And ſo his Majeſty's Offers of Mediation have continued now a Year and a half without any Effect, farther, than being at length accepted by all the Parties.

The ill Succeſs of the *French* Arms in the unvaluable Loſs of Monſieur *Turenne*; the Defeat of Monſieur *Crequi*; the Taking of *Treves*, and the ill Condition of the *Swediſh* Affairs; but moſt of all, the ſtanch Reſolutions of the Confederates to avoid all ſeparate Treaties; have, I ſuppoſe, inclin'd *France* to ſet on foot the general one, by the Offer they made of ſending their Ambaſſadors to any Town in Four of the Provinces belonging to the States; which gave ſome Eaſe in that firſt Pace, of propoſing a Place for the Congreſs, which might be generally accepted.

Yet the Confederates were not without their Difficulties upon this Point. They ſuſpected the Intentions of the *French* in this Overture it ſelf, as a piece of Compliment and Cajolery to this State; whoſe Diſpoſitions towards the Peace they knew to be different from thoſe of all the other Confederates: They appprehended very real Effects upon the Iſſue of it, by the Practices that might be carry'd on in theſe Provinces by the *French* Ambaſſadors and their Inſtruments, in ſuch a Concourſe of Strangers as a general Treaty was like to draw into them. Upon this Ground the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* have violently oppoſed the accepting this Offer from *France*, and would have drawn the Treaty to *Frankfort*, *Colegn*, *Bazil*, or *Hamburgh*, rather than into any of theſe Provinces.

The Prince of *Orange* himſelf, and the Penſioner here, with others of the States, had ſo much of Jealouſie in the Matter, that they would rather have choſen the Treaty in another Country, and would by no means hear of either *Utrecht* or *Breda*, in regard of their Vicinity to the Heart of this Province, where the Pulſe beats higher towards a Peace, upon the Intereſts of Trade, than in any of the reſt. But all of them were ſenſible, that it would not be borne by the People here, to refuſe this Offer of *France*, and thereby reject the Treaty on this ſide, which ſeemed by it to have been ſo much advanced on the other.

From theſe Reaſons, we fell into the Thoughts of ſome Town in *Gelderland*, and the moſt remote from hence, as the eaſieſt to be accepted by the Confederate Miniſters; which fixed the Propoſition at length upon *Nimeguen*: Though, indeed, the very Situation of it, as a Center between *Spain* and *Sweden*, the Eaſtern Parts of the Empire and *England* (which are all to have Parts in the Treaty) made an Appearance of ſome Convenience, as well as Neceſſity in the Choice.

You will have known from *England* ſooner than from hence, That I am deſigned by the King for one of his Ambaſſadors in this Mediation: And I begin accordingly to turn my Thoughts and Affairs towards that Remove; which, as to the Air, being much drier than this, I do not diſlike. As to the Buſineſs, I expect an Encreaſe of Trouble and Expence, as well as Honour. I remove my whole Family, put off my Houſe here, and have fixed already upon one at *Nimeguen*: for which, with Stables and Out-houſes neceſſary to it, I am like to pay a Thouſand Pounds a Year; which is but a Part of thoſe Exactions like to be practiſed there upon this Occaſion, and which cannot be remedy'd by this State; where the Magiſtrates of each Town have a Juriſdiction uncontrolable by the States themſelves, either General, or Provincial, and are like themſelves at *Nimeguen*, to give us no Remedy in this Affair, which they are all concerned in.

What Proſpect there is of a Peace like to reſult from this Congreſs, upon what Terms, or what Time, is very difficult to tell You, the Delays of it muſt be ſuch as the Parties pleaſe, it being in the Power of either to raiſe them upon the formal or ſubſtantial Parts of the Negotiation. The Conditions to be firſt propoſed, will be diſtant enough, becauſe they are like to come from all the ſeveral Parties; tho' ſome of them would be glad his Majeſty, as Mediator, would draw the firſt Scheme, according to what he ſhall eſteem moſt juſt and agreeable to the common Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*: And they doubt not, but whatever Peace his Majeſty ſhould propoſe, he may do it in ſuch manner, as to make it eaſily accepted by all Parties, and take upon him to be the Arbiter as well as Mediator in this great Affair. But, for ought I ſee, our Councils are fixed to act no ſuch Part; ſo as the Mediation will not at all lead, but follow the Diſpoſitions of the Parties, as theſe, I ſuppoſe, will do the Events of the War, ſince no Suſpenſion of Arms is like to be agreed during the Treaty.

The preſent Diſpoſitions, I think, are theſe: *France* will pretend to all their Conqueſts, both of the laſt War and this; but would at preſent, be content, I believe, to part with a Town or two in *Flanders*, ſo as they may keep *Burgundy*; and will make no Difficulty to leave the Empire and this State as they were when the War began (after all this Expence of Blood and Treaſure). *Spain* ſeeing ſo many Confederates united in their Quarrel, and engaged to make no Peace without their Conſent, reckons upon no leſs than the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and would keep off this, till ſome Succeſſes of the Confederates Arms may make way for ſuch Conditions. The Emperor finding this War has almoſt united the Empire in the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and drawing Money from theſe States, as well as from *Spain*, is very unwilling to loſe the Conjuncture, and therefore would be glad to have the War go on; and ſo will not only inſiſt upon the Reſtitution of *Lorrain* and *Philipsburgh*, but Reparation of Damages to the Princes of the *Rhine*. Theſe States aſk nothing for themſelves, but the Reſtitution of *Maſtricht*, and of Commerce as it was before the War; but think it neceſſary, for their own Safety, that a good Frontier be left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, and ſo will endeavour to have five or ſix good Towns reſtored there, in Exchange for *Burgundy*, which they are leſs concerned in. But all the Allies agree in repoſſeſſing the Duke of *Lorrain*; which is a Matter that *France* is moſt reſerved in, as having no Pretence, either of Right or Conqueſt, there; and yet, juſtly eſteeming it a Matter of more Importance to them, than all the reſt; conſidering not only the Force and Riches of that Province, but the Situation of it, and the abſolute Engagements of the preſent Duke to the Intereſts and Perſon of the Emperor. If theſe Points could be agreed, nothing that concerns the new Quarrels in the *North*, would, I believe, hinder the Peace: But upon the preſent State of the War and the Mediation, I do not ſee any ſudden Iſſue very likely by a Treaty: And how the Events of another Campaign may raiſe the Hopes or Fears, and thereby change the Intereſts and Pretenſions of the ſeveral Parties, no Man can conjecture. In the mean Time, I would not leave this Place, nor end the Year, without giving You this general Scheme, by which You may the eaſier judge of the Motions You ſhall hear of in the Courſe of the Treaty of the War, ſince You are pleaſed to ſay, it will be a Satisfaction to You. I know it will be ſo, to hear we are all well at preſent here. My Wife intends to make a Step into *England* about the Time I ſhall go to *Nimeguen*, but to return to me there within a Month or two. My Son, I hope, entertains You often from *London*, as my Siſter does from hence, which allows me to trouble You leſs.

I am ever, Sir,

Your moſt Obedient Son,

and moſt Humble Servant.

To Mr. Sydney.

Hague, December 13. *S. N.* 1675.

THO' I did not like the Date of Your laſt Letter, yet I did all the reſt very well. I thought *Lyons* a little too far off for one I wiſh always in my Reach: But when I remembred, it was a Place of ſo great Trade, and where You told me Yours had been very good in former Times, I was contented, to think You ſpent Your Time to Your own Advantage and Satiſfaction, tho' not to Your Friends, by keeping at ſuch a Diſtance. I was very well pleaſed t'other Day with a Viſit made me by Captain *Freſheim*, who was much in Your Praiſes; but I did not like, that he ſhould make You kinder to him than to me: Yet I think he deſerves it of You, if all be true that he tells; for he pretends to think You, *le plus bel homme, & le plus honnête homme*, and I know not what more, that never came into my Head, as You know very well. However, I was mighty glad to hear him ſay, You had the beſt Health that could be, and that You looked as if You would keep it, if You did not grow too kind to the Place and Company You lived in, or They to You. Yet, after what You tell me of the *French* Air and *Bourbon* Waters, I am much apter to wiſh my ſelf there, than You in theſe Parts of the World; and though I hear News every Day from all ſides, yet I have not heard any ſo good, ſince I came upon this Scene, as what You ſend me, of the Effects I am like to feel by the Change whenever I come upon that where You are: They will be greater and better than any I can expect by being the buſie Man, tho' *je pourrois bien faire merveilles*, with the Company I am joined to, and no body knows to what Sir *Ellis* may raiſe another Ambaſſador, that has already raiſed one from the Dead. They begin to talk now of our going to *Nimeguen*, as if it were nearer than I thought it a Month ago: when we are there, it will be Time enough to tell You what I think of our coming away. Hitherto, I can only ſay, There are ſo many Splinters in the broken Bone, that the Patient muſt be very good, as well as the Surgeon, if it be a ſudden Cure. And though I believe both where You and I are, the Diſpoſitions towards it are very well, yet I doubt of thoſe who are farther off on both ſides of us. For ought any Body knows, this great Dance may end as others uſe to do, every Man coming to the Place where they begun, or near it: Only, againſt all Reaſon and Cuſtom, I doubt the poor *Swede*, that never led the Dance, is likelieſt to pay the Fidlers. I hope You know what paſſes at home; at leaſt, 'tis pity You ſhould not: But if You don't, You ſhall not for me at this Diſtance; and ſince You talk of returning, the Matter is not great. In the mean Time, pray let me know Your Motions and Your Health, ſince the Want of Your Cypher keeps me from other Things You ſay You have a mind to tell me. I hear nothing of the Letter You mention to have ſent me by ſo good a Hand; ſo that all I can ſay to that is, That by whatſoever it comes, any will be welcome that comes from Yours; becauſe no body loves You better than I, nor can be more than I am,

Yours, &c.

To

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, January 7. S. N. 1676.

SIR,

I Spared You the Trouble of a Diſpatch by the laſt Poſt, which was made needleſs by one I received from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, with the Account of his Arrival here. You will have by this Ordinary another from him, with the Particulars of his Reception and Diſcourſes with the Prince; as likewiſe one from us both, with the Account of our Reſolutions how to diſpoſe of our ſelves, in order to our beſt Compliance with thoſe Ends for our preſent Embaſſy, which we conceive his Majeſty has propoſed to Himſelf, and ſignified to us by our Inſtructions. I ſhall refer You more particularly to thoſe Diſpatches, and tie up this to what is neceſſary in Anſwer to Yours of the 21ſt paſt, which laſt Pacquet brought to my Hands.

I have not yet been able to bring the States to any Reſolution concerning the ſending away Paſſports for *Sweden* before the Arrival of theirs here; the Conferences they have deſired upon that Subject, having been hitherto excuſed by the Emperor's Miniſter here, upon other Pretences. But the Prince told me Yeſterday, That the true Reaſon was, That neither that Miniſter, nor any others of the Confederates here, were willing to do any thing in it, without Monſieur *de Lyra*, who is not yet returned from *Bruſſels*, though he has been for ſeveral Days expected. He has written to the Prince, That he had the *Spaniſh* Paſſports for the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and would put them into my Hands upon his Arrival here, which made me very glad to be, by Advance, poſſeſſed of thoſe from *France* for the *Spaniſh.* And immediately upon Receipt of thoſe from Monſieur *de Lyra* (which, I hope, may be to Day or to Morrow, the Wind being now fair from *Antwerp*) I,will ſend both thoſe and the *Dutch* by a Trumpet to the Governor of *Charleroy*, according to Your Orders.

I ſend You one incloſed, from the States to the Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, ſince, as You obſerve, there is none expected from him, either to them, or any of their Allies. I hope You endeavour the procuring Paſſes from *France*, to be likewiſe diſpatched for the Miniſters of the ſeveral Allies mentioned in the States Reſolution; and find, it will be expected, That among them ſhould be Three for the States Ambaſſadors, though the Congreſs be in their own Country; ſince, as Monſieur *Beverning* ſays, They may have Occaſion of moving ſometimes themſelves, and often of diſpatching Couriers, either into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, or into *Germany*, where they go in Danger of the *French.* For theſe Reaſons, I ſuppoſe, it will likewiſe be neceſſary to procure Paſſports for his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors there. All which, I hope, will be tranſmitted by the *French* Plenipotentiaries, if they are ſo forward on their Way as we hear.

Yeſterday I ſhewed the Prince and the *Lorrain* Envoy the *French* Paſſports I received for the Miniſter of that Duke. Upon which Subject, beſides the Diſcourſes that paſs'd Yeſterday, of which You will receive an Account in a Journal from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, I received this Day the incloſed Letter from Monſieur *Serinchamps*, and I doubt the Matter will find Difficulty on the Confederate ſide, if it prove to have been a Thing reſolved on by the *French*, and not done by Chance. I mean, the Stile given the Duke of *Lorrain.* As to the other Omiſſions of the ſaid Paſſports, I think there will be likewiſe a Neceſſity of amending them; ſince I find them not only in the *Lorrain*, but in the *Spaniſh* Paſſports likewiſe; though having not ſhew'd them yet to any *Spaniſh* Miniſter, I ſhall leave him to make his own Exceptions: But I tell You of them before-hand, becauſe they are ſo obvious, that no Man can fail of them; and by knowing them early, You may poſſibly ſave Time, by preparing the *French* Court to amend them. They are theſe Two: Firſt, That they reach only to the Perſons of the Plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of their Train, without comprehending their Baggage, Horſes, Papers, or any ſuch Words: Whereas You know very well what happened lately to the Cardinal of *Baden*, by ſuch a Paſſport. And, in the next Place, There is no Power given of diſpatching Couriers from the ſaid Ambaſſadors with their Paſſports, without which no Negotiations can be carry'd on. Upon the Amendment You deſired in both theſe Points to the Paſſes of the States, though the Defects were but one Word too much, and another too little, I not only procured them, but likewiſe deſired that the ſame Form might be uſed by all the Confederates, which I was aſſured of; and to that End, Copies have been ſent them: And there is no Queſtion but they will inſiſt to have them granted as full from *France*, as they have yielded themſelves. That You may obſerve the Diſtance, I incloſe a Copy of one of the *French* Paſſports, which You may pleaſe to compare with that of the States to the Biſhop of *Straſburgh*, which runs in the ſame Form with all the reſt.

As to the Neutral Country, his Majeſty apprehends the ſame Difficulties that I did in obtaining it from *France*, ſo far as he has propoſed it here. I confeſs, I thought when You gave me Order to make Inſtances for it to the States, ſo as to comprehend *Meurs*, You had taken Your Meaſures by Monſieur *Ruvigni*, and found by him that his Maſter would be content to make the Prince of *Orange* ſuch a Compliment, as reached no further than a little Contribution. The Matter had not been great, if it had not been propoſed here from his Majeſty; but ſince it has, I hope they will not refuſe it in *France*, ſince it is of ſome Conſequence as to the Force of his Mediation, when he is firſt refuſed by any of the Parties, in what he thinks fit to propoſe, which he has been yet by none. In Caſe, however, this ſhould not ſucceed to the Prince of *Orange*'s Satiſfaction, I think the leaſt Bounds his Majeſty can preſcribe for the Neutral Country that Way, will be the *Foſſa Mariana*, which runs from River to River; and the rather, becauſe the Incluſion of *Cleve* and the Villages near it, will not be only neceſſary for the Convenience of the Congreſs, but for the Reſidence of ſuch Perſons as are expected to come from *Rome*: And beſides, there will be no Certainty in any other Bounds that can be given by the Denominations of Towns. And without ſome ſuch Line as the Channel I mention, both Parties will be out upon Prey, and truſt to diſputing after, whether the Place where they made it was in the Neutral Country or no.

I hear Don *Emanuel de Lyra* is like to be, at laſt, one of the Plenipotentiaries, and come in as ſubſtituted by the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, who ſhall be named firſt in the Commiſſion. I think it will be neceſſary the *Spaniards* ſhould be minded to avoid a Difficulty which may ariſe, in caſe he receive not a Commiſſion like the others, from the King of *Spain*, but only from the Governor of *Flanders*; in which Caſe he will not be treated as an Ambaſſador, whatever he may pretend: As, I remember, Monſieur *de Bergeyck* did, in the very ſame Caſe, at *Aix la Chapelle*. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, January 7, S. N. 1676.

SIR,

HAving conſidered together, as well as we could, his Majeſty's Inſtructions and his Intentions in this Embaſſy; and hearing that the *French* Plenipotentiaries are already on their Way, and will be at *Maſtricht* on the 10th of this Month: And finding that the Plenipotentiaries of this State are here upon the Place, watching our Motion, their Baggage being already laden in a By-lander in this Canal; we have concluded together, That there is no other Way of complying with the Scope and Deſign which his Majeſty ſeems to have propoſed to himſelf in this Affair, but by applying our ſelves ſeparately, at preſent, to the two ſeveral Points, which ſeem to us to be intended by them. And therefore, that all Parties concerned in the War may take Notice of his Majeſty's great Diligence, in ſending his Ambaſſadors to the Place of Congreſs, and of ſome of them being actually arrived there, whereby the ſeveral Parties may be invited to the ſpeedier Diſpatch of theirs: And likewiſe that an Ambaſſador may not be wanting upon the Place, to receive and compliment the firſt Miniſters that arrive there, from any of the Parties: We have jointly reſolved, That I Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* ſhall ſet out towards *Nimeguen* to Morrow, for the Accompliſhment of the aboveſaid Ends. And whereas by an Article in our Inſtructions, we are commanded before we leave the *Hague*, to ſee the Buſineſs of the Paſſports, and the Declaration of the Neuter Country, put into ſuch a Way of Diſpatch, as that the Buſineſs of the Aſſembly may not be retarded, by any Thing wanting on the Part of the States and their Allies. Whereas an Obſtruction, by Reaſon of the Abſence of Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, hath been lately made in the Reſolutions of the States, and their Confederates, concerning both theſe Points: And that a new Incident (and, as we fear, of ſome Conſequence) hath Yeſterday diſcovered it ſelf in the Buſineſs of the Paſſports, by the Obſervation firſt of the Prince of *Orange*, and more ſharply of the *Lorrain* Envoy, upon the Defects of the *French* Paſſports to that Prince. We have likewiſe jointly reſolved, That I Sir *William Temple*, ſhall ſtay ſome Days longer at the *Hague*, to purſue and ſolicite theſe two Affairs, of the Paſſports, and the Neuter Country, to a full and ſpeedy Iſſue. We have likewiſe jointly reſolved, in Order to make our publick Letters of leſs Trouble to his Majeſty by their Length, to tranſmit from Time to Time, by Way of Journal (ſuch as for an Eſſay goes here incloſed) all the Paſſages and Matters of Fact that occur to us, as relating, in any wiſe, to this Negotiation of the Peace. We are,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful,

Humble Servants,

W. Temple, L. Jenkins.

To the Biſhop of Wincheſter.

Hague, January 8. S. N. 1676.

My Lord,

I Have the Honour of a Letter from Your Lordſhip, by Mr. *Morley*, and ſhall be extreme glad to deſerve it, by the good Fortune of ſerving him in the Way You deſire, and he propoſes to himſelf. By what Your Lordſhip writes, his Pretenſions are ſo ſmall, that he might juſtly have claimed them, without the Advantage of belonging to Your Lordſhip, or of a Recommendation that will always have ſo much Power with me, in much greater Matters. The Circumſtance of being ſo particularly under the Eye of my Lord Ambaſſador *Jenkins*, will, I doubt not, keep him ſafe from any of thoſe Dangers abroad, in Point of his Morals, which You ſay he eſcaped at home, and from which no Place is free. But as far as my Obſervation of him may be neceſſary, he ſhall not fail of it, with the Concernment and Care that are due from me to your Lordſhip's Commands; in which I ſhall not yield to any of my Colleagues, how great ſoever their Pretenſions may be to Your Lordſhip's Friendſhip, or their Emulation upon any ſuch Occaſion of Your Service. I was extreme glad to receive the Knowledge of Your Lordſhip's good Health, and with it a Teſtimony of Your Favour and Remembrance, which I can pretend no otherways to deſerve, than by the Reſolutious I have ſo long taken, and conſtantly obſerved, of being always, with great Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful,

and moſt Humble Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, January 14. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

BY the laſt Pacquet I received together, both Yours of the 24th and 28th, with his Majeſty's Reſolution, that we ſhall expect the firſt Viſit be made us as Mediators, by all the Miniſters of what Character ſoever, arriving even after us, at the Place of Congreſs. And with this Order I received the Ground of it, which was the Inſtruction given upon this Point to his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors at *Cologn*, and their Practice in Purſuit thereof. His Majeſty's Commands ſhall in this, as all other Matters be obeyed: But I had not heard any Thing of this from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, before he parted hence; though we had often diſcourſed upon the Conception we both had, of uſing the contrary Form to all Ambaſſadors that arrived after us. And upon Diſcourſe with the Prince, ſince I received this Inſtruction, he ſaid, The Precedent of what was done at *Cologn*, ought certainly to guide us; but that he thought it had paſſed otherwiſe with their Ambaſſadors. This Evening Monſieur *Beverning*, and Monſieur *Haren*, came to me, to let me know, That having acquainted the States with their being both ready to begin their Journey, upon the firſt Commands, they had received Orders to attend me, and entirely follow what I ſhould adviſe them in that Point; and in all Matters of Ceremony, when they came upon the Place, to conform themſelves wholly to what we expected from them. And they were farther ordered to acquaint me, That after our Arrival there, the States would look upon the Town of *Nimeguen* as a Neutral Place, where all Matters ſhould be carried by the Burgomaſter's Command there, according to the Orders they ſhould receive from the Mediators, both as to their own Receptions, or that of any other Ambaſſadors.

I anſwered to the ſeveral Points, after Acknowledgment of the States Civility in their Reſolutions; Firſt, Since an Ambaſſador of his Majeſty was already upon his Way thither, I thought it would be beſt for them to begin their Journey likewiſe, as ſoon as they could, both in Reſpect to his Majeſty, and likewiſe to give the more and earlier Appearance to the World, of the Congreſs beginning to be formed: And hereupon they aſſured me, they would part in two or three Days.

To the Second, I told them, That his Majeſty expected the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, though arriving laſt upon the Place, ſhould give the firſt Viſit to us as Mediators; ſince the ſame was done to the *Swedes* at *Cologn*, by his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors. To this they anſwered, There would be no Difficulty on their Parts, but they doubted there might be ſome from the other Ambaſſadors; ſince they had taken it for granted at *Cologn*, that the Mediators had ſtill viſited thoſe who arrived after them: And whatever might have been done there by his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors, they were ſure the contrary had been done to them (the States Ambaſſadors) who had leſs Reaſon to expect it: And that arriving laſt both at *Aix*, and after at *Cologn*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors made them the firſt Viſit in both Places, after Notice ſent of their Arrival. And they deſired me to give You this Information, not in Regard of any Concernment they could have in it, who were reſolved to give us the firſt Viſit, tho' they ſhould laſt arrive; but to the End You ſhould conſider, what Meaſures would beſt prevent Conteſts, or Difficulties of Meetings, in caſe any other of the Ambaſſadors ſhould refuſe it; ſince there may be Difference between what is voluntarily given by each Party, and what is challenged by the Mediators, and inſiſted upon in caſe any of the Parties diſpute it. I told them, I ſhould let You know what they ſaid upon this Point; but muſt follow my Orders, in caſe we received no new ones therein.

To the Third, Of the Magiſtrates and Officers being to receive our Orders as to Matters of Receptions, I told them, His Majeſty had commanded us to admit of none, but to enter the Town with our Trains, and nothing more; and in all Points, to introduce, as far as we were able, the Form of living like private Perſons among all the ſeveral Miniſters, during the whole Courſe of the Aſſembly. But ſince we refuſed any publick Honour or Reception, we did not think it reaſonable any other ſhould have it. They replied, All the Difficulties would be, in caſe the others deſired it, which we did not; and that might poſſibly happen from the Emperor's Ambaſſadors: And Monſieur *Beverning* ſaid particularly, He did expect it from Monſieur *Colbert*, by what he had done of that kind at *Aix la Chapelle* in the Treaty of 1668. But if any of them ſhould demand it at *Nimeguen*, they would anſwer, That Addreſs muſt be made to the Mediators in it, whoſe Orders were wholly to be obey'd. I anſwer'd, Whenever that was done, we would acquit our ſelves the beſt we could, and the neareſt to what we conceive was his Majeſty's Intention.

Upon the News of the *French* Plenipotentiaries being upon the Way, and ſtaying at *Charleville* for their Paſſports from *Flanders* and this State, tho' Don *Emanuel de Lyra* was not arrived with thoſe from *Bruſſels*, which, I hear, he is poſſeſs'd of, with Orders to put them into my Hands; yet I had a mind to ſend away thoſe of the States: But knowing it would be of no uſe, unleſs it were done with the States Conſents, on *Sunday* laſt, meeting the Penſioner with the Prince, I asked his Highneſs, Whether he were content I ſhould ſend them away? and the Penſioner, Whether he thought the States would likewiſe conſent? Both of them told me, As to their Opinions, they were, That the States Paſſports ſhould not be ſent, till I had received the *French* Paſſports for their Ambaſſadors, and for the Miniſters of all their Allies mentioned in that Reſolution given me upon this Subject (and which I tranſmitted to You), and this in the ſame Form, or as full as thoſe they had agreed upon according to our Amendments. They ſaid further, That their Paſſports could be of no uſe, till thoſe of *Spain* were likewiſe ſent (through whoſe Countries they firſt muſt paſs); and, they were ſure, thoſe would not be delivered by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, without receiving thoſe from *France* at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Form. But after all our Diſcourſe, they both ſaid, They could tell me but their own Opinions, and that the State muſt be conſulted upon it.

Yeſterday the Prince dining with me, told me, The States had been of the ſame Mind; and that I ſhould receive their Reſolution upon it before this Pacquet went: but it is not yet come, tho' I am now within Half an Hour of its uſual Time of cloſing, having been unexpectedly detained by a long Viſit from the Two *Dutch* Ambaſſadors; which makes me beg of You, to let one of Your Clerks return me a Copy of this Letter.

I have not heard one Word from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, ſince he parted from hence on *Thurſday* Night; and doubt very much the Delays of the Paſſage he would needs chuſe by Water in a Yacht of the States, to avoid the ill Way between *Utrecht* and *Aearnhem* by the Breaches of Digues; the Winds having changed the very Day after he parted, and continued ſo contrary ever ſince, that I cannot imagine how he will get up the River. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, January 17. *S. N.* 1676.

My Lord,

I Receiv'd the Honour of a Letter from Your Lordſhip the beginning of this Week by Mr. *Widdrington*, who ſhall not fail of any Services I can do him here, as I have already aſſured him, and deſired him to let me know all Occaſions wherein he thinks he can make uſe of me. I had the Opportunity of bringing him to his Highneſs, who dined that Day with me; and to give him the better Entrance, I ſhewed the Prince Your Lordſhip's Letter. He read it, and ſmiled at the latter part of it; but when he had done, he came to me, and deſired me to remember his Service to You, and aſſure You, how much he valued Your Recommendation; and that Mr. *Widdrington* ſhould find it by all the Encouragement he could give him. After a little Stop, he ſaid; And for the latter part of his Letter, pray tell him, They are very much miſtaken; and then pauſing a little, as if he were concerned at it; he ſaid, God! I never ſaid any thing to *Sylvius*, that I was not content my Coachman ſhould know. I laughed, and asked him, And would You have me tell my Lord Treaſurer ſo too? He turned about, and ſaid reſolutely, Yes, do. I enter'd no farther into this Matter, nor ſhould have ſaid this, but that the Prince bid me; and ſeemed concerned, that what Your Lordſhip writ upon that Subject ſhould be believed there. The Uſe I made of it was a little more important; which was, To go ſince to the Prince, and tell him, That being now upon my Journey to *Nimeguen*, and having been here a Year and a half, his Majeſty would have Reaſon to think he had been very ill ſerved, if in all this Time, I were not able to give him a right and full Account of his Highneſs's Intentions in what his Majeſty concerned himſelf; but that the King ſhould be ſtill in pain to know them, and caſting about by what Hand to find them out. The Prince ſaid, He could not ſay more to me, than he had ſaid to me already, and written to the King upon all Occaſions; and, That he could not tell what more we would know of him, nor why Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* was ſent over, when the Compliment might either have been ſpared, or made by Mr. *Skelton* as he paſſed by. However, I endeavoured to draw what new Light I could from his Highneſs; and comparing all he had ſaid, with all that I had gathered from the Current of his former Diſcourſes to me, upon any Points wherein I thought his Majeſty was concerned to know the Bottom of all he means, I thought fit to ſet it down in Writing; and that I might know whether I had in every thing rightly apprehended him or no, I ſhewed it him, and ſend Your Lordſhip the Paper incloſed, and what his Highneſs ſaid to me upon reading of it.

I deſire Your Lordſhip will pleaſe to ſhew it to his Majeſty, with this Account of the Occaſion of it, which was given me by Your Lordſhip: And, for my own part, I believe, This is what his Majeſty muſt truſt to, as to the Prince's Pretenſions, and that no Talk or Reaſoning will alter them, nor any thing elſe beſide ſome new and great Accidents or Changes in the Affairs of the Parties now in War.

However, this need not diſcourage his Majeſty from endeavouring to know more from his Highneſs by any other Hand; though he ſaid lately to me, upon ſome of theſe Diſcourſes, That whenever he could ſay any thing wherewith he thought his Majeſty would be more pleaſed, he would be ſure to do it by me. For the Truth of all this, if his Majeſty deſires to be further ſatisfy'd in it, I am very well content he ſhould ſend this Letter and the incloſed Paper to the Prince, which will be the infallible way of knowing it, and without engaging me further in the ill Will or Expoſtulation of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, or his Patrons; though their Meaning to me, in the Way they deſigned his coming over hither, and endeavoured it for Three Months together, has been but too well diſcovered to me, as it has been, I am ſure, very little deſerved. He is not yet come, tho' I have expected him every Day this Fortnight paſt; and reſolve upon his Arrival to carry my ſelf to him in all Points as becomes me, to a Perſon ſent by his Majeſty hither, and give him any Aſſiſtances he deſires me.

There is a Point of Inſtruction I received laſt Poſt from Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, which I would likewiſe be glad his Majeſty would pleaſe once more to reflect upon, as a Thing that may poſſibly bring an ill Incident upon the Courſe of the Treaty. It is, That his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors ſhould expect the firſt Viſit from all others, even that arrive after them at the Place of Congreſs: And this is grounded upon an Inſtruction to thoſe at *Cologn*, to give it, in the ſame Caſe, to the *Swedes*, as then Mediators, and upon their having actually done ſo. Now the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors on the contrary, arriving after the *Swedes* at *Cologn*, receiv'd, without any Difficulty, the firſt Viſit from them, and thought all others had done ſo too: And it appears by our Ambaſſadors Journal, That tho' they did it, yet the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors intended it firſt to them, and had accordingly ſent a Gentleman to aſk an Hour of them. Now there is a great deal of Difference between what is voluntarily given, and what is of Due demanded. And though the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors are reſolved to do it, yet if thoſe of the Emperor, or the other greater Crowns, ſhould make a Difficulty, as I foreſee they may, the Congreſs might be *accroché de Ceremonies* between the Parties and Mediators, whoſe Buſineſs it is to prevent or compoſe them between the Parties themſelves. Beſides, this State has reſolved to look upon *Nimeguen*, not only as a Neutral Town during the Treaty, but, in a manner, put it into the Hands of the Mediators, by ordering both the Commander and Magiſtrates to take Orders from them upon all Emergencies: So that it ſeems to belong to them, not only as Mediators, but as Perſons at Home, to do the Honour of the Congreſs to thoſe that arrive after them.

It will be a troubleſome Thing, I doubt, to his Majeſty, to give very particular Inſtructions upon every Point of Ceremony that may ariſe: and therefore, when he reſolves upon this, I know not whether the eaſieſt will not be, to ſend us one general Inſtruction, commanding us to avoid all, as far as we can, both between the Mediators and Parties, and between the Parties themſelves; and when that cannot be, to leave it to us upon the Place, to act in point of Ceremony by Conſent, as we judge beſt for his Majeſty's Honour, his Ends in the Mediation, and the Practice of other Princes, but particularly that of the Treaty at *Cologn*; of which Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* is ſo well informed.

I humbly beg Your Lordſhip's Pardon for ſo long a Trouble, which I ſhould not have given You, had not I thought it neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service: And You will forgive me the eaſier, becauſe I am ſo much what I ſhall ever be,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful, &c.

The Paper Incloſed.

Hague, January 17. *S. N.* 1676.

AS far as I can any way diſcover of his Highneſs's Intentions, they are theſe,

Firſt, As to his Majeſty, to live always not only with the Duty and Reſpect that becomes him, but with all the Kindneſs, and neareſt Conjunction of Intereſts that can be, while his Majeſty pleaſes to continue the Deſires of it; and that Affection which he has profeſs'd to him by ſo many Letters, and ſo many ſeveral Hands, and now lately by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*.

As to the Peace; the Prince ſays to me upon all Occaſions, That he, for his own Part, would be very glad to make it upon any Terms his Majeſty ſhould think fit; if his Majeſty can prevail with *Spain* to conſent to it, which his Highneſs doubts, he himſelf ſhall not be able to do; and he finds this State ſo far obliged to that Crown, both by their Treaties, and for their Aſſiſtance in their late Extremities; that he does not ſee how they can break from them, or if they ſhould, who would afterwards truſt them.

That the greateſt Teſtimony his Majeſty can give his Highneſs of his real Kindneſs and Good-will to him, would be to bring him out of this War with ſome Safety to his Honour, and to his Country: And thereby to ſhew the World, that as none of his Majeſty's Allies were nearer to him in Blood, nor truer to him in Affection; ſo he conſidered none of their Intereſts more than his, in this preſent Quarrel.

That the beſt Way to this, that his Highneſs can think of, in reſpect of the Honour of *France*, and his Majeſty's particular Advantage, as well as the Certainty of a ſudden Peace, was that which had ſome Time ſince been mentioned to his Majeſty, of effecting a Match between the King of *Spain* and *Madamoiſelle*, with the Conqueſts ſince 1666 for her Dowry; and in this Caſe, his Highneſs would undertake for ſuch a Preſent, as the Penſioner then ſpoke to his Majeſty, and doubted not to perſuade *Spain* to do as much. But if this could not be, then he ſaw no Way left, but for his Majeſty to diſpoſe *France* to reſtore thoſe Towns in *Flanders*, which were neceſſary to leave the *Spaniſh Netherlands* in a Condition of Defence: Upon which his Highneſs and this State would uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to incline *Spain* to a Peace. And his Highneſs ſays, upon all Occaſions, that he is ſure, his Majeſty may do either of theſe, whenever he pleaſes, and without any Difficulty at all; and, he believes, without going againſt any Intereſts of his own, or his Kingdom's.

That if neither of theſe can be compaſs'd, and *France* reſolve to have no Peace, but upon the Foot of Affairs as they ſtand at preſent; and his Majeſty will only conſider their Poſſeſſion, and not the Juſtice of it, or Intereſt of *Chriſtendom*, in it; His Highneſs ſays very plainly, that though he wiſhes his Majeſty all the Glory that can be, by the preſent Mediation; and this State will contribute all they can towards it: Yet for his own part, he ſees no Remedy but that they muſt try the Fortune of another Campaign; in which he hopes ſo to behave himſelf, as that his Majeſty ſhall not be aſhamed of him; nor at all leſſen the Kindneſs or good Opinion, he has hitherto expreſſed for him.

Having read this Paper to his Highneſs, and asked, whether I had apprehended him right; He ſaid, So right, that if you had been within him, you could not have done it better: And if I were the beſt *Catholick* in the World, and you were my Confeſſor, I could ſay no more to you.

I asked, But can you ſay no more to any other Man? His Highneſs anſwered, I would not ſay ſo much to any other, but can ſay more to no Man.

To Sir Edward Dearing.

Hague, February 18. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge two of Yours, one of the 25th paſt, the other without Date, from Your ſelf and the Company of Merchant-Adventurers. As to the laſt, I find by a Clauſe of it, or, at leaſt, I conjecture, that my Letter to Sir *Richard Ford* upon that Subject, had been communicated to You; in which Caſe I can find little to add upon that Matter, unleſs it be the Aſſurance of my continuing my good Wiſhes and Endeavours to the Service of the Company, as far as I can any Way make Uſe of his Majeſty's Character or Commands, or they can make Uſe of me, or my ſmall Credit here, upon this Occaſion. I follow the Method in it, which is judged by the Gentlemen of the Company at *Dort*, moſt advantageous to the Ends they propoſe to themſelves: So that if they want my Aſſiſtance, where it can be of any Uſe to them, it is their own Faults. The States of *Holland* have not, that I hear of yet, given their Opinion, or Anſwer, upon the laſt Papers offered by the Secretary of the Company; and have promiſed that nothing ſhall be concluded, till I have firſt had a Conference with the States General upon it, which will be the Time for me to fall in with any Weight upon this Matter. There is, I confeſs, a Circumſtance in the Conſtitution of this Government, very unlucky to the retrieving of an Affair that is once paſt, as very favourable towards preventing it before it be done; which is, The neceſſary Conſent of ſo many Members in each Province, as well as in the State. I made Uſe of this Circumſtance to fence againſt this Reſolution of the States, for Three Years together, during my laſt Ambaſſage; and ſhould not have queſtioned the ſame Succeſs, if it had been kept off till my Return. But it was done in the little Interval Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* was here, before my laſt Arrival: And what I ſhall be able to do towards the Recovery of it, I cannot promiſe; but ſhall be very glad to give You Effects inſtead of Aſſurances.

What I have ſaid here, anſwers likewiſe the firſt Part of Your own Letter. For the reſt of it, I am extreamly obliged by Your Kindneſs, in giving me Part of any Thing that touches Your own Particular; believing it to proceed from Your Juſtice in eſteeming me (what I am very much) concerned in all that does ſo. I am very glad of Your coming into the Commiſſion of the Cuſtoms, becauſe, I remember it was a Thing You wiſh'd; otherwiſe I ſhould rather have deſired to ſee You called to his Majeſty's Service, in another Sort of Sphere, and in which his Choice is not ſo large, as, I ſuppoſe, it may be in this. In ſuch a Caſe I ſhould be glad to have ſerved You; in this I neither pretend to it, nor am very ambitious of the Merit, which I eſteem ſo ill proportion'd to Yours. And therefore I ought, in true old *Engliſh* Phraſe, to give You Thanks for Your Thanks, as what is wholly of Your Grace, and does not all belong to me.

I had a Letter from You ſome Time ſince, upon Your coming to be Governor of the Company, and directed my Anſwer to be left at Sir *Robert Southwell*'s: I wrote to him ſince about a Buſineſs of his own, or, at leaſt, that he had much concerned himſelf in, but have not heard that either of them were received, which I ſhould be glad to know by a Line from him when he is at Leiſure. My Wife and Siſter are Your Humble Servants, and ſo am I, with very much Affection and Truth.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, *January* 21. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge at the ſame Time two of Your's, by Mr. *Skelton*, of which one to my ſelf, and the other to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* and me, with Duplicates of Mr. *Skelton*'s Diſpatches; and a third by the laſt Packet of the 4th current. Upon the two firſt, I ſhall refer my ſelf to Mr. *Skelton*'s Diſpatches, which he ſaid he would make this Night, with an Account of all that paſſed in his Audience from the Prince, and Conference with the Penſioner; as likewiſe what ſhall paſs this Evening, at a Conference we are to have with the States. I am ſorry to find he is not like to carry with him to *Vienna* the joint Offices of the States; but hope his Majeſty's will be of Force enough not to need them. You know very well what Accounts I have ſtill given You, of the States Obſtinacy upon this Subject, not to meddle in it, one Way or other, upon the Score of Prince *William*'s Carriage particularly to this State, which the Penſioner to Day aggravated by many Circumſtances; and repeated it ſeveral Times, that they could not be Advocates for him, without falling into *le mepris de tout le monde*. Both the Prince and the Penſioner ſeemed amaz'd, at Mr. *Skelton*'s ſaying, that he believed his Majeſty has been engaged in this Deſire to the States, by Monſieur *Van Beuningben*'s Aſſurance of their Compliance with it; and the Prince ſays, It has been without any Orders; but the Penſioner affirms, It has been abſolutely againſt his Orders, if he has done it. And, I fear, You will have Reaſon to judge from this Pace of his, and his violent preſſing Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*'s haſty Diſpatch, that You may very often take wrong Meaſures from him there, if they agree not with what You receive from hence; and that his natural Diſpoſitions enter much into the Motions he makes. Of all which I gave You Advice, when I was in *England*, at large; as well as of the true Reaſons that will hinder his Maſters from taking ſo far Notice of all theſe Paſſages, as to think of recalling him. I have ſince written ſomething of it likewiſe to Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, upon Occaſions he gave me, by ſome Letters of his, to think this Matter was not well enough underſtood, or taken Notice of there.

I have little to ſay in Anſwer to Your's upon the Buſineſs of Paſſports, the great Default being yet in Your Hands, to ſupply by new ones from *France*, in Form, and for all the Allies. You will find, by the incloſed Memorial of Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, that the Paſſports from *Spain* are arrived for *France* and *Sweden*; and they will not fail for the Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, I ſuppoſe, ſince this Morning the Emperor's Miniſter ſends me Word, that his Maſter has accorded them for him, as well as for the other Two, and that he expects them next Week. The States alſo let me know, That they have Aſſurance of thoſe from *Lunenburgh*, as well as *Brandenburgh*, by the firſt. But for *Denmark*, they do not ſpeak with ſo much Confidence; their Miniſters here have been peremptory, not to have any ſent into *Sweden*, till thoſe from that Crown are firſt in my Hands; but for themſelves, they have ſpoken ſo ambiguouſly of theirs, that the States have reſolved to ſend an Expreſs to *Copenhagen*, to procure the Expedition of them; and to let them know, That if they are not diſpatch'd hither within a certain Time, they (the States) will ſend theirs away for *Sweden*.

I have not yet ſeen Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, ſince his Return from *Bruſſels*, and ſo cannot give You an Account of the Certainty of what is here reported concerning Don *Juan*'s being in the Head of Affairs in *Spain*. From *France* I have never had more than one ſhort Letter upon Lord *Berkley*'s Arrival, tho' I have writ ſeveral Times; ſo that whether it arrives by Miſcarriages of Letters (to which mine between *Paris* and this Place have been very much ſubject, ſince my Arrival here) or from my Lord *Berkley*'s little Health, or great Affairs; I find I muſt depend upon no Advices from *France*, nor Motions in Order to the Congreſs, but what muſt be handed by You to me here: Which I thought was neceſſary for You to know.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your moſt Faithful,

Humble Servant.

P. S. Monſieur *Beverning*, before he went out of Town, ſent me the incloſed Copy of his Journal at *Cologn*, concerning the Viſits of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors to them: Not that they are concerned, who reſolve to make the firſt Viſit, though arriving laſt, but from an Apprehenſion that others may make Difficulty of it.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, January 24. *S.* N. 1676.

My Lord,

IN my laſt, of this Day ſe'nnight, I endeavoured to give Your Lordſhip a full Account of the Prince of *Orange*'s Intentions; which his Majeſty was, it ſeems, ſtill in Pain to know. Since that Time Mr. *Skelton* arriving here, and telling me (as well as the Prince) ſeveral Things the King had ſaid to him upon that Subject; has given me Occaſion to add ſomething upon it, to the End his Majeſty may in all Points know the very Bottom of it, and take his Meaſures accordingly: For, as far as I underſtand, all Matters are carried on according to the Perſonal Diſpoſitions of the Men that are at the Head of them; and the Prince is a Man as difficult as ever I knew, to be talk'd either into or out of any Thing, wherein he thinks his Honour or Intereſt concerned.

Mr. *Skelton* told the Prince, That his Majeſty knew very well there were ſome *little People* about his Highneſs, that endeavoured to perſuade him, the King had not the Kindneſs for him he profeſs'd; at leaſt, not ſo much as for *France*: But I aſſured him of the contrary; and that his Majeſty would ſhew it by the Meaſures he intended to take with him, after the Peace was made. Upon the firſt Words the Prince anſwered, That he deſired nothing in the World more, than that the King would have the Kindneſs for him he profeſs'd. Mr. *Skelton*, I remember, made ſome Reflections to me; and thought it ſounded as if the Prince doubted it. And I remember Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, upon his ſeveral Diſcourſes with his Highneſs, ſaid, He doubted the Prince had ſomething lay at Heart. I will firſt tell Your Lordſhip, that now *Moulin* is no longer about the Prince, I do not ſuſpect any others I ſee near him, of the Deſign to ſow ill Impreſſions of his Majeſty's Intentions; nor do I really think he has, any further than might be gathered from his Diſcourſes in my laſt Paper: That is, He believes his Majeſty will not, for his Sake, break any of the Meaſures he has of late Years taken with *France*. He thinks ſome Partiality is ſhewed in the Buſineſs of the *Levies*; and is troubled that his Majeſty will not bring him out of this War with ſome Honour; which he believes may be done (as he often ſays) with a Word ſpeaking: And that as Affairs ſtand in *Chriſtendom*, *France* cannot refuſe any Thing his Majeſty ſhall deſire. And from theſe Impreſſions he ſays upon Diſcourſe, that Effects only, and not any Words or Expreſſions can remove him.

Mr. *Skelton* told me (and, I ſuppoſe, the Prince too) that his Majeſty would undertake for any Conditions upon a Peace, that the Prince ſhould propoſe of Advantage to himſelf. I have often talked with his Highneſs upon that Subject; and on Occaſion of Monſieur *Ruvigni*'s propoſing his Maſter buying all his Lands in the County of *Burgundy*, even at a Value unreaſonable; I have ever found him ſo cold upon this Subject, that, in ſhort, nothing will be faſtned on him. And, I remember, at laſt he told me, That he knew to another Man it would look like Affectation, and therefore he would not ſay it; but to me that knew him ſo well, he would tell me very truly, that though he underſtood very well the Value of his Lands in *Burgundy*; yet upon the Peace, he would be content to loſe them all, to get one good Town more for the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*.

Becauſe I mentioned in my laſt Paper, an Offer that had been made his Majeſty by the Penſioner, upon a Match between the King of *Spain* and *Madamoiſelle*, with the *French* Conqueſts for her Dowry; which was a Thing the Prince's Head has run mightily upon, as in his Majeſty's Power to bring about; though I do not think it at all likely, or that the reſtoring even of the *Swedes* to all they have loſt, could either diſpoſe *France* to it, or engage his Majeſty in an earneſt Purſuit of it. Yet becauſe I doubt Your Lordſhip has not heard any Thing before of that Matter, when it went from hence in ſome of my Letters about a Year ago: I thought it was fit to explain to You ſo far only as to let You know, the Sum offered by the Penſioner to be paid privately upon it into his Majeſty's Treaſure, was Two hundred thouſand Pounds; and the like Sum to be endeavoured by them from the *Spaniards*; which the Prince, as I ſaid in my laſt, told me he did not doubt of. This is the utmoſt of what I can ſay upon this Subject, but I ſhall be glad if any other Perſons can find out more of the Prince's Intentions, or any Thing that his Majeſty will be better pleaſed with. But, I doubt, they are theſe at preſent, and that they will not change by other Means than ſome new Accidents or Revolutions in the farther Courſe of Time or War.

I ask Your Lordſhip's Pardon for this farther Trouble, and ſhall not increaſe it beyond the Aſſurances of my being ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful

and moſt Humble Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

Hague, January 24. *S. N.* 1676.

My Lord,

I Was extremely ſorry to find by Your's of the 27th paſt, ſo ill an Account of Your Health of late, which I had heard nothing of before; but what Monſieur *Spanheim* told me at his Return hither, of Your being ill of the Gout, without more Circumſtances. But ſuch an Attack as You ſpeak of, deſerves more than ordinary of Your own Philoſophy, and Your Friends Concernment; among whom my Share, I am ſure, does not fail You. I hope Your Health will change with the Seaſon, and that the Spring will cure what, it ſeems, came upon You with the laſt Fall, and has continued ſo long.

I ſuppoſe You had not ſeen Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* very lately before You writ; or elſe You would have known more than You did of the Effects my Diſcourſes had with the Penſioner, upon the Subject of the Packet-boats. For though he does not uſe to fail in what he promiſes, and ſets down for the Help of his Memory (both which he did upon this Occaſion) yet I complained to the Prince, after having received Your laſt, that nothing had been written upon it to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, though the Penſioner had promiſed that ſhould be done. For he had ſeeen Letters that Poſt from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, which acknowledged thoſe he had received upon that Subject. So that till I hear You find them ſhort of what they were intended for, I know nothing more to be done on this Side, towards Your Satisfaction in that ſmall Affair.

I very well underſtand the Byas You are pleaſed to give to what I ſaid, of Your being like to be informed of all that paſſed here, when Sir *Gabriel Sylvinus* arrives, by the Thanks You give me for that Aſſurance: Though You might, I think, have very lawfully turned it another Way, upon the Notice I gave You, at the ſame Time, of my leaving this Place, upon my Journey deſigned for *Nimeguen*. Yet, ſince You rather choſe to give it this *Tour*, I will very eaſily, and like a plain Man, confeſs to You, That conſidering the Manner in which You intended Sir *Gabriel Slyvius* ſhould come over hither, I had no Reaſon to believe at all, You cared for any Advices I could give You from hence; or believed they were worth his Majeſty's receiving, or, at leaſt, conſidering. Which is all I ſhall ſay upon that Matter, having not the Vein of being pleaſant, nor the Diſpoſition of being unpleaſant to You, upon this or any other Occaſion.

I humbly thank You for Your good Wiſhes to the Negotiation I am like to be employed in; and in which I had need of ſomething at leaſt like that to pleaſe me, conſidering the Circumſtances of Trouble and Expence with which I am likely to enter upon it; and without any Help in one from the Exchequer, or in the other from my Lord *Berkley*, for the Succeſs of it. I believe You can gueſs as far and as well as any Man elſe, and will need none of my Conjectures; which are only, That it will, like all other Affairs, depend upon the Accidents that ſhall fall in, more than the Deſign, or Skill, of thoſe that play the Game.

I am ever

Your moſt Faithful

Humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, January 28, *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge Your's of the 11th, with the Repetition of his Majeſty's Orders, for his Ambaſſadors to expect the firſt Viſits from all others at the Place of Congreſs, though laſt Comers. I ſuppoſe, if *France* conſents to it by Agreement, and *Sweden* upon Precedent, as You pleaſe to ſay, and this State upon Reſolutions already taken, there cannot reaſonably be any Difficulty made upon it by the reſt: Or if there ſhould, his Majeſty will be as much at Leiſure as any of the Parties to deliberate upon it. For the Point of ſolemn Entries, I concerted that whole Matter with Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* before he went; ſo as he hath already given the Example, and ſeen it followed by the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, upon their late Arrival.

I incloſe You the Copy of a Letter I received this Afternoon from Monſieur *Pompone*, upon the Subject of his Majeſty's late Repreſentations by Monſieur *Ruvigni*, concerning the Exceptions taken here to the *French* Paſſports. I ſhall not communicate it to the States, nor make any Anſwer that will be authoriſed here upon it, till I am impower'd to do both by his Majeſty's Orders: which I hope I may receive by the next Poſt, finding the Subſtance of this Letter had been tranſmitted into *England*, at the ſame Time with the Diſpatch to me. In the mean Time I thought fit to go immediately to the Prince, and acquaint him with it; deſiring to know, if he pleaſed to have me, by Advance, give his Majeſty his Senſe upon it. His Highneſs having read it very conſiderately, ſaid very frankly, That he would tell me his Thoughts, and that I might let his Majeſty know them; but that he would not anſwer what thoſe of the State might be. Upon the firſt Point, he ſaid there was a Miſtake: That the Words omitted were not only *Papiers* or *Ecritures*, but *Hardes*, *Baggages*, *Chevaux*, *Chariots*, &c. And that they had not there thought the Words *Papiers*, or *Ecritures* neceſſary, or inſerted them, had not I made Inſtances to the States, upon particular Orders from *England*, to that Purpoſe; which they ſuppoſed, with the other Amendment tranſmitted to me, had been concerted with the *French* Miniſter there.

For the Second, That his Highneſs believed, no Congreſs ever was formed, without that Power given the Miniſters of diſpatching Couriers; nor did believe this could have any Effect without. That the Ambaſſadors of this State would (he ſuppoſed) find it neceſſary to write to him from the Congreſs wherever he was, either here or in the Field; becauſe he did not think the States would make any great Paces in ſuch a Negotiation, without his Advice. That however, though the States would be willing to diſpenſe with it, as *France* was content to do, yet it would alter all the Meaſures had been taken in this Matter already, by my agreeing with them in the Form of Paſſports. For thoſe from *Spain* were already come, and thoſe from all the Confederates were upon the Way, in the ſame Form: So that if *France* ſhould make this Change, though the Confederates ſhould all conſent to it, yet the new Form muſt be ſent to them all, and new Paſſports diſpatch'd upon it. That neither the States, nor their Allies, would (he was ſure) conſent to give them any larger Form than what they received.

For the Third Point, concerning *Lorrain*, That it was of much more Importance than the reſt; and that his Highneſs believed it was the beſt News could be ſent to thoſe of the Confederates that deſired not the Peace. That he had never thought *France* pretended a Right to the Dutchy of *Lorrain*: That he would not enter into the Argument upon the Treaty of 1662, mentioned by Monſieur *Pompone*; but that this State had lately renewed with this Duke, the Treaty they had made with the laſt; and doubted, they could not treat at *Nimeguen*, any more than at *Cologn*, without Admiſſion of the *Lorrain* Miniſters: But he was very ſure (which he repeated ſeveral Times) that the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards* would not do it; eſpecially after this Pretence made by *France* to that Dutchy; which, for that Reaſon, his Highneſs was glad I did not make publick, till I received Orders from his Majeſty upon it. He concluded, That all this was before his Majeſty as Mediator, whoſe Part was to obſerve the Juſtice of each Party's Pretenſions, and induce them to Reaſon upon it. That I had told him, his Majeſty had concerned himſelf already in it, and in thoſe very Words. That he had thought this Particular of *Lorrain* ſomewhat ſtrange, and had ſpoken to Monſieur *Ruvigni* about it, beſides what had been repreſented to him upon the other Points; and that his Majeſty being ſenſible of the Reaſons of it, he did not doubt would ſet all right. His Highneſs added, That now his Majeſty found, how long a Work the forming of a Congreſs would prove (which yet was abſolutely neceſſary to a Peace) he hoped he would not ſuffer the Steps that were already made to be loſt; ſince if that ſhould begin again, at the End of next Campaign, for ought he ſaw, the Aſſembly might not meet before another Campaign were, at leaſt, approaching.

This is the Subſtance of what his Highneſs told me upon Monſieur *Pompone*'s Letter; though with more Length, and with ſuch a Readineſs, as ſhewed me he had the full Graſp of all his Buſineſs himſelf. And I wondred, I confeſs, to hear him repeat the little Things that had paſſed upon the firſt Head between me and the Penſioner, and the Words I had told him out of Your Letter of the 7th; having hardly my ſelf remember'd the laſt, and not thought the Penſioner had troubled him with ſuch Circumſtances as the firſt. When he had done I aſked his Highneſs, Whether I ſhould write all this to his Majeſty as his Senſe? And having repeated it to him, he deſir'd I would, and by this Poſt, for gaining Time. I have been ſo long with the Prince upon this Occaſion, that I have no more Time left than will ſerve to aſſure You of my being,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

To Monſieur Pompone.

Hague, Jan. 30. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

THE Day before Yeſterday I had the Honour of Yours of the 21ſt, concerning the neceſſary Paſſports for forming the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*, where his Excellency the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador *Jenkins* has been for near Three Weeks, and two of the Ambaſſadors of *Holland* more than eight Days; in Expectation of ſpeedily meeting the reſt of the Miniſters of which this Aſſembly is to be compoſed. What keeps me here is nothing but the Difficulties which have been lately ſtarted about the Affair of the Paſſports; thoſe of this State are now in my Hands, and thoſe of the Crown of *Spain* are in the Hands of Monſieur *de Lyra*, the *Spaniſh* Envoy. Without doubt You muſt have receiv'd, by the Care of Monſieur *de Ruvigni*, Copies of the Reſolutions of the States General, and of a Memorial from Monſieur *de Lyra*, ſetting forth their Intentions, not to put the one into my Hands, nor ſend the others to the Lords the *French* Ambaſſadors, until I ſhall be poſſeſſed of reciprocal Paſſports from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to make the Exchange.

As for the Difficulties which are here made about the Paſſports for *Spain*, which Monſieur *Ruvigni* cauſed to be ſent

Au Monſieur *Pompone*.

La Haye, Jan. 30me, S. N. 1676.

Monſieur,

J'AY receu devant Hier l' honneur de la vôtre du 21re. ſur le ſujet de paſſeports neceſſaires à former le Congrez de Nimegue, ou Monſieur l' Ambaſſadeur Jenkins a deja ſejourné, près de trois ſemaines, & deux des Ambaſſadeurs de cet Etat, plus de huit jours, dans l' eſperance d'y voir bientôt les autres Miniſtres qui doivent compoſer la dite aſſemblée. Je ne ſuis icy detenu que par les ſeules difficultez ſurvenuës depuis peu dans cette affaire des paſſeports, dont ceux de cet Etat ſont entre mes mains, & ceux d' Eſpagne en celles de Monſieur de Lyra, Envoyé de cette couronne la. Mais vous aurez ſans doute deja receu par l'entremiſe de Monſieur de Ruvigni, les copies de la reſolution des Etats Generaux, & d'une memoire de Monſieur de Lyra, contenans leurs intentions, que les uns ne me ſeront pas mis entre les mains, ni les autres envoyez à Meſſieurs les Ambaſſadeurs de France, juſqu' à ce que je ſeray en poſſeſſion des paſſeports reciproques de ſa Majeſté tres Chrêtienne pour en faire l'echange.

Pour les Difficultez qu'on a fait icy ſur les paſſeports pour l' Eſpagne, que Monſieur ſent ſome Time ſince, I ſhould not have thought them of Importance enough to fall under ſo long Conſideration, had You not communicated Your Thoughts to me on that Head; ſince it is well known, that in Concert with the States General I ſettled the Form of thoſe Paſſports, by Order of the King my Maſter, and recommended it to their Care to ſee that the Paſſports of all the other Allies, ſhould be drawn up in perfect Conformity to them; which they accordingly took upon themſelves to do, in Compliance with my Requeſts. I could not make any doubt, but the ſaid Form of Paſſports (being taken from that of thoſe uſed at *Cologn*, and having undergone the Corrections of Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*) had been reſolved upon at *London*, in Concert with Monſieur *Ruvigny*. The Lords the States General were of the ſame Opinion; and pretend that the reciprocal Paſſports of *France* and *Sweden*, ought to be given in as ample a Form as thoſe agreed upon by all the Confederates.

As for the Importance of thoſe two Points, on which all the Difficulties here are founded, You will be pleaſed to obſerve, That for the Firſt, it is not only the Word [*Papiers*] Papers, that is ſaid to be omitted, but alſo the Words [*Baggage, Hardes, Equipage*] Baggage, Goods, and Equipage, and ſuch like other Words, uſually inſerted in this Place in Paſſports; and which I find in thoſe Paſſports which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty granted to the Plenipotentiaries of *Holland* at *Cologn*. The Word *Papiers* was not in the Form propoſed here, but added by Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*. As for the other Point, namely, About the Liberty of the ſeveral Miniſters at the Congreſs, to ſend their Couriers, barely in Virtue of their own ſimple Paſſports: I own that I am of Opinion, That it is a Thing not only practiſed conſtantly on all theſe Occaſions, but, indeed, a Thing of abſolute Neceſſity to bring the Negotiations to a happy Concluſion; by ſecuring that Safety and Eaſe of correſponding between Princes and their Miniſters; who can never come with ſuch full and perfect Inſtructions, as never to have any Occaſion to have Recourſe to their Maſters for new Orders, upon the many unforeſeen Incidents

ſieur de Ruvigni m'a fait envoyer depuis quelque tems; je ne les aurois pas crû aſſez importantes pour meriter tant de conſideration, ſans les reflexions que vous avez fait là deſſus, puiſqu'il faut avoüer que j'ay concerté avec les Etats Generaux le formulaire des paſſeports, par ordre du Roy mon Maître, & leur ay recommandé le ſoin de faire en ſorte que ceux de tous leur Alliés fuſſent dreſſés ſur le même, de quoy ils ſe ſont chargé à mes inſtances. Et j'ay toujours crû que ladite forme ayant été dreſſée ſur celle dont on s'eſt ſervi à Cologne, & corrigée ſur les reflexions de Monſieur le Secretaire Williamſon, elle avoit été reſolüe à Londres par concert avec Monſieur de Ruvigni. Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux en ont crû le même, & pretendent que les paſſeports reciproques de France & de Suede, ſoient donné d'une forme auſſi ample que ceux qui ſont accordés par tous les Confederez.

Pour ce qui eſt de l'importance de ces deux points ſur leſquelles on a icy fondé les difficultez, vous remarquerez ſi vous plaît qu'au premier ce n'eſt pas le ſeul mot de Papiers *qui manque, mais ceux auſſi de* Baggage, Hardes, Equipage, *& les autres accoutumés en cet endroit de paſſeports, & que je vois dans ceux que ſa Majeſté tres Chrêtienne a accordé aux Plenipotentiaires de cet Etat à Cologne. Le mot de* Papiers *avoit été ajouté par Monſieur le Secretaire Williamſon, ne ſe trouvant pas dans le formulaire propoſé icy. Pour l'autre point, de la liberte de Miniſtres au Congrez de faire paſſer leur couriers ſur leurs ſimples paſſeports: J'avoue d'avoir crû que c'etoit une circonſtance non ſeulement pratiquée en toutes telles occaſions, mais en effet fort neceſſaire à faire reuſſir les negotiations, par la ſeureté & facilité de communication entre les Princes & leurs Miniſtres, qui ne pourroient être tout d'un coup ſi pleinement inſtruits, que de n'avoir pas recours aux nouveaux ordres de leurs Maîtres ſur les incidents auxquels le cours de traite*

ſera

dents to which Treaties are ſubject. In the firſt Form of Paſſports ſent by me into *England*, the Expreſſion was, That the Couriers of the Plenipotentiaries, in Virtue of a good Paſſport, ſhould be free: But I received Orders from Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, to blot out the Word *good*, and that in Order to take away all Difficulties and Diſputes which might hence ariſe, in an Affair ſo eſſential to ſuch Negotiations.

As to the Complaints made by Monſieur *de Serinchamps*, concerning the Paſſports for *Lorrain*, and the Reflections You have made thereon; I judged it a Matter of too great Weight for me to intermeddle with in the leaſtwiſe, without expreſs Order from the King my Maſter: And for that Reaſon I have not communicated any Part of Your Letter to the Lords the States General, as knowing it would be News too agreeable to thoſe in their Alliance, who are not altogether ſo well diſpoſed to the Peace, as they have been repreſented to be; and who therefore might from hence take Occaſion to defeat all thoſe Hopes which *Chriſtendom* has entertained, from the great Vigilance and Care of the King my Maſter, employed in forming this Congreſs: Without which, no Diſcourſes, or Propoſals of Peace, could ever come to good Effect.

I can't finiſh this Letter without aſſuring You, That I now retain at the *Hague*, all thoſe Sentiments of Eſteem which I have heretofore had for Your Perſon; and the firm Reſolutions that I have taken, to be ever with the greateſt Zeal,

S I R,

Your moſt Humble and

moſt Obedient Servant, &c.

ſera toujours ſujet. Dans le premier formulaire que j'ay envoyé en Angleterre, il êtoit porté que couriers des Plenipotentiairies munis d'un bon paſſeport ſeroient libres. Mais Monſieur le Secretaire Williamſon m'a envoyé les ordres de faire effacer le mot de Bon *pour ôter toutes ſortes de diſputes qui pourroient ſurvenir ſur une matiere ſi eſſentielle à telles negotiations.*

Pour les plaints de Monſieur de Serinchamps, ſur les paſſeports pour Lorrain, & les reflexions que vous avez fait là deſſus: J'ay eſtimé cette matiere de trop grande importance pour m'en mêler aucunement ſans les ordres de ſa Majeſté, & pour cette raiſon je n'ay encore rien communiqué de vôtre lettre à Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux; ſachant bien que ce ſeroit une nouvelle trop agreable à ceux de leurs Alliez, qui n'ont pas les ſentiments ſi portés à la paix, que ces Meſſieurs m'ont toujours temoigné, & qui pourroient tacher par là de faire evanoüir toutes les apparences que le Roy mon Maître en a deja fait naître à la Chrêtienté par ſes grands ſoins, & diligences employées à former le Congrez, ſans lequel tous les diſcours & ſpeculations de la paix, ne pourroient ſortir à aucun effet.

Je ne puis achever cette lettre ſans vous aſſûrer, que je retrouve encore à la Haye tous les ſentiments d'eſtime que j'ay eu autre fois pour vôtre perſonne, & les reſolutions que j'ay ay pris de ce tems là d'être toujours avec beaucoup de paſſion,

Monſieur,

Vôtre tres Humble, &

tres Obeïſſant Serviteur.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, January 31. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

UPON Mr. *Skelton*'s Diſpatch, and the Succeſs of it, he aſſured me of having given You a very full Account, and thereby ſaved You a Trouble from me upon that Occaſion. There was only one Thing he deſired of the Deputies, for the Eaſe of his Memory, which was, The Deduction of thoſe many Reaſons whereon they excuſed their Compliance with his Majeſty's Deſires; and they promiſed to put it into my Hands by the next Poſt; but have failed of that, as well as of the Anſwer I expected about the Extent of Neutral Country, by reaſon of the Penſioner's Illneſs, which happens frequently, and ever gives a Stop to theſe Affairs, that turn wholly upon his Hand. Another Thing the Deputies propoſed to us at the End of the Conference; which was, To know if his Majeſty would expect an Anſwer of that Letter, which would make it publick here; whereas they pretended to be ſo ſenſible of not complying with it, as rather to wiſh, it might be taken no further notice of: And in this I expect his Majeſty's Pleaſure, when You think fit to ſignifie it to me.

I incloſe You a Copy of my Anſwer to Monſieur *Pompone*'s Letter (which went to You by my laſt) wherein I endeavour to facilitate the Two ſmaller Difficulties about the *Spaniſh* Paſſports, by owning the Concert of the Form here by his Majeſty's Orders, and the Recommendation of it to all the Confederates. And whereas he ſeems to except againſt Couriers paſſing with only a ſimple Paſſport from any of the ſeveral Miniſters, and to think the Word *Papiers* unneceſſary; I thought fit to let him know, thoſe Changes were made in *England*; in hopes thereupon, that his Compliance to them would prove the eaſier.

For the main Point, which is that of *Lorrain*; I could not think fit to enter into any Diſcourſe upon it, or ſo much as to communicate it to the States here, without his Majeſty's Order; becauſe I knew the publiſhing of it would, on the one Hand, engage the Honour of *France* ſo much the deeper in adhering to it; and, on the other, would animate the Deſires and Endeavours of ſome part of the Confederates, to break the Congreſs upon this ſingle Point. Upon ſome Diſcourſes with the Emperor's Miniſter here, after the Title given to the Duke of *Lorrain* was taken notice of in the Paſſports from *France*; he made no Difficulty to tell me very poſitively, That his Maſter would never treat without the *Lorrain* Miniſters; and, I remember, his Words were, *Et aſſeurez vous, Monſieur, qu'en venant au Congrez nous les pouſſerons toujours devant nous.* Monſieur *Serinchamps* was as peremptory on the other ſide, That his Maſter would never ſend without the Style of Duke; but, I believe, would be much more ſo, if he knew the Pretenſion that *France* now advanceth to that Dutchy, which he would believe nothing of, when we ſpoke of it ſeveral times upon occaſion of the Paſſports. I had then an Opinion, that the Thing was not done by Chance, and asked him, Whether they might not ground a Pretence upon the Treaty of 1662? But he ſaid, with great Confidence, They could not. His Arguments were; Firſt, The Invalidity of that Treaty, by the late Duke's having no Right to diſpoſe of his Dutchy from his Nephew: Becauſe, if the *Salique* Law had Courſe there, it was unalienable from the Heir-Male; if the Feminine Succeſſion, then that Duke himſelf had no Title, but it belong'd to Prince *Charles*, even in the Life of his Uncle. Secondly, The Treaty's being void by the Non-performance on the *French* ſide, of the only Condition which appeared of any Advantage to *Lorrain*; which was, Aſſuming their Princes into the Rank of thoſe of the Blood of *France*; which was mentioned in the Treaty as that Condition, without which it had never been made; and upon its being regiſtred in the Parliament of *Paris* with the leaving out of that Clauſe, the Old Duke declared it void (as I remember he ſaid) within a Fortnight or Three Weeks after it was ſigned. Thirdly, The Treaty of *Marſal* being concluded the Year after, between that King and Duke, by which the Duke was to continue the Poſſeſſion of all his Territories beſides *Marſal*, in the ſame manner as he enjoyed [illegible] by the Treaty of 1661. And after that Treaty of *Marſal* in 1663, it ſeems that Duke continued quiet till 1670, when *France* ſeized upon the whole Dutchy; but declaring, as Monſieur *Serinchamps* ſaith, to all Princes of *Chriſtendom*, and, particularly, to his Majeſty, That it was only upon perſonal Quarrels to the Duke, and without Intention to keep any part of the Country. And he ſaith, In all this Time *France* never made the leaſt mention of the Treaty of 1662, having found neither the Princes of the Blood, nor Parliaments of *France*, would conſent to it; and thereupon, no further Thoughts were ever had of it, to perform the ſmalleſt Conditions of it, any more than the greateſt. Theſe were Monſieur *Serinchamp*'s Arguments, which I thought were fit to be ſent You upon this Occaſion, when the Matter lieth before his Majeſty, and an Expedient is not, I fear, like to be found on this ſide: and without it, the Congreſs, for ought I ſee, muſt break; wherein his Majeſty's Honour, as well as Inclination, You know, is now a good deal engaged.

I yet hear nothing of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, tho' the Wind hath been very good, and having received none from You by laſt Poſt, am in hopes he may bring me the Orders neceſſary for my Proceeding in this difficult Matter. I meet with Enquiries here every Poſt after his Majeſty's Reſolution in the Buſineſs of Reviſions.

I am ever,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Meſſieurs Colbert *and* d'Avaux.

Hague, Febr. 1. *N. S.* 1676.

Meſſieurs,

I Received Yeſterday Your Excellencies Letter from *Nimeguen* of the 19th paſt, and was willing, as ſoon as poſſible, to give You an Account of the Concern I had in an Accident lately fallen out in the Buſineſs of the Paſſports, which muſt have given You ſome Trouble, as it has given me much greater Uneaſineſs. The Paſſports of the States General have been for ſome time in my Hands, as thoſe of *Spain* have been in Monſieur *de Lyra*'s the *Spaniſh* Envoy; but on this Condition, That the former ſhall not be ſent to Your Excellencies, nor the latter deliver'd into my Hands, till I become poſſeſs'd of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty' reciprocal Paſſports, as well for

A Meſſieurs *Colbert* & *d'Avaux*.

La Haye, Fevr. 1. S. N. 1676.

Meſſieurs,

J'AY reçeu hier de Nimegue celle de Vos Excellences du 19me. paſſé, & n'ay pas voulu manquer de vous temoigner au plûtôt le part que je prens à un accident ſurvenu dans l'affaire des paſſeports, qui vous doit avoir donné beaucoup d'ennuy, mais à moy encore beaucoup plus d'inquietude. Ceux de cet Etat ont été quelque tems entre mes mains, & ceux d'Eſpagne entre celles de Monſieur de Lyra, Envoyé de cette Couronne là; mais à condition que les premiers ne ſeroient pas envoyé a Vos Excellences ni les autres livré entre mes mains, juſques à ce que je ſeray en poſſeſſion des paſſeports reciproques

for the Plenipotentiaries of this State, as for thoſe of their Allies. Some Difficulties have been here ſtarted about the Paſſports, which, by Monſieur *Ruvigni*'s means, have been for ſome time ſent, as well for the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, as for thoſe of *Lorrain*. The firſt of theſe Difficulties being only grounded on ſome Deficiencies, in the Form of the ſaid Paſſports concerning the Security of the Baggage, and the Liberty of diſpatching Couriers, which were expreſſed in the Paſſports formerly given by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the Plenipotentiaries of this State at *Cologn*, as well as in thoſe diſpatched by the Confederates for Your Excellencies, I had good hopes to ſee them eaſily ſurmounted by the good Offices which his Majeſty the King my Maſter has already employed on this Subject at the Court of *France*. And I have endeavoured to ſet theſe Matters in a proper Light for Monſieur *Pompone*.

As to the Difficulties made about the Paſſports for *Lorrain*, I found them of ſo great Importance, that I dared not to intermeddle therein, without the expreſs Order of the King; and therefore I have not communicated to the States General the Letter which I received Three Days ſince from Monſieur *Pompone* on this Subject: I am in hourly Expectation of receiving his Majeſty's Commands, whereby I may regulate my own Conduct herein. In the mean time, I intreat Your Excellencies to aſſure Your ſelves, That it is with the greateſt Regret that I ſee this Stop put to an Affair in which the Inclination, as well as the Honour of his Majeſty, is ſo deeply engaged; and to believe, That I will omit no Care or Pains to promote and facilitate it on this ſide. To theſe ſo important Conſiderations, I might add, The particular Satisfaction and Pleaſure that I propoſe to my ſelf, in being intereſted and concerned in an Affair, that will bring me, into the Company and Converſation of Your Excellencies at *Nimeguen*; where I promiſe my ſelf to find yet farther Opportunities of giving You Proof, how uneaſie theſe Hindrances are to me, and with how much Eſteem I am,

Your Excellencies moſt Humble,
and moſt Obedient Servant, &c.

ques de ſa Majeſté tres-Chrêtienne, tant pour les Plenipotentiaires de cet Etat que pour ceux de leurs Alliez. On a trouvé des difficultez icy à ceux que Monſieur de Ruvigni m'a fait envoyer depuis quelque tems, tant pour les Plenipotentiaires d'Eſpagne que pour ceux de Loraine; mais les premiers n'ayant été fondés que ſur quelques defauts dans le formulaire deſdits paſſeports, touchant la ſeureté du baggage, & liberté de depêcher les couriers, compris icy devant en ceux que ſa Majeſté tres-Chrêtienne à accordé aux Plenipotentiaires de cet Etat à Cologne auſſi bien que ceux que les confederez ont fait depecher pour V. Ex. j'ay bien eſperé de les voir facilement ſurmontez par les offices de ſa Majeſté le Roy mon Maître, qui ont été deja employés à la Cour de France ſur ce ſujet. Et j'ay tâché de donner à Monſieur Pompone les eclairciſſements neceſſaires là deſſus.

Pour les difficultez faites ſur ceux de Loraine, je les trouve d'une trop grande importance, pour y oſer ſans les ordres de ſa Majeſté y mêler mes ſentimens; & pour cela n'ay pas encore communiqué à Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux la lettre que j'ay reçû depuis trois jours de Monſieur de Pompone ſur cette matiere, mais j'attend à toute heure les commandements du Roy pour regler ma conduite. Cependant je ſupplie V. Ex. de vous aſſurer que c'eſt avec regret extreme que je voy cet accrochement à une affaire, en laquelle l'inclination auſſi bien que l'honneur de ſa Majeſté eſt ſi fort engagée; & que je n'epargneray aucune peine & diligence pour la faciliter de ce côté icy. Je pourrois ajouter à ces conſiderations ſi importantes l'interet particulier que je prens au bonheur & la joye que je me ſuis propoſé en la rencontre & converſation de V. Ex. à Nimegue, ou je veux eſperer encore de trouver les occaſions à vous temoigner combien je reſſens ce retardement, & avec combien d'eſtime je ſuis,

Meſſieurs,
De V. Ex^{ces}. le tres Humble,
& tres Obeiſſant Serviteur.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, February 4. S. N. 1676.

SIR,

YOU will have found by my Two laſt, That I had before received from Monſieur *Pompone* what You have ſince been pleaſed to tell me by Yours of the 21ſt, concerning the moſt Chriſtian King's Anſwer to his Majeſty's Repreſentations about the Paſſports. I have diſcourſed it over this Day with the Penſioner, who finds no Remedy on this Side, but takes the whole Matter for an Argument, That *France* has no Deſire at preſent to ſee the Congreſs formed, or to enter in earneſt upon the Negotiation of a Peace. He remarks upon the Liberty of Couriers, That the *Spaniards* can write but once a Fortnight to *Madrid*, and that by the common Couriers; but that the *French* themſelves can have no Communication, either with *Paris* or any of their Garriſons, without this Liberty; and he thinks, they cannot mean any thing ſhould be done at a Treaty with theſe Circumſtances. He ſaid, It was poſſible that *France* might inſiſt upon this in Favour of *Sweden*, to whom, as You ſay, *Denmark* has refuſed the Paſſes; but they are Yeſterday come, in the Form agreed upon, as You will find by the incloſed Memorial of that Envoy here. For the Point of *Lorrain*, he reaſoned much of the Strangeneſs of ſuch a Pretenſion; but I remember nothing new, or more than what I repeated in my laſt of Monſieur *Serinchamps*'s Diſcourſes on that Subject. As to this laſt, I can make no Conjecture how his Majeſty is like to ſucceed on the Side of *France*, and have no Proſpect of any Expedient upon this. But as to the Two ſmaller Difficulties, methinks, it ſhould be eaſy to procure the Paſſports from that Court in the ſame Form with what are given here, if his Majeſty owns them to have been concerted, as You know they were, by his Order, and by the ſame recommended to the Practice of all the Confederates. And, indeed, nothing ſeems more proper, than for the Mediator to concert one General Form of Paſſports to be uſed by all Parties. I ſhewed thoſe You incloſed in your laſt, to the Penſioner; upon which he remarked likewiſe, That there was but one ſingle Paſſport for all the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, whereas there were Three for the *French*; but concluded, That he hoped ſtill all might be adjuſted by his Majeſty's ſecond Offices towards *France* upon this Matter.

I ſend You incloſed a Paper I received from the States, concerning the Buſineſs of Prince *William* of *Furſtenburgh*, and another, concerning the Neutrality; which coming juſt now to my Hands, I ſend the Original Papers, though there ſeems ſome Defect in a Clauſe of the laſt, which leaves the Preſcription of the Neutral Limits wholly to his Majeſty, provided they extend not beyond the *Waal* and *Rhine*. I ſuppoſe, by my Letters from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, You will have heard a great deal from him of the Neceſſity of inlarging the Bounds, in reference to the Convenience of the Miniſters; upon which Subject I ſhall ſay nothing, but only wiſh, that *France* would leave this Matter ſo far in his Majeſty's Hands, as to make that Compliment concerning the County of *Meurs*, to the Prince of *Orange*, either from that Crown, or from his Majeſty; his Highneſs, I find, thinking it hard, that ſo ſmall a Thing ſhould be refuſed him, after his Majeſty had thought fit to engage himſelf in the Propoſal of it on both Sides.

Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* told me in one Yeſterday, of a Chicane made him by Monſieur *Beverning* upon the Point of firſt Viſit, which, I doubt not, he has given You Account of. That very Hour I had his Letter, came to me the Preſident of the Commiſſioners for the Foreign Affairs, by Order both of the Prince and the States, to acquaint me with a Letter of Monſieur *Beverning* upon the ſame Subject, and to deſire me to direct what I would have done upon it. I found by the Letter, That Monſieur *Beverning* intended to make no further or more formal Viſit to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, upon Pretence, that ſhould be done to us both upon my Arrival; but I deſired Monſieur *Mauregnault*, the Perſon ſent to me, That Orders might go away by laſt Night's Ordinary, to both their Ambaſſadors, to make their Viſit together, and in Form, to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, as Ambaſſador-Mediator, which the Prince told me in the Afternoon, had been accordingly reſolved on.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, February 11. *N. S.* 1676.

SIR,

I Received a great deal of Honour by the Teſtimony You were pleaſed to give me in your laſt of the 25th paſt, of the Approbation given at the Foreign Committee to my Conduct, in giving no Communication here of Monſieur *Pompone*'s Letter, till I had received Orders from his Majeſty. I thought this ſo much my Duty, that I will confeſs to You, not to have given Notice of it to the States, upon what I received from You in your former, though it was in Subſtance the ſame with your laſt; but bringing me no Orders, and only a bare Relation from You, I thought fit upon it only to diſcourſe it to the Penſioner, ſaying, That he might do the ſame to the States, as a Matter he had from me in Communication; which he did, leſt I ſhould ſeem to make a Secret of what they knew here from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, and Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*. But upon his Majeſty's Pleaſure, ſignified to me in your laſt, I have put in a formal Memorial, to acquaint the States with it, having taken thoſe Words which relate his Majeſty's Part in it, out of your own Letter; and which ſignify the moſt Chriſtian King's Anſwer, out of Monſieur *Pompone*'s: This I did rather than out of Yours, becauſe what was contained in Monſieur *Pompone*'s, was certainly that which they intended ſhould be communicated from them to the States, and for that Reaſon (as the Letter mentions) tranſmitted to me, to ſave the Time of conveying it by *England*. I ſuppoſe ſome little Miſtake in the Conſtruction of my former Letter, made You think, I intended not ſo much as to anſwer Monſieur *Pompone*'s, without Orders from *England*: For You will ſince have found, that I did it by the very next Poſt; but that it was, by my good Fortune, in the very ſame Form, as well as Subſtance, that your laſt inſtructed me; and that I did not only take your particular Notice to him of my not having communicated his Letter to the States without his Majeſty's Orders, but again repeated that Circumſtance in my Anſwer to a Letter of the *French* Plenipotentiaries about the ſame Time; a Copy whereof I ſent You incloſed, together with that of my Memorial Yeſterday to the States. You will lately have found in my Secretary's Papers, the Mention of a Concluſion made in the Treaty of Commerce between *Sweden* and this State; and yet not long after an Accord here enter'd into with the *Dane*, of equipping a joint Fleet againſt next Campaign in the *Baltick*. I found in my laſt Letters from *England*, the firſt was thought a little myſterious; and ſince the laſt has relation to the Courſe of his Majeſty's Mediation, I think it will become me to give his Majeſty ſome Account of the true Springs in both.

The firſt was a Buſineſs that aroſe wholly from the *Swedes*, and was negotiated at *Stockholm*, particularly, by Monſieur *Ebernſteyn*. The publick Intention in it there, was, To make ſuch a Treaty ſerve for ſome Introduction towards another, by which a Suſpenſion of Arms at Sea might follow between that Crown and this State. By this Means, *Sweden* would, in Probability, be able to ſuccour *Pomerania* next Campaign; and this State would not, perhaps, have ſeen it very unwillingly, in caſe Matters on this Side, and the Diſpoſitions in *France* had drawn on towards the general Peace. The private Motions of that Treaty ſprung from Monſieur *Ebernſteyn*'s Deſire to value himſelf by being inſtrumental in reſtoring, at leaſt, the Beginnings of ſome good Intelligence between his Maſter and this State; having himſelf been always averſe from the Breach, and now ſeeing the Counſels that promoted it ſo much decried in *Sweden* from the unhappy Events. And this was all the Myſtery of that Treaty.

The States, tho' they approved the Treaty of Commerce, yet they confirmed not the private Articles confirmed by *Sweden*, in order to a Suſpenſion of Arms by Sea; tho' I did not obſerve any great Averſion towards it; but, on the contrary, a Reſolution, at leaſt, of not arming this next Summer in the *Baltick*, tho' they had been for Three Months paſt very warmly preſſed to it by the *Daniſh* Miniſters. But when the firſt News came of the Defaults in the *French* Paſſports, they began to conclude, that *France* was not at all in Earneſt upon the Buſineſs of the Congreſs, which they gueſſed not more from the Point about *Lorrain*, than from that of Couriers; without the Liberty whereof, they eſteemed no Negotiation could have any Effect, and the Prejudice would be infinitely greater to *France* and *Sweden* in Point of Intelligence, than to the Confederates themſelves.

The States thought this Counſel of delaying or breaking the Congreſs, proceeded from an Expectation in *France* of ſome great Deſign, wherein they expected the Succeſs, either in *Naples*, or *Sicily*, or in *Poland*. And knowing the Endeavours of the *French* Miniſter at the Port, and the other in *Poland*, to bring about a Peace this Seaſon between the *Turk* and that Crown, they ſuſpected moſt the falling down of the *Poles* upon the Duke of *Brandenburgh* in the Ducal *Pruſſia*. The *Daniſh* and *Brandenburgh* Miniſters here, made a good Uſe of this Apprehenſion in the States, and prevailed with them to clap up an Agreement with *Denmark*, for arming a joint Fleet next Summer in the *Baltick*, very much againſt their former Reſolution, and wholly to the Diſappointment of all that *Sweden* had propoſed to themſelves by their Treaty of Commerce.

This I reckon upon as the firſt important Effect of the Defaults found in the *French* Paſſports, and if the States continue in the ſame Opinion of the *French* Indiſpoſition to the Treaty, or of their Deſigns to bring in the *Pole* upon the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, they will give in vigorouſly with the Confederates, to drive the *Swedes* wholly out of the Empire next Summer, to which they would otherwiſe not eaſily have been induced.

This leads me neceſſarily to another, which it may be fit likewiſe for his Majeſty to know. The Expence of this State in the War, joined to the Diminution of their Trade, ſeems to diſable them any longer proſecuting it than this Campaign; and, indeed, their Councils in it hitherto are chiefly animated by the great Steddineſs and Influence of the Prince of *Orange*. The Houſe of *Auſtria* foreſeeing this, have framed a new Scheme of taking off from this State all the Subſidies they pay to the Allies, after this Campaign, of *Spain* continuing to pay them their Part, and of the Allies, eſpecially *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Lunenburgh*, contenting themſelves with the other Moiety (now paid by the States) upon a general Treaty to be entered into by all the Confederates, for a Guarantee of the Conqueſt made laſt Year, or that ſhall be made this Year upon the *Swedes* in *Germany*; which, they think, will be an Advantage to the laſt named Confederates, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, greater than half of the preſent Subſidies. And for thoſe to *Mentz* and *Trier*, as well as the Emperor, *Spain* will take them wholly upon themſelves; as, indeed, the Emperor has not, for this Year paſt, at all preſſed the States for theſe Payments by Treaty made due to him. The *Spaniſh* and Imperial Miniſters are pretty confident of bringing this to paſs; and that, upon it, the States will be able to continue the War with Eaſe; and if not with the ſame Number of Troops, and as Principals in it, yet, at leaſt, as Acceſſaries, and with a Body of about Twenty thouſand Men in *Flanders*. Several of the States tell me, They will not conſent to give ſuch a Guaranty, foreſeeing it muſt engage them in a long War: And the Prince himſelf will not, I believe, give into it, till he ſees the Events of next Campaign, or the utmoſt that *France* will inſiſt upon in the Treaty. For my own Part, I apprehend it as an Affair that may go far towards the Continuance of a long War, and, conſequently, the ill Succeſs of his Majeſty's Mediation, and therefore thought fit to give his Majeſty the early Advices of it.

Though the King may have had Reaſon to ſtop Mr. *Skelton*'s Journey at preſent, whoſe Errand to the Emperor would not, perhaps, have had good Grace whilſt *France* perſiſts in the Refuſal of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Title, and thereby the Paſſport that may bring him to the Treaty: Yet if his Majeſty ſhould have the Fortune to ſurmount theſe Difficulties about the *French* Paſſports, I do not think he will have Reaſon to be diſcouraged in his intended Applications to the Emperor, upon this State's excuſing themſelves from joining with him in it: For, upon Diſcourſes with the Imperial and *Spaniſh* Miniſters here, I find them both abſolutely of Opinion, (though they profeſs it to be but perſonally their own) That the Emperor will certainly give that Point of Prince *William* to his Majeſty's Interceſſion, whenever it is particularly and formally made to him. And both thoſe Miniſters have promiſed me, to engage all their Credit at the Court of *Vienna* towards this Succeſs upon Mr. *Skelton*'s Arrival there, which I thought was an Office his Majeſty would approve of, tho' I was not encharged with it.

I have received his Majeſty's Ratification of the late Article agreed upon here concerning the free Trade from Enemy's Port, which ſhall be exchanged to morrow, and ſhall be ſent You by the firſt Yacht.

I aſk Your Pardon for the Length of this Trouble, and remain,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

Hague, February 11. *N. S.* 1676.

My Lord,

I Was extreme glad to find by one from You, which Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* gave me at his Arrival here, that You had ſo good Hopes of wearing off that Indiſpoſition in which Your former had left You; and that You had already begun to uſe your Legs, which, I doubt not, will recover themſelves by Exerciſe, with the Help of the Seaſon, and thereby reſtore You to the Air and Entertainments You uſed to be pleaſed with, and the Liberty of attending his Majeſty's Affairs, as well as your own.

I ſuppoſe, Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* never wants Diſcourſe ſo much, as for a Help of it to introduce that about the Pacquet-Boats; and, perhaps, he does not think fit to begin one where You are more concerned than his Maſters, of how ſmall Conſequence ſoever it be. Therefore I have not renewed it here, but whenever You make the Trial, and find any Stop from either his want of Power or Will, to give You the Satisfaction intended, I ſhall not fail to move it again to the Penſioner, and, if need be, to the Prince, upon the leaſt Notice You pleaſe to give me of it.

We will, if You pleaſe, leave off any further Mention of what paſſed in our former Letters, upon Occaſion of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*'s Journey hither. I do believe what You tell me, there is no Myſtery in it: And yet, whenever we meet, I will tell You very frankly what I thought was once in Deſign; which muſt have been very injurious to me, though, perhaps, not ſo intended; and will upon it leave You to judge Your ſelf, whether I was impoſed upon by thoſe from whom I received the Knowledge of it: For, of my many Weakneſſes, that of my being credulous is none, eſpecially where it is ſo unpleaſant to make me ſuſpect the good Intentions of thoſe few whoſe Friendſhip I eſteem, and would be glad to deſerve. For the reſt that You are pleaſed to ſay of the Intentions he brings over, as to my own Particular, they are of more Honour to me, than I at all pretend to; who ſhall ever live with Perſons that bear his Majeſty's Character, as my Fellow-Servants, whatever Difference may be made by thoſe we receive from our Maſter, according as he pleaſes to uſe us in order to his better Service. I wiſh him, with all my Heart, the Honour of either finding or raiſing any Diſpoſitions here more agreeble to his Majeſty's Deſires in what concerns the Peace, than thoſe I have yet been able to give Account of. But I think it more for his Majeſty's Service, to give him a true one that he likes not, than a feigned or diſguiſed one that he likes; which is the way to engage him in Meaſures that will fail, and ſometimes in Retreats of little Honour. Upon this Subject, I cannot but wiſh, Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* had either underſtood his Maſters better, or been leſs heard himſelf upon the Buſineſs of Prince *William*, before Mr. *Skelton* came over; and that, for the Time to come, ſome Difference were made between his Talk and his Memorials, ſince in the latter, I believe, he will be more cautious than in the other.

The Prince is out of Town, and will continue ſo till *Saturday.* The Congreſs is *accroché* by the Exceptions made here from the Confederates to the *French* Paſſports for *Spain* and *Lorrain*; which You know the Detail of as well as I, and, perhaps, by this Time, better, in knowing the Anſwer of the *French* Court to his Majeſty's laſt Application. What I write now to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, You will have Your Part in, either in his Hands or the Foreign Committee; and beyond theſe we have nothing here ſtirs at preſent, but the common Reports of Monſieur *de Ruyter*'s Victory over the *French* Fleet, which I yet ſee no certain Grounds for (tho' ſome Appearance) from the Advices that are yet come hither.

I am

Your moſt Faithful

Humble Servant.

To Mr. Secretary COVENTRY.

Hague, February 11. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

I Was extreme ſorry to find by the Honour of one from You of the 24th paſt, That Your late Indiſpoſitions had been ſo frequent and ſo troubleſome as You deſcribe them. I hope You will find the Return of Your Health with that of the Seaſon, which I very heartily wiſh, for his Majeſty's ſake as well as Your own. In the mean Time, I comfort my ſelf with the Belief I gather from Your Letters to my Lord *Berkley*, of which Your laſt incloſed the Copies, that Your Illneſs has reached no further than Your Body, and not at all affected or leſſened the Vigor of Your Conceptions, which have in thoſe Letters preſſed the Court of *France* farther than I doubt they will eaſily yield, or can eaſily excuſe. The Succeſs I muſt expect from *England*, having given Monſieur *Pompone* no Encouragement to continue an immediate Commerce between us here; which, I ſuppoſe, he had a Mind to, upon pretence of gaining Time, and might have been welcome to a Man that conſidered his

Maſter or his Orders, as Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* does his, in his preſent Ambaſſage.

I have given a full Account in my Diſpatch to Night to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, of the late Treaty of Commerce between *Sweden* and this State; which, I find, You think ſomewhat myſterious: And becauſe I eſteem that, and other Particulars in that Diſpatch, neceſſary for his Majeſty to know, I preſume You will meet it certainly at the Foreign Committee, and therefore refer You to it.

They are here very full of the Belief given them by the laſt *Italian* Letters, of a great Victory of Monſieur *de Ruyter* over the *French* Fleet, and the Extremity of *Meſſina*, if not relieved. The laſt I have Reaſon to believe, from ſome Letters I have received, and others of Merchants I have ſeen; as likewiſe, That there has been an Engagement between the Two Fleets; but for the Succeſſes and Particulars of it, I do not find any Ground of Certainty from any Advices yet arrived here, or the Compariſon of them from ſo many ſeveral Places, becauſe they ſeem all derived from one Source; which was a Felucca come by chance into *Naples* with the Reports of them. In caſe it ſhould be true, it would be of great Conſequence, and make ſome Change in the preſent Scene of Affairs, and Diſpoſitions towards a Peace.

The Prince is out of Town for a Week a Hunting, and is pleas'd to hear, You are ſo keen upon that Sport; and ſays, There are Two Places in *England* he will be ſure to be at, whenever he ſees *England*; which are, Your Houſe at *Enfield*, and *Shene*; tho' the Fruits of one, will be too weak a Rival with him for the Hunting at t'other.

I am ever, with very much Paſſion and Truth,

S I R,

Your moſt Obedient

Humble Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

[*Hague*, *February* 18. *S. N.* 1676.

S I R,

I Am to acknowledge both Yours of the 1ſt and the 4th, which are come to my Hands ſince my laſt of the 11th. Your firſt incloſed the *Swediſh* Paſſports. put into Your Hands by Monſieur *Sparr*; Your laſt, the *French* Papers, by Monſieur *Ruvigni*, containing the Reaſons of the moſt Chriſtian King's refuſing thoſe Paſſports inſiſted upon here in the Paſſports of *France*. I have communicated both to the Penſioner; who, as to the firſt, remarked upon them the Opinion of the Clauſe for Liberty of Couriers, and that of the Paſſports themſelves expected for the Duke of *Lorrain* among their Allies. He concluded, both were done by Concert with *France*; and ſaid, He did not believe, they could be accepted in this Form; but would acquaint the States with it, and give me their Anſwer. He obſerved afterwards the Date of them, and finding it old, he told me upon it, That he did not doubt but the Court of *Sweden* had changed their Mind upon this Matter ſince that Time. That by the Letters laſt Week from *Stockholm*, Monſieur *Romph*, the States Miniſter there, had aſſured them, That the Court was reſolved to expedite the Paſſes in the very ſame Form with that agreed upon by the Confederates; and were abſolutely of Opinion, That the Clauſe for Liberty of Couriers was neceſſary, and particularly ſo to themſelves. And the Penſioner ſeemed to believe, that this Matter, and the Diſpatch of the Two Plenipotentiaries from *Sweden*, would ſoon be made, either by a *Dutch* Veſſel from *Gottenburg*, or by a Frigat to be ſent from hence to that purpoſe.

As to Monſieur *Ruvigni*'s Paper, he told me, It was a Buſineſs of that Importance, the Congreſs depending wholly upon it, that he would not advance his own Opinion, without firſt knowing that of his Maſters: That an Anſwer had been made to my laſt Memorial upon this Subject, which ſhould have been in my Hands before this Poſt, but conſiſting chiefly in the due Acknowledgments of his Majeſty's Offices, and repeated Inſtances to *France* for removing theſe Difficulties; he thought now, that I acquainted him with the Succeſs, that it would be fit to enlarge it, but promiſed to take care that I ſhould be poſſeſſed of it by next Ordinary.

For my own Part, I will confeſs to You, That I think Monſieur *Ruvigni*'s Paper a Thing as ſtrongly and as well reaſoned, as I have ſeen any, and that I cannot but think they have Right in what concerns the Point of the Couriers, ſince the Prejudice to the Confederates from that Liberty, cannot be, in any kind, equal with that of *France* uſing it ill; and the Inſtances of what paſs'd at *Cologn* and *Aix la Chapelle*, are ſo pertinent, that I do not ſee how they can be diſputed; eſpecially, upon the Offer of free Paſſage between *Nimeguen* and *Bruſſels*. All that ſticks, in my Opinion, is, The Prejudice that *France* and *Sweden* will receive, by the want of allowed Intercourſe with their Miniſters: but of this they are themſelves the beſt Judges.

As to the Point of *Lorrain*, I ſhould likewiſe think the Paper had Reaſon too, if they grounded their Title to *Lorrain* upon Conqueſt, which is a very common Right in the World, and univerſally allowed, when, at leaſt, confirmed by Time. But in caſe that Treaty of 1662, were attended with all thoſe Circumſtances which the Penſioner as well as Monſieur *Serinchamps* have deduced to me upon this Occaſion, I doubt whether it will bear ſo much Weight. But at this I can offer no Judgment, without knowing the Matter from that ſide, as well as this; which I ſhould be very glad to do, that I might, if there be Occaſion, be better able to argue it with them here.

By what I can diſcover at firſt by Diſcourſes among them upon this Subject, I am apt to think, that both the Prince and the States would be content to leave this Matter wholly to be governed by his Majeſty, and make him an Arbiter in it, as well as a Mediator, in caſe *France* would do the ſame. But I doubt whether they ſit ſo looſe from their Allies, as to divide from them in it, or whether the ſeveral Miniſters of the Confederates here, will make ſuch a Pace upon ſo important an Affair, without new and preciſe Orders from their Maſters. However, I ſhould be very glad to know, for my Government hereafter, upon this or the like Occaſions, Whether his Majeſty would be content to have ſuch Offers made him, or rather declined, in their firſt Riſe? I know, the Uſe of them might introduce a very great Authority to his Mediation in the Courſe of the Treaty, and in Points, perhaps, of greater moment than this. But whether his Majeſty would willingly charge himſelf with abſolute Deciſions, and paſs over the Reſpects of diſpleaſing the Parties, who might think themſelves aggrieved by them, is what I know not. But, perhaps, it is not unneceſſary for me to have, at leaſt, ſome Hint of his Majeſty's Diſpoſitions in ſuch Caſes, if they ſhould fall in my way.

I leave the current News to my Secretary, as You pleaſe to give me Leave; but will add to it what I hear juſt now, that the Match will be made in all Appearance, between the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, *Spain* having given their Conſent to it; and, I believe, it is not without ſome Eye upon the Difficulties that, they ſay, the preſent King of *Poland* is like to meet with in his intended Coronation.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your moſt Humble Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, February 25. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge the Honour of both Yours of the 8th and the 11th, ſince my laſt of this Day Se'nnight. I find both refer me to the further Notices You expect out of *France*, concerning the Difficulties at preſent depending in the Buſineſs of the Congreſs; and I can, as yet, give You as little Light from hence. The Penſioner ſent me Excuſes this Morning, That the Anſwer intended by the States to my laſt Memorial, and to the Reaſons contained in Monſieur *Ruvigni*'s Paper, could not yet be ready, by reaſon of Monſieur *de Lyra*'s Abſence, without whoſe Communication, as Miniſter to the chief of their Allies, they could not agree upon any Reſolution which concerned the Union in general.

I ſent him the Paper put into Your Hands by the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, and deſired upon it, that the Paſſports of this State might be delivered to the *Swediſh* Miniſter here. The Penſioner return'd me Anſwer, That he would move it to the States; but doubted, that it could not be till the Form of Paſſports were agreed on both ſides, which ought to be the ſame to all Parties. The ſhort of the Matter is this: *France* refuſes the Liberty of Couriers, becauſe they will not open their Country to their Enemies. *Denmark* makes the ſame Difficulties, and for the ſame Reaſons. *Sweden* for the contrary, deſires the Liberty of Couriers between them and the Confederates: But theſe are reſolved to allow nothing to *Sweden* in this Point, but what *France* ſhall allow to *Spain:* And they are, for ought I ſee, upon the whole, very indifferent whether the Thing be agreed one way or other, ſo it may be general to all the Parties.

In the Caſe You ſay, had been propoſed to You by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* of what may happen to the Domeſticks of the *French* Ambaſſador, if the Treaty ſhould not proceed; I ſhould have thought my ſelf obliged to protect them (even without receiving his Majeſty's Orders) to the utmoſt of my Credit here; and I queſtion not but That would ſerve ſuch a Turn as this, if there were Occaſion; and therefore, I think, his Majeſty may be at Eaſe on that ſide.

I am very well content to have little at this Time to trouble You with, either from Your own Letters, or any thing elſe that paſſes here; having been now for four Days confined to my Chamber by a very painful Illneſs, which has much indiſpoſed me for this kind of Exerciſe.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, February 28. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

THIS Morning I received the Honour of Yours of the 15th, with an Account of his Majeſty's firſt Thoughts upon mine of the 18th, by which I ſhall govern my ſelf for the diſcouraging any Propoſitions of that kind ariſing here, either in this Matter of *Lorrain*, or others, unleſs I receive new Directions. The common Belief here at this preſent, is, That *France* will not inſiſt ſo far upon the Difficulties raiſed in the *Lorrain* Paſſports, as to break the Congreſs upon it; eſpecially ſince *Sweden* is reſolved to break from them in it. On this ſide, they make no haſte to give me any Anſwer upon the Reaſons of *France* repreſented to them on that Subject, pretending ſtill the Abſence of Don *Emanuel de Lyra*. But Yeſterday Monſieur *Serinchamps* ſhew'd me a Letter from his Maſter, where he ſaid, He was ſure he ſhould not be abandoned by the Empire nor *Spain* in this Point; and that they would neither be brought to the Congreſs without the Allowance of his Title, nor to the Peace without the Reſtitution of his Dutchy. There was a great deal in it acknowledging and applauding his Majeſty's Juſtice, in the Offices performed upon this Occaſion towards *France*; and a great deal more, taxing very ſharply the Procedure of *France*, in advancing Pretenſions upon ſuch a Treaty, wherein, he ſaid, were *toutes ſortes de nullités*: but that he ſhould be ſorry to be put upon more large or publick Deductions of that Matter, for the ſake of the Dead; and not only the late Duke, but thoſe Miniſters of *France* who were the Inſtruments in that Treaty. The Reaſons alledg'd in this Letter were very ſhort, and upon the ſame Heads with thoſe I ſent you formerly from Monſieur *Serinchamps*'s Repreſentation. He would not give me a Copy of the Letter, ſaying, His Maſter had ſo ordered him, and only to communicate it to me; becauſe, he ſaid, he would not be *obligé à des repliques en un tems ou lés coups d' epée ſeroient plus de ſaiſon que ceux de plume.*

The Truth is, The *Lorrain*, the *Brandenburgh*, and the *Daniſh* Miniſters, would be well pleaſed to ſee the Campaign end before the Congreſs begins; and ſo are glad to increaſe all the Difficulties lately fallen in. But theſe States are very deſirous to have the Congreſs formed, and preſs both the *Spaniards* and Imperialiſts to ſend their Plenipotentiaries to *Nimeguen*, whether the *French* come or no, ſince they are aſſured that the *Swedes* will. They pretend by it, to throw the Blame of the War openly upon *France*; but the true Spring of it is, The Hope they have, that ſome Overtures of Peace may ariſe from the Accidents of the War in the Courſe of the Campaign; and that they may be much better improved by his Majeſty's Mediation, when a Congreſs is on Foot, than by any private Ways of Negotiation. For theſe Reaſons, they have reſolved Yeſterday at the Committee of Secret Affairs, That a Frigat ſhall be ſent away to *Gottenburgh*, not only to exchange the Paſſports with *Sweden*, but to bring away their Plenipotentiaries, who will be ready there, as the *Swediſh* Commiſſary here aſſures them. But this Reſolution is taken with the Condition of their Allies conſenting, to which they are in hopes of inducing them.

The Prince coming to me this Morning, immediately after I received Your Letter, I told his Highneſs what You encharged me from his Majeſty, concerning his Anſwer to the Elector Palatine, which the Prince was very much pleaſed with; and deſired me, of Himſelf, to acquaint both the States and the Allies with it, as a Mark of his Majeſty's Juſtice in the Mediation; which I ſhall do to morrow, tho' I have not yet ſtirred out of my Chamber, and write in Pain.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March 3. *S. N.* 1676.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

UPON an Occaſion given me by Lord my Treaſurer, in a Clauſe of a late Letter mentioning a Diſpatch of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* hither; I thought fit by his Lordſhip's Hand, to give Your Majeſty the fulleſt Account I could of the Prince of *Orange*'s Diſpoſitions and Intentions in this great Conjuncture.

I have ſince found by Diſcourſe with Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, That Your Majeſty thought his Highneſs might be made more ſenſible of the Uſage he has received, and ought to expect from *Spain*, in this Confederacy. I did not forget, among other Things wherein Your Majeſty inſtructed me, to ſay a great deal to him upon this Subject. He ſtill anſwered me, That he knew more of this than I could tell him: That it had gone ſo far in what concerned his Perſonal Intereſts with that Crown, as to make him tell the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa* laſt Campaign, That he took this manner of Treatment from *Spain*, as a great Honour to him: For, he was very ſure, at a Time wherein the leaſt Step he ſhould make awry, was of ſo great moment to that Crown; they would not uſe him ſo, if they did not think him a Man of too much Honour, to prefer his own Reſentments before the publick Intereſts he was engaged in. And he added upon it, That they knew him, for he ſhould not do it.

Upon another Diſcourſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*'s depending ſo much upon his Highneſs's own Diſpoſitions, rather than thoſe of the States, in the Purſuit of their preſent Alliances; his Highneſs told me a Particular I had never heard before; which was, That one Part of his Oath as Statholder, was, To take the Care of keeping the States to the Obſervation of their Treaties; which he was reſolved to do to the beſt of his Power.

Laſt *Friday*, his Highneſs coming to me upon an Illneſs that kept me in my Chamber, told me all that had paſſed between him and Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, upon the Subject of the Peace; which all ended in this: That Your Majeſty deſired a good Peace, and that his Highneſs deſired nothing more than a good one, but not an ill one; which, on the contrary, he would hinder if he could. That all the Queſtion was, What was a good Peace? And upon that, had deſired of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, as he had before done of me, to know Your Majeſty's Mind, and upon what Terms You deſired or thought fit the Peace ſhould be made: That Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* had anſwered, You had given him no Commiſſion to give that Scheme, and would reſerve Your ſelf till the Treaty. Upon which his Highneſs had replied, That then, for his Part, he would neither help nor hinder the Peace: That it would be made when one of the Parties were beaten out of the Field, but not till then; unleſs Your Majeſty would declare to all the Parties upon what Terms You thought fit, and deſired to make it; and, in this Caſe, it would be done in a Week.

I tell Your Majeſty this, that for Your better Light, You may compare it with the Notes You receive upon this Matter from Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*; and thereby know, whether the Prince's Diſcourſes are different to different Perſons; which I believe they are not, however they may be repreſented. And, I am confident, no Reaſonings can remove him from thoſe Intentions I have always given Your Majeſty an Account of; unleſs the future Events of the War, or new Revolutions in the Confederacy, ſhould inſpire him with new Thoughts, or involve him in new Neceſſities.

The Prince in his laſt Viſit to me, told me, He believed one great Part of Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*'s Errand hither, was come out t'other Day. That he had fallen into Diſcourſe of the ill Poſture of the *Engliſh* Forces here; the Neceſſity of a Perſon of Quality being at the Head of them; and my Lord *Oſſory*'s Deſire to ſerve him in that Charge. That upon the Prince's agreeing in thoſe Points, Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* pulled out a Letter, and ſaid, 'Twas one he had thought of writing to my Lord *Arlington* upon that Subject, if the Prince approved it. That he read it to his Highneſs, who ſaid, He thought it was well; and that he might ſend it, if he would. The Prince told me, He obſerved the Paper was ſo worn in the Creaſes, that he knew it was a Thing brought out of *England*, and not written here, as Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* pretended; and believed, it was not only to go to my Lord *Arlington*, but that it came from him too. That he believed, it was not a Thing Your Majeſty knew of; and obſerved a Clauſe in it, which he thought was put in on purpoſe to ingratiate it to Your Majeſty, tho' he had taken no notice of it to Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*.

I took this Occaſion to tell his Highneſs, That Your Majeſty had talk'd with me, when I was laſt in *England*, of that Point, as of a Thing You would be glad of, and that might be provided for by private Concert between Your Majeſty and his Highneſs, upon the Concluſion of a Treaty You intended of a nearer Alliance with this State, immediately after the general Peace; which his Highneſs, I find, thinks will be the proper Time for it; as I remember Your Majeſty thought too, when You diſcourſed it to me. I did not find any Reflections or Diſpoſitions in the Prince, different from what Your Majeſty has Reaſon to deſire them upon this Occaſion; and doubt not of ſeeing all other Meaſures eaſie between You, in caſe Your Majeſty can have ſo much Credit with *France*, or ſo much good Fortune, as to help him out of this War with ſome Honour and Satisfaction.

Your Majeſty will pleaſe to uſe this Matter as a piece of Confidence from the Prince to me; though I thought it fit to be told Your Majeſty, becauſe I remember how averſe You were laſt Summer from ſuffering my Lord *Oſſery* to come over during the War; and I thought You might be ingaged in what You had no mind to, upon the Prince's ſeeming to preſs You with a Circumſtance of a new Strain; or elſe be troubled to refuſe what he ſeemed ſo much to deſire. Whereas the Thing has riſen wholly in *England*, and not here, as will be repreſented to You; ſo that the Matter is in Your Majeſty to do juſt as You pleaſe, without any Danger of diſobliging the Prince, who is but paſſive in it. And for that Circumſtance, which, I ſuppoſe, intended to value ſomebody or other, by the Shew of extraordinary Confidence, and to introduce ſome more private Negotiations; 'tis a Fruit that, I doubt, is not yet in Seaſon to be handled, nor will before the General Peace is made, which muſt make way for all nearer Meaſures between Your Majeſty and the Prince; and I am the more of this Opinion, becauſe, I remember, it was abſolutely Your Majeſty's when I left You.

I humbly beg Your Majeſty's Pardon for this Trouble, and Your Acceptance of that true and paſſionate Devotion, wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, March 10. *N. S.* 1676.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge Yours of the 22d, and in it the Significations of his Majeſty's further and more reſolved Pleaſure, concerning what might be offered on this Side towards his Majeſty's Arbitrage, upon Differences fallen, or like to fall in between the Parties. And by theſe Orders I ſhall wholly govern my ſelf in that Matter as it occurs.

I received likewiſe in Your Encloſure, new Paſſports for the *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries, againſt which I do not think there will lie any Exception: So that if thoſe for *Lorrain* were as forward, the Congreſs would ſoon begin. But upon that Point, I ſuppoſe, I may this Poſt ſend you the States Anſwer to Monſieur *Ruvigni*'s Paper, which was agreed on at Don *Emanuel*'s Return; and the Penſioner aſſured me this Morning, it ſhould be put into my Hands before the cloſing of this Pacquet.

Yeſterday the Prince came to me, and told me, He came from a Conference they had with their Allies, upon a Letter from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, with the Expedient his Majeſty had diſcourſed of, both to him and Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*. His Highneſs told me, That for himſelf and the States they would willingly fall in with whatever his Majeſty ſhould propoſe; but, to tell me plainly, there was not one Miniſter of any of their Allies, that liked it in any kind. The *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards* ſaid, modeſtly, at the Conference, That it was a Thing wholly new; and therefore excuſed themſelves from ſaying any Thing to it, without Orders from their Maſters. The *Daniſh* and *Brandenburgh* ſaid the ſame; but added, they were ſure their Maſters would not conſent to it. That nothing could touch their Sovereignties nearer, than that another Prince ſhould give Liberty to their Enemies to paſs through their Countries. But beſides theſe Arguments, his Highneſs told me, that they all concluded, That by it *France* would certainly gain their Point, after having publickly laid a Claim to *Lorrain*, and thereupon refuſed to give the Stile of Duke. I only tell You theſe as the Prince's Diſcourſes; for not having received any Orders to propoſe the Matter here, I have neither done it, nor can charge my ſelf with giving any Anſwer to it from the States: But the Penſioner told me this Morning, That would be done to Night, by Letters to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*. At the ſame Time he deſired me from the States, to know from Monſieur *Sylvercroone*, the *Swediſh* Commiſſary here (who has much preſs'd both them and me for the Diſpatch of their Paſſports) Whether he deſired the Exchange of them ſeparately, and before that of the *French* Paſſports were concluded, or no? For if he did, both the States and their Allies were very likely to conſent to it. I deſired to be excuſed from performing this Office: For his Majeſty having undertaken the Mediation of a general Peace; I took my ſelf to be encharged with all Offices that any way tended towards it; but with none that were aimed at any ſeparate Meaſures between the Parties; and therefore would not meddle, without his Majeſty's Orders, in any ſeparate Concert, or Exchange of Paſſports between them and *Sweden*.

The Penſioner ſeemed a little ſurprized, but ſaid, He would ſpeak with Monſieur *Sylvercroone* himſelf about it; ſince I did not think it, as the States had done, to be properly the Part of a Mediator. The Thing was ſudden; and this occurr'd to me, at the preſent, as moſt agreeable to what I conceived of his Majeſty's Scope and general Senſe, in the Draught of thoſe Inſtructions brought over by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*. However, I ſhould be glad to know, whether it be what his Majeſty approves of, that I may have the more Light for my future Government.

I communicated to the Penſioner the Commiſſioners Paper concerning Reviſions, and his Majeſty's Orders to me upon it. The Penſioner told me, He was this Night going out of Town, towards the *Skinckſconce*; but would communicate it to the States, immediately upon his Return. In the mean Time he would freely tell me his Thoughts upon it; which were, That ſince a Treaty had been concluded with thoſe Words, and ratified by the States, upon Aſſurance given them by their Ambaſſador, and from You (as he pretended) that the Intention was not to have the old Way of Reviſion altered, and brought before the States: And though it was a Thing contrary to the Conſtitutions of their Government; yet ſince his Majeſty preſs'd them to it, he thought that it ought to be done, rather than break the Words of a Treaty concluded.

cluded. That he was likewiſe of Opinion, it ſhould be made of as little Expence as any other Matters of that Kind are ſubject to here. But to make it without any Expence, as was propoſed, or Salary, either to the Reviſors, or Perſons ſummoned from the reſpective Admiralties, was a Thing wholly contrary to the Orders of their State; and they could not be preſs'd to change them, when no Treaty obliged them to it.

I went to wait upon the Prince this Morning, upon his Journey to *Gelderland*, being the firſt Time I have done it ſince my Illneſs. His Highneſs's Journey, as well as the Penſioner's, is chiefly intended for viewing the *Skinckſconce* (the Delivery of it to the States being abſolutely agreed with the Duke of *Brandenburgh*) and for reſolving whether it will be neceſſary to continue this Fort, or to build another, and thereby endeavour to change the Courſe of the *Rhine*, which is grown of late to throw ſo much of its Water into the *Waal*, as to ſpoil the Channel both of the old *Rhine*, and the *Yſſel*; which they think is neceſſary to be remedied. Another Reaſon of the Prince's Journey was, an Interview agreed with the Marquis *de Grana* at *Cleve*; but he has been now here three Days with the Prince, is gone this Afternoon to *Bruſſels*, and having ſpoke with the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, will return hither to meet the Prince, when he comes back from his Journey on *Saturday* or *Sunday* next. His Buſineſs is, to concert the Manner of carrying on this Campaign on all Hands. He has made me two Viſits ſince his being in Town, diſcourſed much of his Maſter's Deſires of Peace; and would have a Declaration of the contrary in *France*, from the Difficulties raiſed by this new Pretence to *Lorrain*; and ſpeaks very broad of their Conduct in this Matter, as, indeed, all the reſt of the Confederates are apt to do upon all Occaſions. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, March 17. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt of the 10th I have had nothing to trouble You with from hence; the Prince and the Penſioner having been both out of Town till laſt Night. I am ſorry mine was not come to Your Hands before the Diſpatch of Yours of the 29th paſt, by which I received Orders to propoſe to the States, in his Majeſty's Name, the Expedient that came to them laſt Week, from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*; who has, I preſume, before this Time given You an Account of its Reception here; at leaſt, what I writ You from the Prince's own Diſcourſes will have given You Light into that Matter. I went to his Highneſs this Morning, immediately upon Receipt of Yours, and acquainted him with the Orders it brought me. He told me, That I knew beſt what I had to do; but if he might adviſe me, I ſhould defer making the Propoſition to the States, till the next Pacquet from *England*; before which his Majeſty would find, by the Penſioner's Anſwer to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, what Reception that was like to meet with: And for his Highneſs's Part, he ſhould be ſorry to ſee his Majeſty's Name engaged, formally, in a Matter that would be refuſed. I argued this Point as far as I was able, as to the Fairneſs and Indifferency on all Sides, and Prejudice it would bring to none. The Prince grounded all the Difficulties upon the Allies, who, he ſaid, were unanimous in declining it; and ſome with Sharpneſs, though others with Coldneſs, but ſuch as look'd enough like Refuſal. For he had never before, at any of their Conferences, obſerved Monſieur *de Lyra* to avoid concluding one Way or other; or to refer himſelf to new Orders from *Madrid*, as he did in this. The Prince added, That he would not judge what Reaſon thoſe Miniſters might have, that pretended it would too far touch their Princes Sovereignty; but, he confeſs'd, he thought they had Reaſon in ſaying, it would be a yielding the Point to *France*, at leaſt, indirectly; and that it might have been done eaſier at firſt, and with leſs Prejudice to the Duke of *Lorrain*, before *France* had pretended a Right to that Dutchy. His Highneſs had heard, by this Day's Letters from *France*, That the moſt Chriſtian King had already conſented to this Expedient, and to the Liberty of Couriers, provided they kept their ſtrait Roads. I confeſs'd I had heard the ſame this Morning, by Monſieur *Sylvercroone*'s Letters from the *Swediſh* Miniſter at *Paris*; but that I had underſtood the Meaning of that Court's Expedient was, That the other Paſſes ſhould be granted reciprocally by the Parties, but his Majeſty ſhould give thoſe of *Lorrain* alone, with the *French* Approbation and Enforcement of them. His Highneſs replied, That could leſs be done than the other; for they were bound by Treaty to procure all their Allies Paſſports in the ſame Form with their own. That, he believed, the States would not part from their Treaties; but if they ſhould be inclined to it, he was bound by his Oath, as Statholder, to keep them to them: and ſo he was ſure he would do, as far as he was able. I told his Highneſs, That upon the Terms this Matter ſtood, for ought I ſaw, the Congreſs muſt break; and it was only their Parts to conſider and reſolve, whether that imported them more or leſs than theſe Punctilioes, which would not gain, or loſe, an Inch of Ground, upon the Treaty. The Prince replied, It was no Punctilio, but a Point of Right, on the one Side or the other; and that his Majeſty ought to judge, whether they had Right in demanding the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Stile, or *France* in refuſing it. That he could not tell, whether the Congreſs would break, or no; which depended upon *France*: But there were many here (and he was one of them) that believed, they would have yielded this Point of *Lorrain*, in *France*, if Monſieur *Van Beuningben* would have been content not to trouble his Head about finding out Expedients, in a Matter that was ſo plain: And that by Advices out of *France*, he had Reaſon to be of this Opinion.

This was the Sum of our Diſcourſes this Morning; upon all which I have reſolved to defer the making of this Propoſition to the States, in his Majeſty's Name, till my next Letters, and his Majeſty's Reſolution, after he is acquainted with the Diſpoſitions it will meet with here. But when his Majeſty has theſe Lights, he will beſt judge how far to engage in it; and upon Signification of his Pleaſure, ſhall immediately be obeyed.

In the Courſe of this Matter it muſt be obſerved, That ſeveral of the Confederates, eſpecially *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, are glad of any Delays to the Congreſs, till this Campaign ends; and ſo improve all Incidents towards that End, though without openly owning that Diſpoſition. The Unhappineſs is, That *France* has given them an Occaſion, which the States join with them in, eſteeming unreaſonable, and ſo, I doubt, will not break from them in it; which they would certainly have done, in thoſe of another Nature: As they lately did when *Denmark* made a Difficulty of granting the *Swediſh* Paſſports: Whereupon the States ordered their Miniſter at *Copenhagen*, to let that Court know, That if they ſent not the Paſſports hither, within ſix Weeks, they would ſend thoſe of this State without them; upon which, thoſe of *Denmark* were immediately diſpatch'd to their Miniſter here. And nothing has contributed more to the States Reſoution of ſending a Ship to *Gottenburg*, for the *Swediſh* Plenipotentiaries, than the Difficulties made by the *Daniſh* Miniſter here, about their paſſing by Land. In ſhort, this State grows jealous upon the Diſcovery of any Deſign, in any of their Allies, to continue the War upon Advantages of their own, wherein this State has little Concernment. And ſuch they eſteem all the Pretenſions on Foot, except that of *Spain*, in ſecuring and enlarging the Frontier of *Flanders*. Nor has *France* any Way to break their Conſtancy in purſuing the War, but by giving the *tort* to the Confederates, of delaying the Peace (at leaſt till the Fortune of Arms make a Deciſion between the Parties). On t'other Side, the Allies find no better Ways to animate the States, than by giving the *tort* to *France* of declining the Treaty; which they have made good Uſe of, upon this Difficulty about *Lorrain*. And, for my part, I am at an End of my Proſpect in this Matter; and all my preſent Hopes of either Peace or Congreſs, will reach no further than, *Fata viam invenient*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

S I R, *Hague, March* 20. *S. N.* 1676.

I Am to acknowledge the Honour of one from You of the 3d, with ſeveral Reaſons for ſupporting the Expedient lately tranſmitted from *England*, upon the Difficulties in the *Lorrain* Paſſports. I have made uſe of them in my Diſcourſes here, to prepare the Way for my propoſing it; if his Majeſty continues in that Mind, after having received the Anſwer given Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, which was made by a formal Reſolution, at a Conference between the States and their Allies; and containing, firſt, the Profeſſion of the ſeveral Miniſters, that they could conclude nothing in it, without new Orders from their Maſters: And then their own Opinion, that it could not be accepted by them: Ending in this, That Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* ſhould be written to, for theſe Reaſons to decline the Project, in the beſt and moſt decent Manner he could. The Reaſons I urge upon them are anſwered with great Modeſty, by thoſe of the Government here; ſaying, That if the Quarrel, and conſequently, his Majeſty's Mediation, lay only between *France* and them, this or any elſe that his Majeſty propoſed, would be eaſily accepted; but, *qui a compagnon a maître*; and ſo laying the Difficulty wholly upon their Allies, who, it ſeems, are very unanimous in it. Upon what I find here, of this Nature, to diſcourage me from hazarding his Majeſty's Name further, without new Orders; and upon that Paragraph of Your Letter which tells me, That all You had ſaid upon that Subject was but Your own Reaſonings; and that You had not yet had the Occaſion of knowing his Majeſty's Mind upon it, which You expected to do on *Sunday*, at the Foreign Committee; I have yet deferred my Propoſal of it, formally, to the States, in Expectation of the *Sunday*'s Letters, which are due to Day, whereas Your laſt came but Yeſterday to me.

Yeſterday Monſieur *Sylvercroone*, the *Swediſh* Commiſſary, came to me; and gave me the Knowledge of what had paſſed between him and the Penſioner, concerning the *Swediſh* Paſſports; after I had excuſed my ſelf wholly from medling in it. The States ſent one of their Deputies to the Commiſſary to know, whether he would give them, in writing, an Aſſurance, that upon their ſending a Ship and their Paſſports to *Gottenburg*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors would come away to *Nimeguen*. And this Aſſurance the Commiſſary has given them in Writing; and thereupon the Penſioner made him confidently hope the Thing would be done; and told him, they would have a Conference with their Allies upon it, yeſterday in the Afternoon; but, however, he deſired me *d'y donner la main*; and would needs have me underſtand that there was nothing either in the States Queſtion, or his Anſwer, that made any mention of *France*, or of any thing in it ſeparate from them. But that he look'd upon the Difficulties about *Lorrain* Paſſports, as like to be eaſily ſurmounted, and then the *French* Plenipotentiaries would be at the Congreſs in three Days; whereas theirs had ſo long a Journey, that he thought it was fit to loſe no Time. I again excuſed my ſelf, abſolutely, from making any Pace in this Matter, after the States had given me Reaſon, by the Penſioner's Diſcourſes, to believe they underſtoood it, as a Meaſure ſeparate from *France*. He ſaid a great deal to juſtify his own Conduct; which I heard coldly, till he would needs know my Opinion of it; upon which I told him, I could neither commend nor diſapprove it, without ſeeing his Orders, which, I ſuppoſed, he would not ſhew me; and till he did, I deſired him to be content without any Opinion of mine, in this Caſe. We paſſed afterwards into more general Diſcourſes of the War, and the Peace; by which I found his great Apprehenſions of the ill Poſture the *Swediſh* Affairs may fall into this Summer, by the Diviſions of their Counſels in *Sweden*, as well as the Strength of their Enemies abroad; and, that if *France* could not help them by Fleets or Armies, their Money could not make them a Match for ſo many Confederates, as they had to deal with. That they had more Reaſon to preſs the Congreſs than *France*; one being ſo much upon the loſing, and t'other upon the gaining Hand. That when they came to it, they would do nothing without *France*, in caſe they ſhould be there before them; but, he believed, they ſhould uſe their beſt Offices towards inducing *France* to a Treaty, which was of ſo great Importance to *Sweden*; and he thought the *French* might do ſomething for an Ally that had ſuffered ſo much for them.

This I take to be the Secret of this Interview, which the Miniſters here are fallen into with Monſieur *Sylvercroone*, being grounded upon a Likeneſs of Intereſts and Diſpoſitions, towards advancing it, whenever the Treaty begins. I hear beſides, from ſome of the Miniſters here, that there is a private Article in the laſt Treaty between *France* and *Sweden*; by which *France* has obliged themſelves to ſee the *Swedes* reſtored to all they might loſe by this War, in caſe of ill Succeſſes in it: And this, they think here, will make *Sweden* preſs *France* the harder upon a Peace, the more they grow out of Hopes to recover by Arms what they have already loſt. Which makes this State very deſirous to bring the *Swedes* to the Place of Congreſs; and the rather, becauſe they eſteem the two Ambaſſadors deſigned from *Sweden*, to be of the Party that was no Friend to the War.

In the mean Time, the *Daniſh* Miniſter here has made a great deal of Noiſe upon the Penſioner's entring into Conference with Monſieur *Sylvercroone*, and upon the States receiving a Paper from him; which they refuſed to do from Monſieur *Ebernſteyn*, for ſeveral Months before he went away, after the War was opened. The Conference that was to be held Yeſterday upon this Matter, with all the Allies, was put off till this Afternoon, for want of the *Brandenburgh* Miniſter, who was to be in Town this Morning. I am not ſure I ſhall know, before the Cloſure of this Pacquet, what the Reſult will be; but, by what I can make of the Diſpoſitions on all Sides, I am apt to believe the Thing will be agreed; the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Miniſters falling in with the Intentions of the States; and the *Danes* apprehending to give them too much Jealouſy of their Deſigns, to break, or at leaſt, defer the Congreſs, till this Campaign ends. I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, March 24. N. S. 1676.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt of the 20th, I have none from You, tho' a Pacquet be come in; and I expected from Your laſt on the 3d, to know his Majeſty's Mind in Your next, concerning my formal propoſing the late Expedient, after the Knowledge given You of the firſt Reception it met with here. I have been ſince endeavouring, all I could, to make better way for it, in caſe his Majeſty continue his Pleaſure of having it done, notwithſtanding the former Diſcouragement. I have ſince talked with ſeveral that are in the Councils here, as well as with the Penſioner, upon that Subject, but can gain no Ground with any of them. After all my Reaſonings with the Penſioner, and telling him the Orders I had to make the formal Propoſition, and deſiring him to give a Hand to it, as the only way left to keep up any Appearance of the Congreſs; he told me, That he could not undertake to ſay what would be the States mind; but he had very good Preſumptions from knowing what it had been: For tho' mine would be, perhaps, a more formal way of propoſing it, yet Monſieur *Van Beuningben*'s was, as he has writ them from the King's own Mouth, and thereupon was conſidered and debated by the States, and with their Allies, in the ſame manner that mine would be; and therefore, he was confident, it could have no other Reception. For the States, he ſaid, They would be very glad to receive it, or any other Advance towards the Treaty; but that no one Miniſter of their Allies, but had expreſs'd a Diſlike to it: And the Emperor's Reſident had ſaid, That beſides his Maſter, he would engage his Head, it would be refuſed by the Princes of the Empire. The Penſioner added, That beſides the Delays of new Orders, to which they all had Recourſe, the Thing would be repreſented at the ſeveral Courts by the Miniſters here, who were all prejudic'd againſt it; and I might judge what was to be expected from the Impreſſions they were like to give. That it was impoſſible for the States to break from their Allies in this Matter, having delay'd ſo long the Treaty at *Cologn*, upon the Point of *Lorrain*, when they were in ſo much worſe Condition than now. That they had Reaſon to hope his Majeſty would prevail with *France*, in a Point wherein he had always aſſured Monſieur *Van Beuningben* there ſhould be no Difficulty. He offered to ſend me ſeveral of Monſieur *Van Beuningben*'s Letters with that Aſſurance; but I told him, I believed eaſily his Majeſty did not foreſee it, and was ſurprized with it when it came firſt from *France*, and ſorry to meet with it. But the Caſe was now to find out an Expedient, ſince *France* was unmoveable upon the Offices his Majeſty had already performed in that Court; and that their Parts were to conſider, whether the Congreſs imported them ſo far as to paſs over ſuch Forms as were of no Conſequence at all to the Subſtance of the Treaty; or whether they were content the Congreſs ſhould abſolutely break upon them. He anſwered me, That if it broke on the *French* ſide, and upon a Point ſo unjuſt, they muſt have Patience: That he ſaw very well *France* would force this State upon the Reſolutions of continuing the War, which was both againſt their Mind, and againſt their Intereſt; but, if it muſt be ſo, and *Spain* would find a way to relieve them of the Subſidies they paid Abroad; *Nous ferons bien voir à la France, que nous ne ſommes pas encore hors d'haleine.* I tell You his Words because they are of a Strain that I had never heard from the Penſioner ſince my coming over; all his Diſcourſes having uſed to carry a Bent to the Peace, and an Opinion of its Neceſſity. But upon this Occaſion, and ſome Heat it gave him, he told me, They had ordered Monſieur *Hemskerke* to make the Propoſition at *Madrid*; and he doubted not but it would be accepted, if ever the Gallions arrived, or they could be perſuaded in *Spain* to cut off all Penſions for Three Years.

I gave You a Hint ſome time ſince of this being upon the Anvil among the Confederates, but did not imagine it would work up very faſt; becauſe I foreſaw it muſt draw on a Guaranty of the laſt Conqueſts upon *Sweden*: But that will not need, if *Spain* ſhould be able to pay the whole preſent Subſidies; and I perceive this State hath now a Proſpect of other Meaſures with *Sweden*, than they thought of at that Time.

I have reaſoned upon this Expedient likewiſe with the Marqueſs *de Grana*, upon his Return from *Bruſſels*. He adds one Thing more to what I hear againſt it from the reſt; which is, by asking, How his Maſter the Emperor can leave ſuch a Diſcontent at Heart of a Prince, to whom he hath already intruſted a great Part of his Forces, and is reſolved to commit the Charge of his whole Army this Year, in caſe any Difficulties ſhould happen in Count *Montecuculi*'s coming to command it. I believe his Journey hitherto hath had Effect upon the Hopes of the Confederates, by the Aſſurance he hath given them, That his Maſter's Army ſhall be in the Field, and encamped before the 20th of *April*, and ſtronger than in any of the laſt Campaigns. What I believed of the Conference among the Confederates held at the Time of my writing laſt, proved true: They agreed upon ſending their Paſſports and a Ship of this State for the *Swediſh* Plenipotentiaries; though the *Daniſh* Miniſters were brought to it *à reculons*. But I find here, That Monſieur *Romph*, Envoy of this State at *Stockholm*, hath not only aſſured them, That they will ſend their Plenipotentiaries away to *Nimeguen* upon the Arrival of the Ship; but that they will come inſtructed to do all they can to procure a ſudden general Peace; and if that cannot be compoſed, to make a particular Peace for that Crown. And he writes them word, That a Reſolution of the Senate is already paſs'd to this purpoſe. Though this whole Matter paſſeth between the States and Monſieur *Sylvercroone*, without any mention of *France*; and he gives it to me a very good Turn, of only haſtning the Delays neceſſary to ſo long a Journey; and pretending to believe theſe Difficulties raiſed by *France*, upon the Matter of Paſſports, may poſſibly have been occaſioned, becauſe they would not come to the Congreſs before the *Swedes* could be there: yet, I ſee plainly, the States reckon upon the *Swedes* coming to *Nimeguen*, though the Difficulties with *France* ſhould continue; and, conſequently, that there will be a Congreſs this Summer, whether the *French* Plenipotentiaries come to it or no. And this I thought fit his Majeſty ſhould have early Advice of, that he might order his Meaſures accordingly, in caſe it ſhould happen, and conſider how far the Progreſs of ſuch a Matter ſhould be attended and obſerved by his Miniſters; and whether with any Endeavours, either publick or private, either of aſſiſting or oppoſing it.

The Emperor's Miniſter here hath in the late Conferences among the Confederates, made great Complaints of Mr. *Skelton* having received at *Norimberg* the Orders ſent him to make a Halt in his Journey, had, notwithſtanding, gone afterwards from thence to *Ratisbonne*, and reſolved to make his Stay there; and had fallen into many ſecret Conferences with a *French* Gentleman, who is a Miniſter of the Duke of *Bavaria* there. That by it he had raiſed great Reflections among the Miniſters of the Emperor and the Confederate Princes, eſpecially upon Obſervation that many of theſe Meetings had been in the Night, or elſe at Places out of Town, that ſeemed choſen expreſly for the Secrecy of them. The States anſwered at the Conference, That they did not think theſe Circumſtances of Weight to be taken notice of to his Majeſty, as Monſieur *Campricht* deſired. However, both the Prince and Penſioner told me of it, tho' without pretending to make any Complaints: And I told them my own Belief, That there could be nothing of this kind by any Commiſſion of his Majeſty's; and that what was, might be only perſonal Acquaintance and Converſation between themſelves.

Mr. *Meredith* told You laſt Week of Eight Ships of War gone out of the *Texel*, without any Noiſe of their Preparation or Diſpatch. I hear certainly, they are Twelve or Fourteen, and commanded by one *Bringiſt* (as I remember his Name is) who is Vice-Admiral of *Friezland*, and a very bold Man. I am aſſured of a Thouſand Land-men aboard; but the whole hath been carried on by the Expence of the Admiralty, without any Supply from the State; and with ſuch Secrecy, that I cannot poſſibly learn upon what Deſign.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, March 27. *S. N.* 1676.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

I Received by the laſt Letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* the Knowledge of a Juſtification made him by a *Daniſh* Envoy at *London*, of the *Daniſh* Envoy's Carriage and Expreſſions here, upon the Propoſal of Your Majeſty's late Expedient tranſmitted by Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*. Beſides what I have written upon this Subject to Mr. Secretary, I could not but take notice of a Proceeding ſo diſingenuous, as to let Your Majeſty know, That the Prince telling me how that Propoſal was received by the Allies, added, That one of them ſaid, among other warm Things; *Qu'on ne pretendoit pas ſe mettre ſous la tutele du Roy d'Angleterre.* His Highneſs ſaid, He would not tell me who it was: And I reply'd, He needed not; for I knew the Stile too well, not to be ſure it was Monſieur *Meyercroon*'s: The Prince confeſs'd it was ſo, but deſired me not to ſpeak of it: I do it now only to Your Majeſty; and that Your Majeſty may ſee how far You may rely upon the Diſcourſes of ſuch Foreign Miniſters, who ſay only what they think will pleaſe, inſtead of what they know is true. If Your Majeſty deſireth to make any farther Uſe of this than Your own Information, I will ask the Prince Leave to tell it; if not, I hope Your Majeſty will manage his Highneſs's Credit with his Allies, and mine with him; and that You will pleaſe to pardon this Interruption from,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient

Subject, and Servant.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, March 27. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

BY Yours of the 29th paſt, I received Orders to propoſe his Majeſty's late Expedient formally to this State; but upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Advice, I gave You notice of my deferring it till his Majeſty's Pleaſure were known, after the Account I had given of its Reception here upon Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s tranſmitting it from his Majeſty's own Mouth, and a formal Conference between the States and all their Allies upon it. By Yours of *March* the 3d, I received the notice of that Account being come to Your Hand, but was referred to the next for Knowledge of his Majeſty's Mind upon it, after the producing it the *Sunday* following at the Foreign Committee. The *Tueſday*'s Poſt after that, brought me nothing at all from You; but the next *Friday*'s Poſt being now come in, brought me Yours of the 10th Current; which ſays not a Word more to me upon this whole Matter, but that his Majeſty expected the States and their Allies Anſwer upon the Point. I thought it my Duty, immediately upon Receipt of this Letter, and Conſideration of the former Circumſtances, to put in the incloſed Memorial with the formal Propoſition of it to the States; though I had, in Two late ones of mine, given You Account, both from the Prince's and Penſioner's, and ſeveral others Diſcourſes, what Succeſs I had Reaſon to expect, and, conſequently, why I delay'd it till farther Orders. I know very well, that the Count *d' Eſtrades*, in his Embaſſy here, received twice poſitive Orders, from the King his Maſter, to propoſe Things in his Name to the States, which had been grounded upon Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Diſcourſes in that Court; but the Count finding that they would be refuſed here, ſuppreſſed his Orders, and ſent his Maſter word, that he had done ſo, becauſe he would not expoſe his Majeſty's Name and Honour in a Thing wherein he was ſure to be refuſed. I know very well, his Conduct was both approved, and he received Thanks for it from the moſt Chriſtian King. I confeſs, mine ſhould have been the ſame upon this Occaſion, if I had not known my want of Credit to ſupport me; and that, in ſuch Caſes, 'tis fit for ſuch a Man only to obey, which muſt be my part; and therefore it will be Yours to expect it from me, and to conſider how I am inſtructed. I could not yet receive any Anſwer to my Memorial, becauſe they would be ſure to do nothing in it, without a Conference with their Allies; but ſhall preſs them to it with Diligence, and with Wiſhes, that I may find my ſelf deceived in the Meaſures I have taken here, or given from hence in this Matter; tho' I do not remember to have yet failed in thoſe I have hitherto given You, in any one Point, and ſhould be glad to be put in mind of it, if I do.

For thoſe given his Majeſty by the Foreign Miniſters about him, I think You have had ſome Experience of late how they are to be rely'd upon: And though they may be excuſed, as proceeding from ſo good and ſo important a Deſign, as I ſuppoſe they have, of making their Court well to his Majeſty, by ſuch Advances or Compliances as have been lately among them; yet, I doubt whether You have Reaſon to ground upon them ſo far in Matters where his Majeſty's Service may be concerned.

I told the Prince, That Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* had approved of his Majeſty's Expedient there; upon which his Highneſs reply'd, That it might be ſo; but he was ſure he had written to Don *Emanuel de Lyra* in a very different Stile. You now tell me, That the *Daniſh* Envoy there, came on purpoſe to You, to juſtifie their Miniſter here, upon his having been repreſented from hence to have oppoſed and argued againſt his Majeſty's Expedient; whereas he never had expreſſed any Diſlike or Prejudice to that Matter. I deſire You will pleaſe to tell Your *Daniſh* Envoy from me (at leaſt if You think fit) That I will leave that Matter to be diſputed by Monſieur *Meyercroon* with the Prince of *Orange* and the Penſioner *Fagel*; who both told me very much the contrary, and I own to have written it from their Mouths. And ſince he brings me into the Liſts upon this Occaſion, I do not only name my Principals; but I queſtion not to find ſo much Credit with ſome of the Miniſters of the Allies here, as to know ſome remarkable Words of Monſieur *Meyercroon*'s upon this Occaſion at the Conference, which will be very fit for his Majeſty to know, whether he pleaſes to diſcourſe them or no.

I will add but one Word more upon this Subject; which is, That what Meaſures I give You of this Kind, I have from the Prince's and Penſioner's Diſcourſes; in which I have not yet found my ſelf deceived, nor ever known their Opinions conteſted by the States here once ſince my coming over, in any Matter that concerned Peace or War, or any Foreign Alliances.

On the other ſide, if You doubt of my giving You other Lights at any time than they give me, I am content You ſhould ſend any Letter of mine over to them by another Hand, and know whether I have either deceived, or been deceived in my Reports from their Diſcourſes with me.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, March 21. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

IN my laſt Letter of the 27th, I gave you an Account of my having propoſed his Majeſty's Expedient formally to the States. But having done it after many Diſcouragements, in my ſeveral Diſcourſes with the Prince, Penſioner, and other Miniſters of this State, as well as their Allies, and without any direct Orders from his Majeſty, after he had received the Knowledge of thoſe Diſcouragements; I was in ſome Pain to judge whether I had done well or no, till I was eaſed of it by Yours of the 14th; which brought me his Majeſty's poſitive Command to that purpoſe. I have yet no Anſwer to my Memorial, nor can expect it before this Poſt goes away; this Afternoon being appointed for the Conference between the States and their Allies upon it. Yeſterday was the Conference of the Commiſſioners with the Prince; who told me, The States continued of the ſame Mind they were; which was, That they could not break from their Allies in this Point, notwithſtanding their Deſires to comply with any thing that ſhould be propoſed by his Majeſty. He added, That the Miniſters of the Confederates here, would, he believed, make no other Anſwer, but that having no Power to conclude upon ſuch a Point, they would report it to their reſpective Principals, and expect their Orders.

I told the Penſioner, ſince my laſt, the Juſtification that had been made You there, by Monſieur *Gioel*, of the *Daniſh* and *Brandenburgh* Miniſters Carriage here upon this Matter, and what I had written to You upon it, of my leaving Monſieur *Meyercroon* to diſpute that Matter with the Prince and him. The Penſioner reply'd, That he knew very well he ſhould not be troubled with any ſuch Diſpute; for neither Monſieur *Meyercroon* nor *Blaſpyle* would ſay that to him, which they were ſaid to have written into *England*. That the Warmth of Monſieur *Meyercroon* had been greater than any other Miniſter's here; and Monſieur *Blaſpyle* had that very Morning told him again, That the more he had thought of that Expedient, the more he found it impracticable; becauſe not only the Form of the Paſſports muſt be left to his Majeſty, but in caſe of any Difficulty, or Breach of them, which ſhould occaſion Diſputes among the Parties, the Interpretation of them muſt be left to his Majeſty too: Nor could it eaſily be found out how the Violator of any ſuch Paſſport ſhould be puniſhed, which was proper for every Prince to do in caſe of his own Subjects, as 'twas a Right that could not be given up to another.

That You may have one Inſtance more, how ingenuouſly You are dealt with by the Foreign Miniſters with You in this Matter: The Prince told me, That Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* writ in his laſt Letter, That he was encouraged to preſs this Matter ſtill by the Hopes I gave his Majeſty, that it would be accepted here. Whereas, You know what the Stile of my Letters has been upon this Subject, from my very firſt Diſcourſes with the Prince: Nor could they have been true if they had been otherwiſe. Nor ſhall I ever give his Majeſty any Repreſentations that I do not think to be Right and True, till he ſhall pleaſe to tell me, That he had rather be deceived with falſe Lights, than be diſpleaſed with true ones.

Upon what You tell me, of a Reſolution of the States, that came by chance to Your Hands, bearing Date the 20th of *March*, which was the Day the Prince firſt ſpoke to me, of this Matter; and that it would have been well that You had received a Copy of it earlier from my Hands: I will confeſs, I knew ſuch a Reſolution was taken, but not at all the Words or Particulars of it; and that about Four or Five Days after, I ſaw a Copy of it, and in my next Letter ſent You an Account of what was in it. But it is not a Thing You muſt expect of me, to be able to give You Copies or Accounts of ſuch Reſolutions; tho' You call them Reſolutions of the States General: Whereas, tho' they paſs for ſuch, and have the Authority of them; yet, they are ſo far from being ſo, that many times the States General know nothing of them in three Months after they are taken. And tho' You are pleaſed to ſay, That Copy came to Your Hands by Chance, yet, I am ſure, it muſt have come by Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, or ſome others of the States Miniſters in other Courts, or elſe by the Miniſters of ſome of their Allies. And upon this Occaſion, it will be fit to inform You, of a Conſtitution in this State, which, I ſuppoſe, You are not acquainted with; but which is become the chief Reſſort of the Government here.

In the War between his Majeſty and this State, begun the Year 1665, Monſieur *de Witt* propoſed and procured a Commiſſion to be granted by the States General to Eight Commiſſioners, of which, Two *Holland*, and one of each other Province; who were called, The Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs. Theſe were then choſen of ſuch Men who were perfectly in Confidence with him. Power was given them by their Commiſſion, To deliberate, to act, to execute, in all Matters that were referred to them by the States, with the ſame Authority that the States themſelves could do; and yet the Liberty of doing it with ſuch Secrecy, that they were not bound to give any Account of what they reſolved to the States; but at ſuch Times as they themſelves thought fit. The Matters referred to their Management, were, All that concerned the War, any Foreign Alliances, the Propoſals and even Concluſions of Treaties, in caſe they were eſteemed neceſſary to be kept ſecret for a Time upon particular Reaſons of State. All Reſolutions taken by theſe Commiſſioners, were ſigned by the Deputy as Preſident, who was of the ſame Province with the Preſident of the States General, who was the only Officer that attended theſe Commiſſioners in their ſecret Deliberations. Theſe Reſolutions ſo ſigned, were ſent to their Generals, Admirals, Ambaſſadors, and other publick Miniſters abroad, for their Inſtructions, by which they acted; and were obſerved and obeyed as the Reſolutions of the States General, who had, indeed, only the Name and Form, whilſt theſe Commiſſioners had the whole Management of Peace and War: And the diſpoſal of Offices and Levies of Monies remained (as You know) in the Provincial Aſſemblies. It was with theſe Men I concluded that Treaty in 1668, in Five Days Time, which made ſo great a Change in the Meaſures of *Chriſtendom*: And Monſieur *de Witt* there told me, That by this Inſtitution, the Government had avoided thoſe Two Reproaches uſually laid upon Commonwealths, of wanting Secrecy in their Councils, and Suddenneſs in their Executions.

Upon the laſt Change of the Government here, and the reſtoring of the Prince of *Orange* to the Poſt of his Anceſtors, this Inſtitution of Monſieur *de Witt* was thought fit to be continued, but with this only Change, They were firſt to conſult with his Highneſs before they paſs'd any Reſolutions; which, in ſhort, has devolved the whole Power and Management of Affairs upon the Prince, in Conjunction with theſe Commiſſioners; of whom the Penſioner is one, and hath the Influence among the reſt, that Monſieur *de Witt* had before. This, as You may imagine, is ſtomach'd by many in the Province and the Towns; but, however, it goes down, and being grown into a Piece with the Authority of the Prince, does not ſeem likely to change, but with the Diminution thereof.

Yet the Penſioner, in any difficult Caſes, ſometimes ſummoneth the Miniſters of the Twelve Chief Towns in the Province of *Holland* to conſult with; and upon the next Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*, uſually gives them an Account of all Matters that have been acted by the Commiſſioners ſince the preceding Aſſembly, unleſs they judge the Reaſon or Neceſſity of Secrecy to continue ſtill. The Penſioner told me, He had laſt Week given them an Account of all that had paſs'd in the Difficulties of the Paſſports, and eſpecially that of *Lorrain*; the Reſolution of their Allies to ſtick to that Point of having that Duke's Stile allowed him; and the Opinion of the Commiſſioners, that this State was bound by their Treaties to adhere to them in that Pretence. That the States of *Holland* had unanimouſly approved of their Conduct in this whole Matter.

Now the Reſolution You mention of the States General, was a Reſolution of theſe Commiſſioners (who are called ſometimes, Of the Secret, and ſometimes, Of the Foreign Affairs, which is, indeed, their proper Buſineſs ſince the Change of the Government, the Management of the War being left wholly to the Prince;) nor do I believe, the States General have yet any Knowledge of that Reſolution; nor is it to be had otherwiſe, than from the Prince, or one of theſe Eight Commiſſioners, who are ſworn to Secrecy, or ſome of the Ambaſſadors or Foreign Miniſters of this State, to whom ſuch Reſolutions are uſually ſent; to ſome for Inſtruction, and for Information to others who are in Credit with the Government. This, I thought, might be very material for his Majeſty and Miniſters to know, as the main Reſſort of the preſent Government, and by which You may judge where the Power lies, how it moveth, and what is often meant by Reſolutions of the States General, which is grown a Term common to them, and to theſe Commiſſioners.

I have delivered his Majeſty's Letters for the Emperor and Duke of *Brandenburgh*, to their reſpective Miniſters here, ſo as You may reckon upon them as gone away by this Day's Ordinary. The Marquis *de Grana* is ſtill here, detained, for theſe Two or Three laſt Days, upon the Endeavours of compoſing the Pretenſions of the ſeveral Confederates to the paſt and future Conqueſts in the Dutchy of *Bremen*; their Diſſenſions having given ſome Delay to the Beginning of that Siege.

The States of *Holland* reſolved this laſt Aſſembly upon the Building of Six Ships, Four whereof to be of Eighty Guns a-piece. I told the Prince, I believed they did it for a good Countenance, and to make the World believe they were richer than they found themſelves: His Highneſs ſmiled, and ſaid, It might be ſo; but upon *France* having ſo many Ships, and of the greateſt Rate, he thought they might have Reaſon here to look a little more about them. But, for himſelf, he had no part in this Reſolution, and would have been glad the Money might have been employed this Year upon the Land Forces. That it was done by the States of *Holland*, and at the Inſtance of the chief Trading Towns, eſpecially *Amſterdam* and *Rotterdam*. I told the Prince, They might talk what they would of the *French*, and their Growth at Sea: But whenſoever I ſaw them building Ships here of that Size, I ſhould believe, it was done with ſome Reflections upon us. The Prince replied theſe Words; *Shall I tell you the Truth? You may be ſure, while the World ſtands, we will never fall out with* England, *if we can help it; but if you will fall out with us, whether we will or no, we ſhould be ſorry to be found unprovided.* I ſaid, I believed, that would be as little as t'other, now his Highneſs was where he ſhould be. And ſo the Matter ended.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, April 3. *S. N.* 1676.

S I R,

SINCE my laſt of the 31ſt paſt, I have none from You; and intended not to trouble You this Ordinary, had I not been engaged to it by an Incident Yeſterday; of which it is neceſſary to give his Majeſty an Account.

In the Morning Monſieur *Sylvertroone* came to me, and told me, The Ship deſigned for *Gottenburgh* would be ready to ſet ſail to morrow, and that Monſieur *Mortagne* was to go with the Paſſports and the Ratification of the late Marine Treaty. He told me, Great Talk had been raiſed in *England* of his preſſing this Diſpatch; and juſtified himſelf upon his Orders, as well as his Intentions, only to ſave Time in advancing the Congreſs. In the Afternoon the Greffier *Fagel* came to me from the States, to deſire me, That I would interchange the *Swediſh* Paſſports and theirs, which were both in my Hands; they and the *Swediſh* Miniſters being both agreed upon it. I had Recourſe to Your Letter of *March* 3, wherein I found theſe Words: "That his Majeſty "entirely approved my Conduct in the Matter of the *Swediſh* Paſſports, and "my refuſing to countenance any ſeparate Interchange of them. That his "Majeſty's Office being one common and general Mediation, and of one general Peace, could not countenance or ſuffer any ſeparate Steps, in whatſoever kind they were made." Upon this, I thought my ſelf obliged to refuſe abſolutely to deliver the Paſſports of one or t'other, unleſs the general Interchange of all Parties were agreed upon; or I received particular Orders from his Majeſty. The Greffier ſeemed much ſurprized at this Anſwer; told me, The Intention of this Diſpatch was only in order to a general Peace, they haſtning the Arrival of thoſe Miniſters who were fartheſt off, and like to find moſt Difficulty in coming to the Congreſs: That the *Swediſh* Paſſports were ſent hither from the States Envoy, and put into my Hands by him, the Greffier, ſo as they might reaſonably demand them again, when they were agreed upon the Exchange with the *Swediſh* Miniſters: That I had not made any Difficulty of it, when the Penſioner had ſpoken to me upon the firſt Propoſal of their ſending a Ship; and he ſuppoſed I would not do it now, when it was ready to go. I confeſs'd the laſt; but ſaid, I had ſince received the further Knowledge of his Majeſty's Mind in Caſes of this Nature: That it was true, I had received the Paſſports by their Hands; but with Intention, as I underſtood, to reſerve them for a general Interchange: and repeated again, That I could not deliver them without his Majeſty's Order; but that I would not fail to acquaint him with it by this Ordinary. Beſides the Words of Your Letter above-mentioned, I conſidered his Majeſty's being now engaged in the Offer of the late Expedient, which puts the Buſineſs of Paſſports into another Way. And upon both theſe Circumſtances, I thought it my Duty to make this Refuſal; though, I find, it will very much break their Meaſures taken in this Matter; and will be interpreted, or rather accuſed both by them and the *Swediſh* Miniſters, as a Delay of the Treaty. I muſt refer my ſelf to his Majeſty's Judgment, whether I have done well or no, and expect his Orders either to purſue or amend it.

The Conference upon my laſt Memorial has been put off till this Afternoon, by Three long Conferences upon the Buſineſs of *Bremen*; which is at length agreed, and the Siege of *Staden* will go on.

I ſhall trouble You no farther, but to wiſh You the good Feaſts, and to aſſure You of my being,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

S I R, *Hague, April 7. S. N. 1676.*

THE Penſioner told me this Morning, I ſhould be poſſeſſed of the States Anſwer to my Memorial concerning his Majeſty's Expedient, time enough to ſend it away this Ordinary. He added farther, That this Anſwer was made by a formal Reſolution of the States General themſelves, and not by the Commiſſioners of the Secret Affairs. I hear, it was reſolved by theſe laſt, at their Conference upon it, That tho' all the reſt of their Allies ſhould conſent to it, yet, by their Treaties, they (the States) could not do ſo, if *Lorrain* refuſed it. The Marquis *de Grana* received Letters from the Emperor before he left this Place, and Monſieur *Campricht* ſince, with Orders, as they ſay, poſitively to refuſe it. I am ſorry to have given his Majeſty ſo true Meaſures of this Matter from the very Beginning; and ſhould have been glad to find my ſelf diſcredited by his Majeſty's meeting with ſuch a Return upon it, as he was perſuaded to expect by Men that ought to have known more of their Maſters Mind, than it ſeems they did. But ſince You were pleaſed to tell me, His Majeſty's Honour was not at all concerned in theſe kind of Refuſals, I have all the Reaſons that can be to be ſatisfied. Before that, I confeſs, I was of Opinion, That it was not ſo in any Propoſals which his Majeſty only handed from one Party to another: But I was very ſollicitous to ſee nothing refuſed that came from his Majeſty himſelf, and as his own.

Upon my poſitive Refuſal to deliver the *Swediſh* Paſſports, or thoſe of the States for *Sweden*, without his Majeſty's Orders, they have not thought fit, it ſeems, either to attend that Delay, or to loſe the Meaſures altogether which they had taken in that Matter; and therefore have diſpatch'd their Ship for *Gottenburgh* with new Paſſports from the States, and Orders to exchange them for new Paſſports from that Crown.

The Count *Montecuculi* has excuſed himſelf from ſerving this Campaign; and Monſieur *Serinchamps* tells me, That Orders are already come to the Duke of *Lorrain* to command the Imperial Army. The Prince ſays, He will go to morrow Night to *Bergopzoom*, and ſo to the Rendezvous. Whether he will make a Step hither again before they march from thence, is uncertain.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

S I R, *Hague, April 14. N. S. 1676.*

SINCE my laſt of this Day Se'nnight, I am to acknowledge Three of Yours: One by a private Hand, in purſuance of his Majeſty's Letter in Favour of the *Jews* detained at *Surinam*; the others of the 21ſt and 28th paſt. I do not find either of the laſt contains any thing which requires Anſwer; farther than to ſay, That I meet with nothing more here of Noiſe or Complaint concerning Mr. *Skelton*'s Stay at *Ratisbonne*: What it may have occaſioned in the Empire, Monſieur *Ducker* will, I ſuppoſe, entertain You with ſuddenly, as he did me Yeſterday here in his way to the *Briel*, from whence he deſigned to paſs with this Pacquet.

For Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s laſt Memorial, I find it of a different Strain from the States Anſwer to mine; and confeſs, this was different from what I expected; which was only, the Allies Miniſters referring themſelves to new Orders from their Maſters. But, I believe, they took a Pride in ſhewing the Ampleneſs of their Powers, to conclude Matters of the greateſt moment in whatever concerns the Confederacy, without any Recourſe to their Maſters. Monſieur *de Lyra* told me the Night before the Conference where that Anſwer was agreed on, That he had never yet taken any thing *ad referendum* ſince he came hither; and that he would not begin now: That he had made a Dozen Treaties without any Orders at all: That he had Power to do whatever he thought would be for the Service of his Maſter, without further Inſtructions.

This Morning the *Brandenburgh* Miniſter brought me the Incloſed for his Majeſty; and ſhewing me a Copy of it, I told him, That his Maſter had treated his Majeſty's Expedient ſomething better in his Letter, than his Miniſters had done in their late Conferences. He replied, That they had a general Order to conform themſelves here with the Miniſters of the other Allies, in all Affairs relating to the Confederacy: That they had done ſo in this Matter, though their Maſter ſat looſer than the reſt in it, having no particular Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*, as the Houſe of *Auſtria* and this State had. He told me, The young Prince of *Brandenburgh* was now *incognito* at *Amſterdam*, but going from thence ſuddenly towards *Caſſel*, to purſue the Match deſigned between him and the young Princeſs of *Heſs*.

You are pleaſed to ſay, in Your Letter concerning the *Jews* at *Surinam*, That You were informed from the Perſon who brought me his Majeſty's Letter, that I had made ſome Difficulty upon it, for want of ſomething more particular from You. He was an ill Informer: For what I ſaid to him was, That upon a Difference I obſerved between the firſt Clauſe of the Petition, whereon his Majeſty's Letter was grounded; ſaying, The *Jews* complaining, were free Denizens of *England*: and a Clauſe in the Governor of *Surinam*'s Anſwer to the Commiſſioners Proteſt; ſaying, he had hindred no *Jews* from going, that were free Denizens of *England*: I thought it neceſſary for me to know which of thoſe Allegations were true; and wonder'd You had not ſaid a Word to me upon this Matter in any of Your Letters, which You uſually did upon the Diſpatch of ſuch Letters to me from his Majeſty. He undertook to inform me of the Truth in thoſe Allegations; and has ſince ſent me word from *Amſterdam*, That though they were not all free Denizens, yet he was ſure his Majeſty's Meaning was, to redeem them as if they were. And, I ſuppoſe, his double Diligence put him upon troubling You for a Letter upon what I ſaid. I ſhall ſoon give You an Account of this Matter, if the Penſioner's Abſence for ſome Days, does not retard this, as well as other Buſineſs.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir William Godolphin.

Hague, April 14. *S. N.* 1676.

My Lord,

I Have the Honour of one from Your Excellency of the 25th paſt, by this Ordinary, which gave me an Account, with more Certainty and Particulars, of the Rumour we had before concerning the Arrival of the *Spaniſh* Galhons. The Reflections You make upon it, are a true Picture of Mankind, and the Motions that are frequently made in their Minds, by Accidents, that touch them, perhaps, no farther than their Ears. The Effects of this kind reach even to theſe Parts, and, I believe, to the very Extent of this great Confederacy. This Place is now as dead as I have ſeen any great Town, or Seat of publick Buſineſs, the Prince being gone laſt Week into the Field, at leaſt, to the firſt Rendezvous of his Troops near *Roſendale*, and with him all the Company that uſed to fill this Place. The Diſgrace of the Chancellor in *Denmark*, and the Preparations for the Siege of *Staden* and *Philipsburg*, take up moſt Talk here at this Time; but will, I ſuppoſe, ſoon give way to the Actions now likely to begin ſomething nearer us; The *French* Deſigns upon *Ypre*, *Aire*, or *Charlemont*, or ſome other conſiderable Place in *Flanders*, being like to open a great Scene there. The Forces of the Confederates will certainly be very great, as well as thoſe of the *French*; and ſeem all to conſpire towards a very active and bloody Campaign.

The Talk of the Congreſs ſeems ſo out of Date, that I am concerned for Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*'s melancholy Poſt at *Nimeguen*; which ſtill continues in Expectation, rather than Hopes, of ſome lucky Incident that may ſtill revive it.

I am ever, with much Reſpect and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's

moſt Faithful

Humble Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, April 23. *S. N.* 1676.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

THE Day before the Prince of *Orange* left this Place, I attended him at *Hounſlerdyke*, upon his own Appointment; and telling me ſeveral Times, That he had ſomething to ſay to me before he went into the Field, and deſired it might be there, and at ſome Leiſure. When we were alone in the Garden, he was pleaſed to tell me, I would eaſily believe the Inſtances of the State, and of his Friends, as well as the Condition of his Family, muſt needs have put him often upon the Thoughts of marrying; but he had been ſtill in hopes, that the Concluſion of a Peace would have made Way for it, ſooner than he now thought it was like to do: For, at preſent, he did not ſee when or how that could be brought about, unleſs Your Majeſty would reſolve upon ſuch Conditions, as You ſhould think fit to have it made upon; and ſo propoſe them to the Parties, who were otherwiſe too diſtant in their Pretenſions, to agree eaſily themſelves. That, upon this Proſpect, he began to think, his Marriage could not longer attend upon the Motions of the Peace, which might be very ſlow and uncertain; and, therefore, he would tell me, freely, That he was reſolved, in caſe he returned from this Campaign, to neglect no Time, or Paces, that could be made in the Purſuit of it. That for the Perſon, I might be ſure his Inclinations would lead him into *England*, though he did not know what Diſpoſitions he ſhould meet with there; and while the War laſted, it might on this Side, admit of much Reflections, both from this State and their Allies. That, however, he would not go into the Field without writing to Your Majeſty, and to the Duke, of what he had ſo much at heart; and begging the Permiſſion, that, immediately after the Campaign ended, he might go over into *England*. That he thought this would be neceſſary, both that he might make his own Purſuit himſelf, in an Affair that ſo nearly concerned him; and that, by asking Leave ſo early, no Time might be loſt upon that Occaſion, when the Campaign was over. That he had Reaſon to deſire this Affair might, at preſent, be managed with all the Secreſy that could be, and therefore was reſolved to put the Letters concerning it into my Hands, and deſired my Wife might deliver them, both to Your Majeſty, and his Royal Highneſs, and that he would take Care to ſend them to me before he went.

This was the Sum of his Highneſs's Diſcourſe to me, when I took Leave of him; and his Letters both for Your Majeſty and the Duke, being ſome Days after come to my Hands, I thought it my Duty to ſend them, according to the Directions I receiv'd from the Prince, and ſhall leave Your Majeſty to know the reſt from his own Hand; though, I think, I have not miſtaken any Thing of what he ſaid to me upon this Occaſion. I ſhall not farther increaſe Your Majeſty's preſent Trouble, than by the humble Profeſſions of that perfect Devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's, &c.

To the Duke of YORK.

Hague, April 23, *S. N.* 1676.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

WHEN I took leave of the Prince of *Orange*, at his going to the Army, he was pleaſed to tell me the Reſolutions he had taken of writing to Your Highneſs, upon an Occaſion he had ſo much at Heart; and that he would do it before he went into the Field. He ſaid, He was reſolved to apply himſelf directly to Your Highneſs, in all that concerned it, and to beg Your Interceſſion with his Majeſty, that he might have Leave to go over into *England*, immediately after the Campaign ended. That he would likewiſe write to his Majeſty at the ſame Time, to beg his Permiſſion. And becauſe he had Reaſon to deſire, that whatever Paces he made, at preſent, in this Point, might be ſecret, he was reſolved to put his Letters into my Hands; and deſired that my Wife, upon her going over, might her ſelf deliver them both to his Majeſty and Your Highneſs, I thought it my Duty to obſerve theſe Directions. And having, by the ſame Hand, given his Majeſty an Account of the Manner, and Circumſtance, with which the Prince was pleaſed to enter into theſe Diſcourſes; I ſhall not preſume to trouble Your Highneſs with the bare Repetition of them, nor with any Thing more, at preſent, than the humble Profeſſions of the Devotion and Truth wherewith I am always,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamſon.

SIR, *Hague, May 5. S. N.* 1676.

SINCE my laſt of this Day Se'nnight, I am to acknowledge the Favour of two from You; the firſt of the 14th paſt, incloſing the Articles concluded by Sir *John Norborough*, with thoſe of *Tripoli*, very much to his Majeſty's Honour, and the Advantage of his Subjects. The ſecond, containing a large and particular Deduction of the ſeveral Conſiderations had by his Majeſty, after his Return, upon the States Anſwer to my Memorial, as well as upon Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Memorial, concerning the late Expedient propoſed by his Majeſty, and the Diverſity obſerved between them. I hope I have fully comprehended his Majeſty's Mind in this Matter, as well from this laſt, as from the former Accounts You have pleaſed to give me of it; and having had the good Fortune to make ſome Paces perfectly agreeable to it, upon Incidents wherein I could not be previouſly inſtructed, I may well aſſure You of my keeping cloſe to it, in thoſe where I am. This I conceive to be the chief Intention of the Lights You have laſt given me; and not that his Majeſty intended I ſhould make any Repreſentations upon them to the States; but only be prepared to reaſon thoſe Matters with them, in caſe any Thing ariſes from them here, upon the Paper You intended to put into Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Hands, whereof You pleaſe to promiſe me a Copy by the next; and to ſay, what You writ laſt was for my own Information; and that Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* had excuſed himſelf, for giving that Account to his Maſters by that Ordinary. I have not therefore entered into any Diſcourſes of this Matter; nor ſhall, without Occaſion given me by them here; or, at leaſt, the Knowledge of their having received Your Paper intended Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*. But will only tell You my Doubts, from what I obſerve in Your laſt Letter; That, as he was ſometimes engaged further for his Maſters, than he had Power to make good to his Majeſty; ſo he may have engaged further for his Majeſty to them (upon private, or common Diſcourſes, paſs'd from his Majeſty to him, upon Occaſion of the *Lorrain* Paſſports) than was ever intended, or could, indeed, be ſo, in a Caſe not at all then foreſeen. For in all our Conferences upon that Subject, they were ever full of the Aſſurances given by his Majeſty to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, and from his own Mouth, that there ſhould be no Difficulty in the Paſſports for *Lorrain*. But their Induction I always thought fitter for *Leyden* than the *Hague*: That it was all one to have no Paſſports granted, as not to have them granted in due Form: Whereas, what was the due Form, happened to be a Thing wholly in Diſpute. But the Bottom of all this, I ſuppoſe, is, That the Parties are not yet weary enough of the War, to uſe any Compliances towards the Forming of a Congreſs; whoſe Motions muſt depend upon that of the Campaign, while it laſts. So that, for ought I ſee, this Knot is of thoſe that muſt be cut through, and cannot be untied.

I took Care to ſatisfy the Emperor's Miniſter here about Mr. *Skelton*'s Conduct, both from what You and He writ me upon that Subject. And this Miniſter took as much Care to have me believe, there was nothing of his own in what had paſs'd; but that he had made the Complaint here, formally, to the States, as well as the other Confederate Miniſters, by the expreſs Commands of the Emperor himſelf. I think we are both ſatisfied in the Matter; ſince I cannot blame any Miniſter's Conduct, which is by his Maſter's Order: and, I ſuppoſe, there is nothing likely to ariſe further upon this Occaſion.

I ſent Yeſterday the States Paſſes to the Domeſticks of the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, for their Return to *Charleville*, upon a Letter I received from the Ambaſſadors themſelves, to that Purpoſe: Which I take for no very good Sign as to the Congreſs; though they aſſured me it was only *une af-*

faire domeſtique, and they regarded nothing more than their own Conveniencies during their Stay where they were, or in Order to their Journey by Land to *Nimeguen*.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, *May* 11. *N. S.* 1676.

SIR,

LAST Night, about Ten a-Clock, arrived here the Expreſs You were pleaſed to ſend away with the *Lorrain* Paſſport, incloſed in Yours of the 27th paſt: Which I received with great Senſe of ſo happy Succeſs, in an Affair by which his Majeſty will receive no leſs Honour than Satiſfaction; and whereof I have now, for ſome Time, ſo much deſpaired. I thought to have detained the Expreſs till I had ſpoken with the Penſioner upon it; but the Maſter of the Veſſel that brought him preſſes ſo much his Diſpatch, and the Penſioner having excuſed receiving me this Morning at his own Houſe, upon the Aſſurance of ſeeing me at mine: I doubted his Hour, after the Aſſembly riſes, might be too late for the other's Impatience; and therefore reſolved to let them make what Haſte they pleaſed away, with this Acknowledgement of having received their Diſpatch, and with the Incloſure of the Memorial I have drawn up, and reſolve this Morning to put in upon it. The Joy, as well as Surprize, will be here as great as can agree with the Anxieties they are in at preſent, upon the certain News arrived Yeſterday from their Army, of the Prince's beginning to march, on the 7th Evening, with Reſolution to attempt the raiſing the Siege of *Bouchain*; either by attacking the *French* Camp at *Kievrain*, or that before *Bouchain*; which may very well produce ſome deciſive Action. I now ſee no farther Difficulty in the forming of the Congreſs, nor Delay, beſides the Diſtance of Ways; unleſs ſome may be occaſioned by the Paſſports of the Allies, running in the firſt propoſed Form, with Liberty of Couriers, which though *France* hath, in a manner, conſented to, yet their Paſſports in my Hands being wholly without the mention of it, I know not yet whether the Miniſters of the Allies will raiſe any Difficulty upon exchanging their larger Paſſports for thoſe of *France*, that are, in that Particular, more reſtrained. But I hope to overcome this Difficulty, by the *penchant* of this State to ſee the Congreſs formed; and by propoſing, in caſe they make the Difficulty, That the Exchange however may be made, though with Reſerve of that Clauſe not being of Force, unleſs *France* ſhall conſent to the ſame Liberty for the Confederates.

Whatever may further occur between this and to Morrow Night, ſhall go in Courſe by the Ordinary, ſo as I ſhall not lengthen this, by any Thing that was to make up that Diſpatch, but only aſſure You of my being,

Your, &c.

To

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, May 12. S. N. 1676.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge the Favour of two from You by the Ordinary of the 25th and 28th paſt. The firſt brought my ſeveral Incloſed Copies, and with them a Letter of his Majeſty's to the Emperor, which I have put into his Miniſter's Hand, and went away by the Ordinary of this Morning.

Monſieur *Van Beuningben* kept his Word with You, and writ not over hither the Sum of Your Conference with him, till the Poſt after that which brought it me from Your Hands. Nor did the Penſioner enter very far with me upon it; only excuſing the Signification of the Word *Juger*, which they meant only for the Expreſſion of his Majeſty's Opinion; and profeſſing to be ſorry for any Offence his Majeſty had taken at it. He ſaid He was unwilling any Way ſhould be given to Complaints on that Side; and that I was Witneſs, how little he had troubled me with any, and how he had, ſtopp'd ſome from the Miniſters of the Allies here: That otherwiſe they might have Reaſon to make ſome Reflections upon our Conduct of late in *England*; beſides what they had been forced to take Notice of by Monſieur *Van Beuningben*, of his Majeſty's giving Leave to raiſe a new Regiment in *Scotland*, for the *French* Service, contrary to the expreſs Article of the laſt Treaty, whatever might be ſaid for Recruits of the old. But the Negotiations of ſeveral Perſons going abroad with Characters from his Majeſty, troubled him yet more, though the States had not thought fit to complain of them. I told him, I thought they did very wiſely, conſidering how little Ground ſome of thoſe Reports were found to have. Upon which he replied, That himſelf had read a Letter from the Princeſs of *Courland*, wherein ſhe ſays, That *de Cros* (who, it ſeems) had been formerly a Servant to the Prince her Husband) had writ him a Letter, upon his coming to *Copenhagen*, wherein he told him, That he came thither with a Commiſſion, and Inſtructions, from his Majeſty, to negotiate a ſeparate Peace between that Crown and *Sweden*. I excuſed my ſelf from believing, That either his Majeſty would enter into any ſeparate Mediation; or, if he did, that he would chuſe a Perſon for it, who would tell his Commiſſion where it was not neceſſary. And ſo his Diſcourſe ended.

On *Saturday* laſt Monſieur *Blaſpyle* came to me, and told me, He had certain Advice of ſix Ships equipping at *Rochel*, with four Men of War to convoy them, being laden with Corn, and other Neceſſaries, for the Relief of the *Swediſh* Places either in *Bremen* or *Pomerania*; and that their Intention was to go firſt into *England*, and there get Paſſes from his Majeſty. That though he was confident his Majeſty would do nothing contrary to the Office of a true and impartial Mediator; yet he deſired me that I would give his Miniſters Notice of this Pretenſion of theſe *French* Ships, which they ſeemed to believe themſelves ſecure of ſucceeding in; and which would be directly againſt the Intereſts of the Elector his Maſter.

Since the Diſpatch of Your Expreſs Yeſterday, with the Anſwer of what he brought me from You of the 27th, incloſing the *Lorrain* Paſſports, the States have had a Conference with the Miniſters of the Allies; and, as I conjectured at firſt, ſome Difficulty was made about the Exchange of Paſſports; upon the Difference in them, in Relation to the Liberty of Couriers. But the Penſioner ſends me Word this Afternoon, That he doubts not they ſhall end that Matter in a Day or two; by agreeing upon ſome Act, or Declaration, which ſhall leave *France* to the Choice of either giving it, or wanting it, and ſo leave it one Way or other, equal to both Sides. That he doubted not, they ſhould hereby be ready to make the Exchange of all Paſſports, ſome Day this Week. And that the States had written a Letter of Thanks to his Majeſty, upon this Occaſion, which ſhould be in my Hands to go with this Ordinary.

I find You reckon upon my having been poſſeſs'd of all the Paſſports; but though I have been ſo long of thoſe from *France* and *Sweden*, and of thoſe from this State for both thoſe Crowns, yet I never was, of any from the reſt of the Confederates; though the reſpective Miniſters have taken Occaſion to let me know, they had them in their Hands, and were ready to deliver them, when thoſe of all the Confederates were come.

The next Pace, I think, will be to agree upon the Declaration of the Neutral Country: which is left by the Confederates to his Majeſty, provided it be between the two Rivers. For my part, I ſee no certain Bound can be given it, unleſs by thoſe Rivers, and the *Foſſa Mariana*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, May 19. *N. S.* 1676.

S I R,

BY the laſt Poſt, I had nothing worth Your Trouble, farther than the Notice of what I received from the Penſioner, as the Pacquet was cloſing; that he hoped the Exchange of the Paſſports might be made the next Day, or on *Monday* at fartheſt. I heard no more from him till *Sunday* Night; but finding a Conference had been appointed for eight a-Clock on *Monday* Morning, upon that Subject, between the States and their Allies, I thought fit to ſpeak with the Penſioner late on *Sunday* Night, and endeavour to know of him, whether there were any new Occaſion of this Delay in a Matter that I thought deſerved a better and ſpeedier Reception. He told me, the true Reaſon was, That the Emperor's Miniſter had not yet the Paſſports in his Hands, but that they were at *Cologn*, from whence he was certain to receive them that Night: And that, after the next Conference, the Deputies of the States would certainly attend me with the neceſſary Paſſports, and make the Exchange.

I remember very well, that ſome Months ſince, the Emperor's Miniſter affirmed to be then poſſeſs'd of all his Paſſports; which I took Notice of to the Penſioner, the Delay being ſhort, and then ſo near an End. But I have ſince Reaſon to believe, the Diſpatch he expected was from *Duſſeldorp* rather than *Cologn*, and concerted by him with the Duke of *Nieuburg*, in order to the producing ſuch a Reſolution as I received Yeſterday from the States. The Penſioner had before obſerved to me ſome Difference between the Paſſports of *France*, and thoſe of the Confederates, and the Neceſſity of their inſiſting upon their being equal, which I undertake for. One was, That the Word *Repaſſer* was omitted in the *French*. Another was, That the Clauſe for Liberty of Couriers was ſo likewiſe; whereas both were inſerted in thoſe of the Confederates. And the third was, That there was but one *French* Paſſport for any of the Confederates, except only for *Spain*: Whereas thoſe of the Confederates were, three for the *French* and *Swediſh* Miniſters; and ſo many would be neceſſary for each of the Confederates; ſince they might think fit to ſend ſo many Miniſters, and either from ſeveral Places, or at ſeveral Times, ſo as not to be capable of uſing one Paſſport. In all theſe Matters we found nothing of Conſequence to hinder the Exchange of Paſſports, and Diſpatch of them to the reſpective Miniſters. Since, on the one Side, I made no Difficulty of engaging his Majeſty's Endeavours to procure the Supplement of theſe Defects on the *French* Side: And, on the other Part, the Penſioner ſaid, they would declare, That in caſe that was refuſed, their Paſſports ſhould reach no farther than thoſe of *France*; which I did not conteſt.

Yeſterday, being *Monday*, Afternoon, two of the States Deputies came to me, and told me, They came from their Maſters, in the firſt Place, to repeat their Thanks, and thoſe of their Allies, to his Majeſty, for the late Offices performed in this Matter of the *Lorrain* Paſſports. In the next, to make the Exchange of them, having brought with them thoſe of their Confederates; and to put into my Hands, at the ſame Time, the Reſolution taken by the States and their Allies, declaring the Conditions upon which the Exchange was to be made. They excuſed the Reſolution's not being yet tranſlated into *French*, by Reaſon of the Haſte they made to bring it me after it was agreed on; but did undertake to read it to me in *French*, out of the *Dutch* Original. The firſt Part contained thoſe three Particulars mentioned, and in the ſame manner the Penſioner underſtood they ſhould paſs: But after that came a Clauſe, That whereas the Duke of *Nieuburg* was lately entered into the Confederacy; that his Majeſty was deſired likewiſe to procure Paſſports for his Miniſters, and an Aſſurance from the King of *France*, of granting Paſſports to whatſoever Prince or State ſhould hereafter enter into their Alliance: Without both which the preſent Paſſports ſhould be of no Force or Effect. And with theſe Conditions they offered to make the Exchange of Paſſports.

I was, I confeſs, very much ſurprized to meet with a Clauſe ſo little expected, and, as I thought, ſo very impertinent; and thereupon told them, without farther Deliberation, my own Thoughts upon it. That for the ſmall Difference in the Form of Paſſports, I thought there would be no Difficulty, and queſtioned not his Majeſty's Inſtances and Succeſs upon them. That for the laſt, I eſteemed it a very unfit Return to ſo much Pains as his Majeſty had taken in the Purſuit of this Affair, and the Diligence he had uſed, in the Diſpatch of the *Lorrain* Paſſports, by Expreſs, immediately after he had, with ſo much Difficulty, obtained them. That they had delayed the Exchange of them now for eight Days, and at length offered it with Conditions that I eſteemed wholly eluſory, and upon which, for my own part, I could not think fit to make the Exchange; not knowing what other Advantage would be gained by it, than to keep the Paſſports of the Confederates as long in my Cabinet, as I had already done thoſe of *France* and *Sweden*: That upon the firſt Offer of his Majeſty's Mediation, it was long before all the Confederates had accepted it; and long before they afterwards agreed to a Place of Treaty, propoſed by his Majeſty, though in their own Territories. That in *December* laſt they ſignified to his Majeſty the Names of all their Confederatess, for whom they deſired Paſſports, and upon the Diſpatch whereof they then aſſured the Delivery of theirs, and thoſe of the Confederates, without farther Condition. That an Incident having fallen out upon the Stile of the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Majeſty had, for ſeveral Months, laboured for the Removal of it, and, at length, obtained it, with great Difficulty. That when he now expected the immediate Change of the Paſſports, and, conſequently, the ſudden forming of the Congreſs, wherein his Honour was ſo far engaged, they clogg'd it with two new Conditions; of which I thought the firſt out of Form, and out of Time; and the other wholly out of Reaſon and Practice. That for the Duke of *Nieuburg*, I knew he was a Prince for whom his Majeſty had not only a particular Eſteem, but Kindneſs too; and if either before, or after, the Exchange of Paſſports, they ſhould have ſignified that new Alliance to his Majeſty, and their Deſires of Paſſports for him, I believed his Majeſty would employ the ſame Endeavours for his Miniſters, as for thoſe of the other Allies. But, hitherto, his Majeſty had received no Notice of his entring into the Confederacy, unleſs they intended he ſhould have it from *Gazettes*: Nor had the Duke of *Nieuburg* either received ſince, the Offers of his Majeſty's Mediation; or, that I know of, ſignified his Acceptation of it, by himſelf, or the States, as all other their Allies had done: And, conſequently, it was out of Form, to deſire his Majeſty's Offices in this Matter, before thoſe Circumſtances were paſs'd. And it was very much out of Time, to deſire them juſt upon the Exchange of the Paſſports, and with Condition of their being void without the Succeſs of them; ſince the Exchange was intended for the ſudden meeting of the Plenipotentiaries at the Place of Congreſs. And this Condition muſt, of Neceſſity, delay it, till both his Majeſty's Reſolution were known in mediating a new Propoſal, and that of *France* in granting it: In which I was not yet informed of either of their Intentions; nor could be, till a Return from both Courts. That for the other Part of the Condition, which was an Aſſurance from *France* of granting Paſſports to all Princes, or States, that ſhould hereafter enter into their Confederacy; though they made it ſeem plauſible, by offering the Reciprocal to *France* and *Sweden*, from the Confederates; yet I thought it wholly impertinent and impracticable. And though I could not pretend to know whether either his Majeſty would think fit to deſire it, or the moſt Chriſtian King to agree to it; yet I was ſure I would not be of the Opininn for either of them to be done; or for any Paſſports to be ſolicited by one, or given by the other, but for Princes and States that were named at the deſiring of them. That the States might deſire Paſſports for the Kings of *Macaſſar* and *Ceylon*, who were already their Allies, or for the Duke of *Moſcovy*, who, I hear, was invited into the Confederacy of the preſent War. That I knew not, whether his Majeſty would trouble himſelf with a Mediation in their Behalfs. That, to go nearer home, ſome Prince in the Alliance of *France* might change his Party, and enter into theirs; and I did not know, whether, in ſuch a Caſe, the moſt Chriſtian King would think fit to admit ſuch an Ally into the Treaty; or whether his Majeſty would ſolicite it: Nor did I conceive either could be reſolved, without the conſidering of Circumſtances, as they ſhould appear when the Caſe came in Queſtion. That, in the mean Time, to make the Validity of the preſent Paſſports depend upon a future Condition, which could not be ſecured before-hand, were to make the Congreſs wholly deſperate: For no Miniſters, either from *France* or *Sweden*, could think fit to come to *Nimeguen*, when in caſe at any Time during their Reſidence there, upon the States deſiring Paſſports, a new Ally, which *France* (upon Circumſtances that might attend it) ſhould have Reaſon to refuſe, the preſent Paſſports were to become immediately void; and not only thereupon, the Negotiations, if begun, or never ſo much advanced, muſt immediately ceaſe; but the *French* and *Swediſh* Miniſters muſt remain in their Enemies Country, without any Safety to their very Perſons; ſince that could be grounded only upon their Paſſports, which would remain in danger of becoming invalid upon any ſuch Accident. That, for my own part, I took this to be a Strain of ſome of the Allies, which were Enemies of Peace, and ſo employ'd their Wits to find out Pretences of delaying, or breaking the Congreſs. That, however, ſince they brought it me as a Reſolution of the States, I deſired it in *French* (as all uſed to be that paſſed between his Majeſty and this State); though the Uſe I intended to make of it, was not ſo much to ſend it to his Majeſty, as to draw up, immediately, an Anſwer to it of my own, containing the preſent Remarks I had made to them upon it, and what others ſhould occur to me upon ſecond Thoughts, which I would not only ſend to the States, but, at the ſame Time, print and publiſh it; that all their Subjects might ſee upon what Points they and their Confederates turned the Affairs of the Peace: In which I knew very well how the People of theſe Provinces were concerned, whether the Government, or their Allies, were ſo, or no.

Upon theſe Repreſentations the Deputies of the States were ſo far moved, that, inſtead of replying, or maintaining the Reſolution they had brought, they told me, What I had ſaid was of ſo much Weight, that they thought themſelves obliged to repreſent it to the States, before they delivered me the Reſolution. That they deſired me therefore to excuſe them for the Delivery of it, till next Day; and, in the mean Time, were very glad to underſtand my Opinion upon it, which they would report to their Maſters that very Evening, and doubted not of having another Conference upon it, this Morning, with their Allies.

At their going away, after all this had paſs'd, one of them told me, privately, *Que j'avois la plus grande raiſon du monde* : That their Compliance with ſome of their Allies had engaged them in this Matter, upon a Letter from the Duke of *Nieuburg*, that came Yeſterday, deſiring no Exchange might be made of the Paſſports, without ſecuring his according to his Treaty.

That which I underſtood to be at the Bottom of this whole Matter, is, The Intereſt of the Emperor, not only to ſecure the Paſſports for the Duke of *Nieuburg*, who is at preſent entred into the Alliance, but likewiſe for the Duke of *Bavaria*, who, they believe, will alſo be ſuddenly engaged, and, chiefly, by the Offices of the Duke of *Nieuburg* to that Purpoſe; who being of the ſame Family, has great Credit and Influence in the Court of *Bavaria*. And, they believe neither of them will be engaged without the ſame Condition, of being equally conſider'd in all Treaties, and comprehended in any Peace, with the reſt of the Confederates already named.

I know not what I ſhall receive from the States this Evening, and before the Cloſure of this Pacquet. But, in the mean Time, I thought it neceſſary to give his Majeſty this Account of what has hitherto paſs'd: And am of Opinion, the States will not be able to bear the Noiſe of this Matter, if they perſiſt in it; but that, in ſuch a Caſe, they will be forced to conſider the Humour of their People, as well as the Intereſt of their Allies.

Thus far I had written by four a-Clock this Afternoon; ſince which Time the Deputies of the States have again been with me, and told me, That having repreſented to the States the Reaſon I gave them Yeſterday againſt the Reſolution they had then brought me, they had ſince had a Conference with their Allies upon them; and that they all agreed, That to expreſs the general and ſincere Intentions they all had towards a Peace; and withal, the great Regard they had for the Opinion of an Ambaſſador of his Majeſty's, in what he thought concerned both the Honour and Deſires of his Majeſty in the Mediation of the Peace, they would remove thoſe Difficulties I had obſerved like to ariſe upon Yeſterday's Reſolution; and to that End had altered the Reſolution it ſelf, and brought me in a Form, which they doubted not, would agree with his Majeſty's Intentions; and had given it the ſame Date, to the End there might be no Appearance of the former Reſolution: And that in Purſuit of it they were ready to exchange the Paſſports without any ſuch Conditions as were Yeſterday mentioned.

I read the Reſolution (which I ſend You incloſed) and found nothing elſe to reflect on, but the laſt Clauſe; and asked them, Whether they underſtood it to refer only to the precedent Period, concerning the Equality pretended in the Paſſports; or, likewiſe, to that former Clauſe about the Duke of *Nieuburg*. They both affirmed, That it was meant only to refer to that immediately preceding, and not to what concerned the Duke of *Nieuburg*. Upon this we proceeded to the Exchange of Paſſports; in which we found ſeveral Points a little defective: As that four of the *German* Princes had not yet ſent their Paſſports; nor could they aſſure me when they ſhould have them. But the chief was, That thoſe of the Emperor were not yet here; but they affirmed, that they were every Day expected, and that they had been here ſome Months ſince; but upon thoſe of *France* being ſhort of the Form agreed on, eſpecially in the Clauſe about Couriers, the Emperor's Miniſter had ſent for new ones in the ſame Form; and was aſſured they were at *Cologn*, where he had likewiſe ſent the old ones, ſo as to be now poſſeſs'd of none.

In the next Place, there were no Paſſports from *Spain*, no more than from the Emperor, for the Biſhop of *Strasburg*; but theſe they aſſured me were conſented to by both, and undertook to put them into my Hands. In the next Place, becauſe *France* had ſent but one Paſſport for each of the Confederates beſides *Spain*, they had each of them ſent but one for *France*; and the ſame happened likewiſe in thoſe of *Sweden*. But the Exchange of our Paſſports having begun by thoſe of *France* and *Spain*, and this State, and ſome of theſe Difficulties not appearing till that was performed, which ſeemed the moſt material; we concluded to go on in the Exchange, as far as we were provided:

And thereupon proceeded as far as You will ſee marked in the incloſed Liſt. Thoſe from *France* and *Sweden* to the Emperor, and the four *German* Princes who have not yet ſent their Paſſports, I have retained ſtill in my Hands till theirs arrive. I ſhall expect thoſe of the Emperor till *Friday*; by which Time the Deputies aſſure me they will be here. If they come not by that Time, I ſhall be ſure, however, to diſpatch away all thoſe I am already poſſeſs'd of, to the *French* Ambaſſadors, by the Conveyance You preſcribe me of an Expreſs to *Maſtricht*; and deliver thoſe for *Sweden* to Monſieur *Sylvercroone*, the Commiſſary of that Crown; excepting one You deſire for Monſieur *Spar*, which I ſhall ſend in Blank to Your Hands, being already poſſeſs'd of three from the States; and reſolving to endeavour to get as many by that Time from *Spain* and *Denmark*, if thoſe Miniſters have ſo many in their Hands.

For the Biſhop of *Strasburg* I formerly ſent You one from this State; and ſhall follow it with the reſt as ſoon as they arrive. In the mean Time, You will pleaſe to procure three Paſſports for the Emperor, for I have yet but one; and that may, for ought I know, be the Reaſon of the Emperor's Miniſter's diſowning to have any Paſſports; being a Man ſomething punctilious, and having deſired me, a Week ago, to procure them, not without Complaint of ſuch a Neglect from *France*; but without any Thing that look'd like his wanting thoſe of his Maſter.

I hope his Majeſty will approve the Progreſs I have made in this Matter, though it be not yet compleat; which has fallen out, chiefly, by the Number of Paſſports failing on the *French* and *Swediſh* Part. I cannot but be glad to find it upon the Terms it now is, conſidering where it was Yeſterday; and did not expect ſo abſolute a Change of the Reſolution, in ſo little Time; having laſt Night found Monſieur *Serinchamps* very peremptory in defending that Reſolution of the States. But this Morning the *Hanover* Reſident told my Secretary, That there had been very warm Debates upon it, between the States and ſome of their Allies, who perſiſted ſo far, that the Penſioner asked them: *Et que pretendez vous donc, Meſſieurs? de nous faire dechirer par la canaille*. But theſe Paſſages of their private Conferences You will pleaſe may not be publick, becauſe that may hinder me another Time from knowing them; which is ſometimes neceſſary to acquaint me with the Springs from which the publick Motions of ſuch Affairs ariſe.

I have reaſon to think You tired out with this Length; and am very ſenſible of being ſo my ſelf: Which leaves me only to acknowledge Yours of the 5th, not finding any thing requires farther Return than what I have already ſaid about the Paſſports you mention from Monſieur *Spar*, and the Biſhop of *Strasburg*.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, May 22. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

BY laſt Poſt I gave You an Account of the Exchange of Paſſports being made late that Night: I delay'd the ſending them away to *Maſtricht* till this Morning, both in Expectation of the Emperor's Paſſes by laſt Ordinary from *Germany*, and likewiſe in Hopes of obtaining Two Paſſes more from each of the Confederate Miniſters by the Offices promiſed me by the States Deputies to that purpoſe. Yeſterday one of them ſent me word, They had tried and found it in vain, and they would give no more than one; tho' they had more in their Hands, till they receiv'd as many from *France* as was deſired of them.

This Morning the Emperor's Miniſter ſent me word, His Paſſports were not come by the laſt Night's Ordinary; and that the old ones, which he expected from *Cologn*, had been in Monſieur [illegible]'s Hand, who was ſince gone up into *Germany*; ſo that he ſooner expected the new ones from *Vienna*. Hereupon, I made my Diſpatch ready to be ſent away to *Maeſtricht* by Noon: When juſt upon the parting of it, I receiv'd a Letter from Monſieur *Pompone*, deſiring me, That inſtead of the Paſſport for the *Duke de Vitry*, there might be one for the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades*, whom the moſt Chriſtian King had appointed his Plenipotentiary in place of that Duke, upon the Continuance of his Indiſpoſition. I was forced hereupon to open my Pacquet again, and ſent the Duke of *Vitry*'s Paſſport to the Greffier, with this Deſire; but he return'd me Anſwer, That the States were up, and that it could not poſſibly be done till their ſitting again to morrow Morning; ſo that it will be to morrow Noon before my Pacquet with the Paſſports can go away.

If You think it neceſſary for the *French* Ambaſſadors to have Three ſeveral Paſſports from each of the Confederates, You will pleaſe to deſire the ſame Number for each of them from *France*, which the *Swediſh* Commiſſary here has promiſed to do from that Crown; but eſpecially for the Emperor, who has, it ſeems, already named Three Ambaſſadors for the Congreſs. You will pleaſe likewiſe to preſs the Declaration of the Neutral Country, which the Confederates, on their part, have left wholly to his Majeſty to extend as he pleaſes, provided it be between the Two Rivers. If his Majeſty pleaſes to pitch upon any certain Line to the Eaſt from one River to another, the Thing is done: But, for my part, I cannot ſee how any other can do it, but the *Foſſa Mariana*, which is an open Canal, and ſo will leave no Diſpute: Beſides, it takes in *Cleve*, where, for ought I hear, the Princes who have accepted the Pope's Mediation, deſign the Reſidence of that Miniſter, or in ſome Village near it.

I ſend You incloſed, a Paſſport of the States for Monſieur *Spar*, which Your laſt deſired; though he writes word to Monſieur *Sylvercroone*, That he goes not to the Congreſs, but into *Sweden*. I ſend You likewiſe a Paſſport from the Duke of *Lorrain* for the Biſhop of *Straſburg*'s Miniſter; which is all yet come to my Hands. That of the States You have long ſince; and Monſieur *de Lyra* has promiſed me one from *Spain* with the firſt; as the Emperor's Reſident has likewiſe done for his Maſter, with the other Paſſports.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, May 26. *S. N.* 1676.

S I R,

BY my laſt I gave You an Account of one Day's Delay fallen out in Diſpatch of the Paſſports, by the Change deſired by Monſieur *Pompone* in that for the Duke of *Vitry*. The next Day, being *Saturday*, I procured the Paſſport for the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades*, and diſpatch'd away the Trumpeter to *Maeſtricht* about Noon. He ſeemed to doubt he could not be there under Four Days, ſo as I cannot expect to hear of him again till the End of this Week.

I aſſured the *French* Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor's Paſſes, and the other Four *German* Princes (that were wanting) in ſome few Days; but endeavoured to poſſeſs them, how little thoſe Paſſes would be neceſſary for their Journey to *Nimeguen*, which I hoped they would not delay upon that Occaſion. I know not how they will underſtand or govern themſelves, but ſhall inform You as ſoon as I receive Advice by the Return of the Trumpet.

I have this Day received Yours of the 12th, and ſhall make the beſt Uſe of what You there adviſe me, concerning the miſtaken Grounds of ſo many Surmizes here, about his Majeſty's Partiality in the preſent War, which I have met with oftener of late, than I thought fit to trouble You with, and ought to aſk Your Pardon for doing it at all, unleſs it be upon formal Complaints from the States: Tho', perhaps, it may not be unfit for You to know ſomething of their Thoughts and common Diſcourſe in this kind, as well as of their formal Paces.

I am fully inſtructed by Your laſt, in the State of his Majeſty's preſent Reſolutions concerning the firſt Viſits, which are to attend upon his further Pleaſure, after the Mind of the *Auſtrian* Miniſters is known. As to that of the Neutral Country, I very well remember the State it was left in, which You are pleaſed to mind me of: But, as *France* refuſed the Extent his Majeſty would have given it, to take in *Meurs*, ſo the Confederates abſolutely (and, indeed, from their firſt accepting of the Town of *Nimeguen*) excluded that Offer of Two Leagues round it, and confined the Neutrality to the Two Rivers. Nor is the Jealouſie of the *French* entring into the Heart of the Country, greater in the Prince and thoſe of the preſent Government here, than it is in the *Spaniſh* and Imperial Councils; ſo as that is a Limit that cannot take place: Nor, indeed, if it could, do I ſee how any Line deſcribed only by Diſtance of Leagues, or any other Meaſures, can ever free that Matter from perpetual Diſputes upon Incurſions which Parties may make, and truſt to wrangling about what Diſtance the Place was at where the Hoſtility was committed. Therefore, I deſire You will put his Majeſty in mind of ſome Reſolution in this Matter (upon which I refer You to what I ſaid in my laſt) ſince, till it be agreed and declared, there can be no Safety for the Miniſters that will be repairing to the Congreſs.

I ſhall ſpeak to the Penſioner, of Monſieur *Oudart*'s Buſineſs, the very next Time I ſee him, and give You an Account of it. Which is all I remember at preſent neceſſary to lengthen this Trouble, from,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the Ambaſſadors of France, *Meſſieurs* Colbert *and* d'Avaux.

Hague, *May* 22. *N. S.* 1676.

Meſſieurs,

AFTER ſo many Difficulties in the Affair of the Paſſports, at laſt, about Two Days ago, they have been exchanged. I have ever ſince been in Expectation of the Emperor's Paſſports, which his Miniſter gave me Reaſon to believe, would be

Aux Ambaſſadeurs *de France,* *Colbert* & *d'Avaux.*

La Haye, May 22. S. N. 1676.

Meſſieurs,

APrés tant des difficultez ſur l'affaire des paſſeports, l'échange ſe fait à la fin depuis deux jours. J'ay attendu depuis pour avoir ceux de l'Empereur, leſquels ſon Miniſtre icy m'a fait eſperer par le courier d'Allemagne, arrivé hier

brought by the Courier which arrived here from *Germany* laſt Night. Thoſe of the Elector Palatine, of *Mayence*, of *Treves*, and of *Munſter*, are alſo behind; but are promiſed to be delivered in a very few Days. The other Confederates will give me no more than one Paſſport each; altho' I have good Reaſon to believe, that their Miniſters here have Three in their Hands: Their dealing thus, is founded upon this; That each of them have been furniſh'd with one Paſſport only from *France*. Notwithſtanding theſe little Defaults, and the Reſtrictions made by the incloſed Reſolution of the States General; I thought it my Duty no longer to put off diſpatching thoſe Paſſports which I have already received for Your Excellencies; being fully perſuaded, that theſe Incidents can in no wiſe be any Hindrance to You from making uſe of them for your Journey to *Nimeguen*; the Rout that Your Excellencies will take, being at a ſufficient Diſtance from any of the Territories of thoſe Princes who have not as yet ſent their Paſſports. The Imperial Miniſter aſſures me, That the Delay on his ſide is only owing to a Change made in the Form of the Paſſports, occaſioned by the Denial of *France* to permit the free Paſſage of Couriers: This has ſtopt the firſt Paſſports upon the Road, which had been diſpatch'd by the Emperor; and the Incident about the Duke of *Lorrain*, which ſince fell out, is the Reaſon why no more Haſte has been made in diſpatching new ones. I do not apprehend that there is any great Myſtery in this; but believe, that it is all rather owing to Overſight, than to any ill Intention. I ſhall, however, take Care to preſs, as far as poſſible, the doing what is yet behind; and, in the mean Time, I hope Your Excellencies will endeavour to get Two other Paſſports diſpatched for the Emperor, and Two for the States, for whom, as yet, I have received only one, no more than I have for any of the other Allies, excepting *Spain*. The Miniſters of *Brandenburgh* demand alſo Three, in granting which I don't ſee there can be any Difficulty. I have ſent this preſent Diſpatch to Monſieur *d'Eſtrades*, by a Trumpeter, as I was ordered by his Majeſty, and ſhould

au ſoir. Il y a auſſi ceux de l'Electeur Palatin, de Mayence, de Treves, & de Munſter, qui manquent encore, & qu'on promet en fort peu de jours. Les autres Confederez ne m'ont voulu donner que chacun un paſſeport, encore que j'ay raiſon de croire que leurs Miniſtres icy ont trois en main; mais ils ſe fondent ſur ce qu'il n'y a eu que pour chacun d'eux un paſſeport de France. Nonobſtant ces petits defauts, & les reſtrictions portées dans la reſolution de Meſſieurs les Etats enveloppée, j'ay crû de mon devoir de ne plus deferer la depeche des paſſeports que j'ay en main, vers vos Excellences, ne croyant pas que ces circonſtances vous peuvent empecher de vous en ſervir pour le voyage de Nimegue; la route que V. Exs. doivent tenir ſe trouvant aſſez eloignée de terres de ces Princes là, qui n'ont encore envoyé leurs paſſeports. Le Miniſtre de l'Empereur m'aſſeure que ce retardement n'eſt arrivé que par le changement ſurvenu au formulaire des paſſeports ſur le refus de la France de conſentir à la liberté des couriers; ce qui a fait retenir en chemin les premiers paſſeports depeſchez par l'Empereur, & que l'incident de Lorraine eſtant ſurvenu depuis, on ne s'eſt pas preſſé de depeſcher les ſeconds. Je croy qu'il n'y a pas grand miſtere, & qu'il y a eu plûtôt de nonchalence que de malice. Je ne manqueray pas de preſſer tant que je pourrois le reſte de cette affaire, & en attendant j'eſpere que Vos Exs. tacheront de faire depecher deux autres paſſeports pour l'Empereur, & deux pour cet Etat, pour qui je n'ay reçeu qu'un encore, comme pour tous les Alliez hormis l'Eſpagne. Les Miniſtres de Brandebourg en demandent trois auſſi, ſur quoy je ne vois aucune difficulté. J'ay envoyé la depêche preſente par un trompette à Monſieur d'Eſtrades, ſelon les ordres de ſa Majeſté, & ſeray bien aiſe de ſavoir au plûtôt que V. Exs. l'ayent bien reçeu

ſhould be very glad to hear, as ſoon as may be, that Your Excellencies have received it, and to have the Honour and Pleaſure of ſhewing You at *Nimeguen*, with how particular a Reſpect and Eſteem I am,

Meſſieurs,

Your Excellencies moſt

Humble and moſt

Obedient Servant.

reçeu, & que j'auray bientôt l'honneur & la ſatisfaction de vous faire voir à Nimegue le reſpect & eſtime particuliere avec laquelle je ſuis,

Meſſieurs,

De V. Excellences

tres Humble & tres

Obeïſſant Serviteur.

To Monſieur d'Eſtrades.

Hague, May 22. N. S. 1676.

SIR,

BY Order of the King my Maſter, I ſend to You the Pacquet directed to my Lords the Ambaſſadors of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at *Charleville*, in which are contained the Paſſports of the Confederates neceſſary for their proceeding to the Place of Congreſs. I make no queſtion but You will take all needful Care to forward ſo great a Work, and pay all due Regard to his Majeſty's Deſires, that no Hindrance may be any way put to the advancing it as much as poſſible.

I deſire You, Sir, to let me know by the Trumpeter, when he returns, that it is come ſafe to Your Hands; and that You ſtill have in Your Remembrance one who has been ſo long time, and ſhall always continue, with a very particular Eſteem,

SIR,

Your Excellency's moſt

Humble and moſt

Obedient Servant.

Au Monſieur *d'Eſtrades.*

La Haye, May 22. S. N. 1676.

Monſieur,

P*AR les ordres du Roy mon maître, je vous envoye le pacquet deſtiné pour Meſſieurs les Ambaſſadeurs du Roy tres-Chrêtien à Charleville, & contenant les Paſſeports des Confederez neceſſaires à leur voyage au lieu de Congrez. Je ne doute pas que vous en aurez le ſoin qui eſt deu à l'acheminement d'un ſi grand ouvrage, & au deſir de ſa Majeſté, qu'il n'y a point de retardement à le faire avancer tout ce qui ſera poſſible.*

Je vous ſupplie, Monſieur, de me faire ſavoir par le retour du trompette, que vous les aurez bien reçeu, & qu'il vous ſouvient encore d'une perſonne qui a été ſi long tems, & qui ſera toujours avec une eſtime tres particuliere,

Monſieur,

De V. Exc. le tres

Humble & tres

Obeïſſant Serviteur.

To Monſieur d'Eſtrades.

Hague, May 23. N. S. 1676.

SIR,

I Had Yeſterday finiſhed the incloſed Diſpatch, to ſend it You, purſuant to the Orders of the King my Maſter, with my Requeſt, That You would pleaſe to forward it as ſoon as poſſible to the Lords the Plenipotentiaries of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at *Charleville:* When the Trumpeter was upon his Departure, I received a Letter from Monſieur *Pompone*, in which he adviſed me, That Your Excellency was appointed one of them, in the Room of the Duke of *Vitry*; and therefore deſired me to diſpatch forthwith a Paſſport for You, and to ſtop that which was already in my Hands from the States General for the ſaid Duke. For, as for the *Spaniſh* Paſſports, they have Blanks left in them, and ſo there is no need that they ſhould be changed on this Occaſion. This has cauſed one Day's Delay, there being no Poſſibility of diſpatching the Paſſport Yeſterday in the Afternoon, becauſe the States never aſſemble but in Mornings. In the mean time, I greatly pleaſe my ſelf with receiving ſo agreeable a Notice, which gives me Hopes of enjoying an Aſſiſtance and a Converſation ſuch as is Yours, the latter of which will not be more agreeable to me, than the former will be advantageous in conducting an Affair of ſuch high Importance, and that deſerves to paſs thro' Hands as experienced and ſucceſsful as Yours are. On this Account it is, that I ought rather to wiſh his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Joy of this Choice, than Your ſelf, ſince You will find, no doubt, a great deal of Trouble in it, as well as reap a great deal of Glory from it.

I ſend You a Copy of the incloſed Letter to Meſſieurs *Colbert* and *d'Avaux*, as alſo the Reſolution of the States mentioned therein, that You may ſee in what Condition this whole Affair lies. I beg the Favour of You, to

Au Monſieur *d'Eſtrades.*

La Laye, May 23. N. S. 1676.

Monſieur,

J'Avois hier achevé cette depêche envelloppée pour vous l'envoyer ſelon les ordres du Roy mon Maître, & vous prier de la faire tenir au plûtot à Meſſieurs les Plenipotentiaries du Roy tres-Chrêtien, à Charleville. Quand le trompette devoit partir, J'ay receu une lettre de Monſieur de Pompone, par laquelle il me donna l'avis que votre Excellence en étoit un, au lieu du Duc de Vitry; & me pria de faire depêcher un paſſeport pour vous, en retenant celuy que j'avois en main pour ledit Duc de la part de Meſſieurs les Etats Generaux. Car pour les paſſeports d'Eſpagne ils ſont tous en blanc, & n'ont beſoin d'aucun changement ſur cette occaſion. Celuycy a cauſé le retardement d'un jour, le paſſeport ne ſe pouvant depêcher hier l'aprés dinée, puiſque les Etats ne s'aſſemblent que les matins. Mais en même tems j'ay eté conſolé par une ſi agreable nouvelle, qui m'a donné l'eſperance de jouir d'une telle aſſiſtance & converſation comme la vôtre, dont l'une ne me ſera pas plus agreable que l'autre utile dans une affaire de ſi grande importance, & qui merite bien une main auſſi habile & heureuſe que la vôtre. C'eſt pourquoy je dois plûtot feliciter ce choix à ſa Majeſté tres-Chrêtienne, qu' à vous, qui aurez pour vôtre partage beaucoup de peine ſans doute auſſi bien que de gloire.

Je vous envoye une copie de la lettre envellopée à Meſſieurs Colbert & d'Avaux, comme auſſi de la reſolution des Etats y mentionnée, à fin que vous voyez l'etat de toute cette affaire. Je vous ſupplie

to give me notice by the Trumpeter, at his Return, that the Pacquet is delivered ſafely into Your Hands.	*ſupplie de me faire ſavoir par le retour du trompette que vous aurez bien receu le pacquet.*
I am,	Je ſuis,
SIR,	Monſieur,
Your Excellency's	D. V. E. &c.
moſt, &c.	

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Hague, May 29. *S. N.* 1676.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

THE Incloſure of this Letter from his Majeſty, muſt bear me out in giving Your Highneſs this preſent Trouble. It came to me ſeconded by one from Mr. Secretary *Coventry* upon the ſame Occaſion, and was delivered to me by the Lady in whoſe Favour, I ſuppoſe, it was deſigned. I told her, I did not believe Your Highneſs would do any thing in thoſe kind of Affairs till Your Return from the Field; and ſhe ſeemed to believe ſo too; but, however, deſired, I would ſend Your Highneſs the Letter; which I promiſed by the firſt: And that is all my Part in this Affair.

All that I can ſay in another, wherewith Your Highneſs encharged me, is, That the * Perſon chiefly concerned, endeavoured to have it excuſed abſolutely till after the Peace; and that ſuch an Anſwer might be given; upon which Time was taken to conſider: Since which I have heard nothing, but imagine 'tis poſſible Your Highneſs may by a nearer way.

To Duke of York.

Having exchanged the Paſſports, and diſpatch'd them to *Maſtricht* a Week ſince, I do not foreſee any thing likely to hinder the *French* Ambaſſadors Journey to *Nimeguen*, tho' it may be a little delay'd by the Count *d'Eſtrades*'s Exception to his Paſs from the States, which ſtiles him only *Conte*; to which he deſires may be added, *Mareſchal de France*. I ſuppoſe, There will be no Difficulty made upon it, nor, I hope, in the Emperor's Paſſports, tho' they are not yet come; but, I believe, it may have been only Negligence, without any other Myſtery.

In my laſt Letters from *Madrid* of the 7th current, our Ambaſſador there writes me word, that after a Conſultation in that Court upon the Propoſal of his Majeſty's Expedient, of giving all the Paſſports himſelf; the Count *de Pignoranda* had come to him with a Meſſage, declaring that King's Conſent to it, ſo far as concerned all his Dominions and Territories ſubject to his Obedience. The Ambaſſador writes farther, That this Reſolution was taken there, contrary to the Advice of many paſſionate Letters that were written thither upon that Subject from *Holland* and *Flanders*. I thought this was a Light fit to give Your Highneſs, becauſe You would not, perhaps, receive it any other ways: For Monſieur *de Lyra* profeſſes to know nothing of it, and would make a Difficulty of believing it; though I am ſure it cannot fail after the manner it comes to me.

I have not yet fixed the Time of my going to *Nimeguen*, expecting other Motions that way, unleſs new Orders preſs me from Court. I doubt not, but what paſſes in the Field, will ſignifie more than what will paſs there this Summer as to the Peace, which Your Highneſs ſays (in the Honour I received of one from You of the 18th) You will labour in. I am very ſorry for the Accidents You tell me have hinder'd You in ſo great a Deſign, and very glad of the Hopes You expreſs of being able to advance it; ſince nothing can be of more Glory to Your Highneſs, and nothing can touch me more than whatever is ſo; being as I am, and as I ſhall be ever with ſo much Devotion and Truth,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's moſt

Obedient and moſt

Humble Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, June 2. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

ON *Saturday* laſt, I received a Letter from the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades* by the Trumpet I ſent, with Acknowledgment of my Pacquet incloſing the Paſſports for the *French* Plenipotentiaries, which, he ſaid, he had diſpatch'd away immediately to *Charleville*; excepting only his own Paſſport from the States. This he ſent me; but finding Fault with their treating him *Le Sieur Compte d'Eſtrades*, without the Stile of *Mareſchal de France*; and deſiring me to procure another with that Change. This I have done, and diſpatch'd it away to him this Afternoon; but could not, at the ſame Time, ſend him the Emperor's Paſſports, which are not yet arrived.

I do not think it can be this Default, which makes ſo little Advance as yet in the Preparations for *Nimeguen*, that Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* writes me word, their Servants there own to know nothing yet of that Matter; and have no Orders to get any thing ready to convey or receive them. I rather ſuppoſe, it may be the Buſineſs of the *Compte d'Eſtrades*'s Equipage, which he intends very great; having ſent hither for Paſſports for his Servants, to buy Two and forty Coach-horſes; and by a Liſt the Trumpeter ſhew'd me of their intended Equipage, his Share is Four and twenty *Lacquais*, and all the reſt in proportion. The other Two will have the ſame Number between them. The *Spaniards*, you know, that cannot vye with the *French* in Things of more Importance, will not fail of doing it to the Height in this. And I remember laſt Year, when the Marquis *de Manceras* was deſigned for the Congreſs, a Liſt was ſent hither of the Equipage he intended, of which there were to be Twenty Pages. I ſuppoſe, the Marquis *de los Balbaces* may not go lower; having, they ſay, a Revenue of Two hundred thouſand Crowns yearly, beſides the Allowance for his Embaſſy. If all be like to go at this Rate in ſuch a Town as *Nimeguen*, I do not ſee how we ſhall avoid one of the Three Judgments, of War, or Famine, or Sickneſs; beſides, that it is not his Majeſty's Intent, for ought I find, that his Ambaſſadors ſhall enter the Liſts upon any ſuch Emulations. I cannot tell if theſe Circumſtances may make it ſeem worth his Majeſty's conſidering, whether it would be fit to write to the ſeveral Crowns concerned in this Treaty, That to prevent the Diſorder and Inconveniencies of too great Trains in a ſmall Town, upon the Aſſembly of ſo many Miniſters, his Majeſty had commanded His not to exceed each of them the Number of Four Pages and Eight *Lacquais*, and would be glad the reſt would follow that Example. As likewiſe for all Crimes againſt the Peace of the Place, each Ambaſſador ſhould be allowed to put his Servants ſo guilty, into the Hands of the uſual Juſtice of the Town of *Nimeguen*. And that they ſhould be inſtructed to live eaſily in all Points of mere Ceremony during the Congreſs, like Perſons who were ſent thither with Diſpoſitions to advance the Peace, and not to ſharpen the Quarrels of their Maſters, by thoſe of the Miniſters; which may otherwiſe very well fall out. I thought it poſſible ſome ſuch Circumſtances could not be amiſs to add to circular Letters, which his Majeſty might ſend, for haſtning away of the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, upon the End ſo happily attained in all preliminary Difficulties: For, I doubt, there may be need of ſuch Inſtances towards the Diſpatch of the *Auſtrian*, *Daniſh*, and *Brandenburgh* Miniſters, by the Diſpoſitions I obſerve from the Motions of thoſe Courts thus far of the Way.

This Day one of the States Deputies brought me the incloſed Paper grounded upon a Memorial given them by the *Brandenburgh* Miniſters, in a Stile ſo *bruſque*, as I hear, as to deſire of the States, That till the Change pretended, were made in his Maſter's Paſſports, they would give Order to forbid the *French* Plenipotentiaries Entrance into the Town of *Nimeguen*. I hear, he expects not only to ſend Ambaſſadors, but to have them treated, in all Points, like thoſe of crowned Heads: In which I neither know his Majeſty's Stile, nor that of *France*; but ſuppoſe, it will be neceſſary for us to be diſtinctly informed of the firſt.

I was extreme glad to find by Your laſt of the 16th, his Majeſty's final Reſolution upon that Matter of the firſt Viſit; which I ever foreſaw would engage us, and, perhaps, the Congreſs, in ſome Difficulties. You will pleaſe more particularly to inſtruct, whether we are to give the firſt Viſits likewiſe to thoſe that come after us from the Duke of *Lorrain* or the Electors, with Characters of Ambaſſadors: For, I hear, thoſe from the Duke and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* will certainly do ſo.

Monſieur *de Lyra* will not acknowledge to know any thing of what Sir *William Godolphin* writes me, of that Crown's having conſented to his Majeſty's Expedient: But I have told it the Penſioner, who ſays, He will another time deſire him to conſult with his Inſtructions, or, at leaſt, with his Letters, to know whether he is like to be avowed or not.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamſon.

Hague, June 5. *N. S.* 1676.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt of the 2d, I am to acknowledge the Honour of one from You, of the 19th paſt, with his Majeſty's Commands concerning an Authentick Explanation to be drawn from the States, of thoſe Words in their Reſolution of the 18th paſt, *Que l'echange ſe feroit ſur ce pied*; as likewiſe concerning the Offices his Majeſty deſires ſhould be made from hence in the Caſe of Prince *William* of *Furſtenburg*.

For the firſt, I do not expect any Difficulty will be made in it, having this Day ſpoken with one of the Deputies preſent at the Exchange of the Paſſports, who remembers and acknowledges what they then ſaid to me upon the Interpretation of thoſe Words; ſo that by next Poſt, I hope to ſend You the Declaration You deſire to that Effect.

For the ſecond; I ſhall ſpeak with the Penſioner about it, the firſt time I can ſee him: And ſince, I ſuppoſe, his Majeſty deſires it only that the Thing ſhould be done upon the Offices to be performed by Mr. *Skelton* at *Vienna*, I ſhall uſe my utmoſt Endeavours towards it, by engaging, as far as I can, either the Offices of the States, or ſome of the chief Perſons among the Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs (if the Penſioner continue to decline it) ſo as it may be underſtood at *Vienna* either by the States Miniſters there, or by the Emperor's here; that this State would be glad his Majeſty may have Satiſfaction in this Point. I ſhall likewiſe endeavour to engage the Imperial Miniſters here in this Purſuit, and the Marquis of *Grana*, whoſe Credit goes a great way, they ſay, in that Court. And all this I ſhall do as from my ſelf, without intereſſing his Majeſty's Name any further in this Matter.

I have at length, after many and long Diſcourſes about the Matter of Reviſions, received the incloſed Anſwer: which, I ſee, contains what the Penſioner always told me: That, what they are engaged to by the Letter of their Treaty, tho' againſt their Intention and his Majeſty's, as they were then aſſured from their Ambaſſador, they will yet perform: But, that they cannot, upon that Pretence, be preſſed to Things wholly againſt the Conſtitution of their Government, and wholly unprovided for by the very Letter of the Treaty.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, June 9. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

I AM to acknowledge the Favour of one from You of the 26th paſt; which had but too juſt an Excuſe for the Haſte of it, upon ſo unhappy an Accident as You had been that Day ſurprized with by the Fire in *Southwark*. I was very glad to find You expected ſuddenly ſome Determination in the Buſineſs of the Neutral Country; which ſeems to be the Point now moſt preſſing in relation to the Congreſs.

The Emperor's Reſident tells me, There is an Expreſs upon the Way, with the Paſſports from that Court, and pretends to expect them with the End of this Week. But I foreſee, he will make Difficulty of delivering any more than he receives; and You are not yet pleaſed to give me Hopes of having Two more ſent for the Emperor from *France*, which I put You in mind of ſome time ſince. I do not hear, that the *French* Ambaſſadors are like to make any Difficulty of coming to *Nimeguen* for want of thoſe Paſſports; nor for the States having in their Reſolution of the 18 paſt, tyed up the Exchange, in a manner, to the Reciprocation. Nor do I think, they will have need to make any Difficulty, or that there will be any Danger, as to the Validity of the Paſſports, though ſuch little Circumſtances ſhould be either refuſed or delay'd by *France*. I ſend You, however, incloſed, the States Declaration in Form, as You deſired, of thoſe Words, *Sur ce pied lá*; relating no farther, than to the Clauſes immediately preceding, about the Equality pretended in the Paſſports.

I have been caſting about how I might beſt ſucceed in what his Majeſty deſireth to be effected, in the Buſineſs of Prince *William*. I ſpoke firſt to the Penſioner, who is obſtinate to excuſe himſelf from meddling in it, or conſenting to any Thing from the States in Favour of it. But I put it ſo home, from his Majeſty's having Reaſon to expect this Point of Deference from the Emperor, after having received ſo much greater from *France* in the two Preliminaries; that he ſaid, For his part, he wiſhed the Emperor would do it, ſo he had no Hand in it. And upon my Propoſal, That Monſieur *Mauregnault* ſhould both write to the States Reſident at *Vienna*, and ſpeak to the Emperor's peror's here, to poſſeſs them both that the States would be content the Thing were done, and wiſh'd that his Majeſty might not be diſoblig'd in it: The Penſioner conſented to it, but deſired that I would ſpeak to Monſieur *Mauregnault*; and that I would do it in his (the Penſioner's) Abſence, who was going to the Prince. Immediately after he went, I ſpoke with Monſieur *Mauregnault*, who was content the Thing ſhould be done; but would not adventure to do it of himſelf: And ſaid, This private Way had been propoſed before, by Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*; but was not thought fit to be either done by any of the Commiſſioners, without Order, nor to be propoſed at the Council of Secret Affairs. All I could do, was to engage him to ſpeak with the Emperor's Miniſter laſt Night, and to endeavour to poſſeſs him of it, as what, he believed, was the Opinion of the States; though they did not think fit to enter into it. From him I went immediately to the Emperor's Miniſter, becauſe the Poſt was to part for *Vienna* laſt Night; and I knew not whether Mr. *Skelton* might not have Orders already to advance his Journey.

To all I ſaid upon this Subject, though as wholly from my ſelf, and out of a Deſire that his Majeſty ſhould not have Occaſion to think himſelf leſs conſidered by the Emperor than by *France*: He anſwered, That he wiſh'd it himſelf; but that upon the leaſt Repreſentations I had engaged him in, he was ordered to ſay no more upon that Subject; becauſe the Emperor had reſolved to open that whole Matter at the Beginning of the Congreſs, and in ſuch a Manner, as, he was ſure, would ſatiſfy all the Princes there. Beſides, he ſaid the States had ever expreſs'd ſo great a Repugnance in this Matter, that he believed his Maſter conſidered them in it, as well as himſelf. However, I did not leave him till he had promiſed to write laſt Night, and repreſented all the Reaſons I had given him, and the Aſſurances I made him, of the States being rather deſirous the Thing ſhould be done; which I knew he would be confirmed in by Monſieur *Mauregnault*, before the Poſt parted.

This is all I have yet done, but am reſolved, to Morrow, to try one Point more; which is, to engage Monſieur *Mauregnault* to propoſe it at the Committee of Secret Affairs, which is now very thin, while the Penſioner is abſent; and endeavour to engage them either to write themſelves to their Reſident at *Vienna*, or, at leaſt, to order the Greffier to do it: So as he may ſatiſfy the Emperor that it is a Thing deſired by the States; and will be thought prudent by them to make ſuch a Compliment to his Majeſty, at this Time. If I can compaſs it, I hope it may go by the Poſt on *Thurſday* Night, and You ſhall have a farther Account of it by next Ordinary.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, June 12. *S. N.* 1676.

S I R,

SINCE my laſt I engaged Monſieur *Mauregnault* to move the Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs, to write to their Reſident at *Vienna*, concerning Prince *William*, and in the Terms I propoſed; according to what I told You in my laſt. He has been ſince with me, and told me, He choſe his Time, when there were but three more; but they excuſed themſelves, upon their Reſident being either parting, or already parted, from *Vienna* this Way; having lately obtained Leave to return hither, upon his particular Affairs. Though this be given me in Payment, yet, I believe, the Truth is, they are timorous of acting any Thing in the Abſence of both Prince and Penſioner, without being inſtructed in either of their Minds. So that I have been able yet to go no farther than engaging Monſieur *de Lyra*'s, and Monſieur *Campricht*'s Offices at *Vienna*, upon Monſieur *Mauregnault*'s telling them what he thought was the Mind of the States. Upon the Penſioner's Return I will try once more, Whether he will be content to be underſtood by the other Deputies in this Matter, whether he ſpeak or no; which he ever excuſes, upon a ſolemn Vow he has made to the contrary.

I told You, in a Poſtſcript of my laſt, That the Emperor's Paſſports were juſt then arrived. The next Day that Miniſter here put in the incloſed Memorial, which the Deputies came to acquaint me with the ſame Afternoon. I told them, They might underſtand it as they pleaſed, but for my Part, I look'd upon it as a captious Thing, and ſhould ſo declare my Senſe of it publickly, if upon the Suggeſtions in it, he made Difficulty, or Delay, to exchange the Paſſports; ſince he knew very well the Form of thoſe from *France*, and that they were without the Clauſe for Couriers: And if Exception had been taken at that, the Emperor's Paſſports might have been drawn up accordingly, as the *Spaniards* have been of a Second Edition. That for the Number, I had writ to have it ſupplied from *France* and *Sweden*, and expected it. But in the mean Time, to take away all Excuſe, I was content to exchange one for one, till I ſhould be poſſeſs'd of more. Hereupon I gave the Deputies the Copies of the *French* and *Swediſh* Paſſports, to be communicated to Monſiuer *Campricht*, according to his Deſire.

Yeſterday I ſent to Monſieur *Mauregnault*, to know what was like to be done: But he returned me Anſwer, That the Reſident was ſatisfied with the Form of the *Swediſh*, but not of the *French*; and that he was reſolved to put in another Memorial, to excuſe himſelf from making the Exchange till all was reciprocal. I went to Monſieur *Mauregnault*, and made him ſenſible, how all theſe Exceptions of the Reſident were expreſly provided againſt, by their Reſolution of the 18th paſt; and that the States were to anſwer to the World, for all captious or eluſory Paces, that were made in this Matter of the Peace, by their Allies, as well as themſelves; ſince it was in their Power to ſupport them in it, or to leave them. This Afternoon Monſieur *Mauregnault* ſent me Word, The States had reſolved their Deputies ſhould go to the Reſident, and abſolutely demand that two of the Emperor's Paſſports, one for *France*, and t'other for *Sweden*, ſhould be put into their Hands, to be exchanged for the ſame Number from thoſe two Crowns. That they, the Deputies, were to go this Afternoon; and if they found him, they would give me a farther Account of it, before the parting of this Ordinary.

I hear of another Difficulty made by the *Daniſh* Miniſter, about the Want of an *&c.* after the Words *Daniæ & Norwegiæ*, in the *Swediſh* Paſſport; which both the Penſioner and Monſieur *Mauregnault* have recommended to me: But I refuſed to meddle in it, unleſs they gave it me in Writing, which, they ſay, will be done; and then, I ſuppoſe, You muſt be troubled with it, as I always expected to be with any Delays or Difficulties that could be raiſed by ſeveral of the *German* Confederates, who hope to find their Account in the War. But, I believe, though the States ſeem not inclinable to ſeparate at all from them in the Groſs of the Affair; yet they will not ſupport them in what is only captious or dilatory: Nor could they, I believe, anſwer it to the popular Clamours it would raiſe here; which is an Argument I am often fain to have Recourſe to, and not without Reaſon, or Succeſs.

By the extraordinary Diligence of this laſt Pacquet, I am already poſſeſs'd of Yours of the 30th paſt. To which I find other Return due at preſent, beſides the Acknowledgment of what You there tell me, of his Majeſty's Reſolutions already taken, in Order to the Congreſs; and the Expectation You give me of what will be farther conſidered, as to the Treatment of Electoral or Ducal Ambaſſadors. As much as I have heard, no ſuch have been received in the *Spaniſh* Court; but in the *French* they have, from the Duke of *Savoy*; I think never from that of *Lorrain*; and cannot well tell whether from any Elector, or no.

I am very glad his Majeſty falls in with my Repreſentations, about devolving the Care of the Peace, and Puniſhment of Criminal Offences, upon the Magiſtrates of the Town: Not only for what You pleaſe to remark, for the Newneſs of the Thing, if it were left to the Mediators, as this State has deſigned; but becauſe it were impoſſible for us to diſcharge ſuch an Office, without certain Diſtaſte to ſome of the Parties; which, I think, is our Part to avoid all that can be. However, for what may concern our ſelves and our Servants in that Matter, I think it will be neceſſary for us to have Inſtructions, allowing us not only to propoſe it to the reſt, but to do it our ſelves, in caſe Occaſion be given. For without Orders, I doubt, it will not be fit for us to ſubject our ſelves, or any that belong to us, to any Juſtice beſides his Majeſty's.

For the Compliment You enjoin to be made to the States, or the Penſioner, upon the Change of his Majeſty's Reſolution concerning the firſt Viſits, ſince the Arrival of their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen:* I ſhall chuſe rather to do it to the Penſioner, at his Return, than paſs any Formalities upon it towards the States. What You intended towards the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors already at *Nimeguen*, is, I believe, performed. For, among ſeveral Queries in Point of Ceremony, which Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*'s great Modeſty ſent me laſt Week, upon the expected Approach of the *French* Ambaſſadors, one was, Whether to take Notice of that Matter to the *Dutch?* and, Whether before or after he made the Viſit to the *French?* Upon his earneſt Deſire I adventured to give him my Opinion in all of them; and in this it was, To take Notice of the Change of his Orders to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, even before the Arrival of the *French*; and to tell them, That his Orders being general, he would now do the ſame to any other *Dutch* Ambaſſador that ſhould hereafter arrive. I have found by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*'s laſt, that he was pleaſed to approve of what I had writ upon all the ſeveral Points, and reſolved to do accordingly. So that, I ſuppoſe, this is already performed, and in the manner I mention.

I ſhall ſend You a deduction of what concerns the Merchant-Adventurers by the next; and remain ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

Since the writing of this, and juſt upon the Cloſure of the Pacquet, two of the Emperor's Paſſports are delivered me, in Exchange with one from *France*, and another from *Sweden*.

To the DUKE.

Hague, June 16. *S. N.* 1676.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

AFTER ſo great an Honour as this Pacquet brought me, by one from Your Highneſs of the 30th paſt, I thought it could not too ſoon be either acknowledged or obeyed. And, therefore, I preſume to give Your Highneſs moſt humble Thanks for the Honour I received, at the ſame Time I diſpatch'd away the incloſed to the Prince of *Orange*. I very well remember his Majeſty's Mind, which he was pleaſed himſelf to ſignify to me when I was laſt in *England*, upon Diſcourſe of the Prince's Journey thither; but never had any Occaſion to make Uſe of it, till I took Leave of him, the Day before he left this Place. For though his Majeſty had laſt Winter ſome Jealouſy of ſuch an Intention; yet I never heard the Prince ſay one Word towards it, ſince my firſt coming over till then; unleſs it was when my Lord Chamberlain was here: And whatever he ſaid then in my hearing, look'd rather like Civility, or Return of Compliment, than any ſerious Thought. When he entered thoſe Diſcourſes upon it, which I gave his Majeſty and Your Highneſs an Account of, I told him his Majeſty's Mind: To which he replied, That he had always thought ſo too, while he had any Hopes of the Peace being made: But he did not ſee how that could be, unleſs his Majeſty would make it, by declaring the Terms upon which he thought it fit and reaſonable for both Parties to agree. That he did not find his Majeſty diſpoſed to make this Peace; having never received any Anſwer to what he had writtten upon that Subject. And, therefore, the War being, in his Opinion, like to draw out in Length, he was reſolved to try if he might have his Majeſty's Leave, to make that Journey after this Campaign, and thereupon to write thoſe Letters he ſent me. Further than conveying them I had nothing in Commiſſion from his Highneſs, but only to endeavour that it might be a Secret. And I muſt confeſs, as far as my ſhort Sight will reach, I think there can be no Inconvenience in that, from Circumſtances on all Sides, whether it ends here or no; which will depend wholly upon his Majeſty and Your Highneſs.

I am ſorry this Station furniſhes me with no Occaſions of entring into Your Highneſs's more particular Service, by the Honour of Your Commands; which ſhould always meet with the Obedience that becomes me, and the conſtant Devotion wherewith I am,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's moſt Faithful,

and moſt Obedient,

Humble Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, June 19. *S. N.* 1676.

SIR,

SInce my laſt, I have received from the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, two Paſſports for the Emperor, as many for the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, and this State; with three for the Duke of *Nieuburg:* So as there want only from *France* two for *Denmark*, whoſe Miniſter here is, to the full, as punctilious as any other. Thoſe for the Emperor I exchanged Yeſterday, and tranſmitted the three Imperial Paſſes immediately to the Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, who, by their Letters, preſs'd me for them, as well as for the reſt from the *German* Princes. The others I could not yet exchange, the *Brandenburgh* Miniſters being out of Town, and the *Nieuburg* Paſſports not being yet arrived. Thoſe likewiſe from the four *German* Princes I before-mentioned, are not yet come; but I queſtion not, a few Days will bring all into my Hands. Thoſe laſt arrived for *Brandenburgh* are in the Stile he deſires, of Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary. I do not hear of any other Duke, or Prince, beſides that Elector, that intends to give his Miniſter the Stile of Ambaſſador; and I wiſh he would have declined it: For, on the one Side, he expects they ſhould be treated like thoſe of Crowned Heads, and they, I doubt, will not underſtand it ſo. I know ſome have ſaid upon it, That they thought as much ought to be given to a King's Envoy, as to an Elector's Ambaſſador, if that Stile be allowed them: I hear it has never been ſo in *France*, no more than in *Spain:* And that the Pretence is grounded, chiefly, upon his Majeſty having treated Prince *Maurice* ſo, being Ambaſſador from the Elector of *Brandenburgh:* Which I had never heard any Thing of till t'other Day, from the *Lunenburgh* Miniſter here.

Having obſerved in his Majeſty's Inſtructions of *December* 16th, 1675. to his Ambaſſadors for the Congreſs, that I was commanded to repair immediately to *Nimeguen*; after having procured effectually from the States, whatever ſhould be found neceſſary to be done on their Parts, as well for the actual forming the Aſſembly, the determining a reaſonable Circuit of Neutral Country, next adjacent to *Nimeguen*, between the two Rivers of the *Waal* and the *Meuſe*; as for the diſpatching by themſelves, and their Confederates, the Paſſports neceſſary for the other Parties, in the Forms that are proper. And conceiving to have now accompliſhed all three Points; the Determination of Neutral Country between thoſe two Rivers, being wholly left to his Majeſty by the States, and their Allies; and the Paſſports neceſſary being all exchanged, and thoſe leſs important being yet every Day expected: I thought my ſelf obliged by the Tenor of his Majeſty's ſaid Inſtructions, eſpecially upon the Arrival of the *French* Ambaſſadors, to prepare my ſelf for my Journey to *Nimeguen*. And having a Houſe there already upon my Hands, at the Rate of very near fourſcore Pounds a Month; (though his Majeſty is not pleaſed to conſider that, or any other Expences neceſſary upon this Removal) I have given Order for carrying away my Goods to *Nimeguen* with the firſt, intending to follow them ſo ſoon as my Houſe, by their Arrival, will be ready to receive me; which, I ſuppoſe, may be about the Time that, in Anſwer to this, I may know if his Majeſty has any further Commands for me here before I go.

I remember but two Buſineſſes relating to this Place, that I am yet to give You the Account of; which are, that of the *Jews* Petition for *Surinam*, and that of the *Engliſh* Company at *Dort*. I promiſed You a Deduction of this laſt by a former Poſt; and have deferred it only becauſe I would do both together, and ſpeak to the Penſioner once more, upon both of them, before I did it; which I have not yet been able to do; but hope to do it by the next, and give You the Account of them; as well as of what he will be induced to in the Buſineſs of Prince *William*.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, June 24. *S.N.* 1676.

SIR,

With Your Two laſt of the 6th and 9th, I have received all the ſeveral Papers You were pleaſed to ſend me, concerning the ſeveral Parties Acceptance of his Majeſty's Mediation; as likewiſe what concerns Mr. *Skelton*'s preſent Diſpatch. I have, ſince my laſt, made my utmoſt Attempt, both upon the Penſioner, and the other Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs, in Order towards the facilitating that Purſuit, by ſome Offices from hence. And though the Penſioner continued obſtinate to move nothing in it himſelf; yet I prevailed with him, at length, to let the others underſtand, That he ſhould not diſlike their doing it: And that whatever the Emperor ſhould be content to do, in Compliance with his Majeſty, he believed this State would be ſatisfied with. Hereupon I got Monſieur *Mauregnault* to propoſe it again Yeſterday; and at Night he came to my Houſe, but not finding me within, he left Word with my Secretary, that what could be done was reſolved in that Buſineſs; and that they had written to communicate it to the Prince, according to their Forms. I have not been able to find him to Day, ſo as to know the Particulars; but ſuppoſe they will amount to ſomething that may conduce to the Good of the Affair, which I ſhall, by next Poſt, give You Account of. I have made all my Inſtances in this Matter as wholly from my ſelf; but Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* writ them Word, that I had Orders from his Majeſty, which I was content they ſhould believe from him, though I owned it not.

I ſend You incloſed a Letter for his Majeſty, from the Duke of *Hanover*, delivered me by his Reſident here; who deſired that his Maſter's Paſſports might ſtile him Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburgh*; and his Miniſters, Plenipotentiaries; not, *Miniſtres & Deputez*, as the *French* Stile runs to all the *German* Princes, except thoſe they ſent laſt for the Dukes of *Brandenburgh* and *Nieuburg*. I obſerved in theſe laſt, with ſome Wonder, that the Stile uſed not only to the Elector's, but to the Duke of *Nieuburg*'s Miniſters, is, *Ambaſſadeur & Plenipotentiaire*; whereas, in the former Paſſports lying ſtill by me, for the Electors *Palatine*, *Mentz* and *Triers*, it is only *Miniſtres & Deputez*; which the *Hanover* Reſident tells me, he hears none of them will accept of; and, that the *Brandenburgh* Miniſter here was almoſt diſgraced, for accepting one in that Form, upon the Exchange. I received Letters from the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, two Days ſince, excuſing that the two Paſſports remaining due to *Denmark* had been forgot, and promiſing to ſolicite their Expedition by the firſt. But the laſt You ſent me for that Crown, from *Sweden*, will not be accepted by their Miniſter, giving that King the Title of *Daniæ* only, without *Norwegiæ*, as the firſt *Swediſh* Paſſports run; and it paſs'd, though with ſome Exception for want of an *&c.* but this is abſolutely refuſed: And I know not how ſuch Difference or Uncertainty has happened in the ſame Matter, and from the ſame Hand. You ſhall, by the next, receive the Copies You order of all the Paſſports that have not paſs'd Your Hands; Your Letter being arrived too late for it, by this Ordinary.

I told You in my laſt, of my preparing for my Journey to *Nimeguen*, upon the ſeveral Points enjoined me, as neceſſary to forming the Congreſs, being now ſo near wound off. But, as the Inſtances of the *French* Ambaſſadors there, as well as Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, preſs me to haſten that Remove, ſo the Miniſters of thoſe Princes whoſe Paſſports are not yet exchanged, preſs my Stay till that Matter is wholly ended; and the States are very deſirous to have the Neutral Country determined before I go. Between theſe two; as for the Satisfaction of the firſt, I have given Order for ſhipping away the beſt Part of my Houſhold-ſtuff to Morrow; ſo I ſhall ſtay here my ſelf, till I receive his Majeſty's Orders in Anſwer to my laſt. I deſire likewiſe to know his Majeſty's Pleaſure, Whether upon my going to *Nimeguen*, he would have me leave a Secretary here; or, whether he think the Buſineſs here, in my Abſence, will require another Hand.

I am promiſed the Anſwer about the *Jews* at *Surinam* by the next; and ſhall not fail to ſend with it the State of the Merchant-Adventurers Company; ſo as this ſhall give You no farther Trouble, than by the Aſſurances of my being ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, June 24. *N. S.* 1676.

My Lord,

I Have, by ſome Letters from my Wife, received ſo great Teſtimonies of Your Lordſhip's Favour to me, that I find it as hard for me to make the Acknowledgments that become me, as it would be to neglect them any longer. Therefore I could not forbear engaging Your Lordſhip in this Trouble; though I have nothing elſe to bear me out beſides the humble Thanks I am to return Your Lordſhip, for concerning Your ſelf ſo obligingly in what touched me ſo unjuſtly; and the Aſſurances, That no Man can be either more ſenſible of Your Favour, nor more reſolved to deſerve it by my Services, whenever they be worth Your Lordſhip's employing upon any Occaſion.

I am endeavouring, as faſt as I can, to get looſe from hence, in order to my Journey for *Nimeguen*; where we are like to enter into a wide Sea: And though we ſhould ſteer the Courſe his Majeſty preſcribes us never ſo well, yet it will be a great deal ſubject to the Winds that ſhall riſe from the Humours of the ſeveral Parties, and the Tides that will run differently according to their Succeſſes. The *French* have given of late all the Facility they could to the Congreſs, and made haſte to the Place, as deſiring no better Peace, than upon the preſent Plan of Affairs. The Confederates, eſpecially the Houſe of *Auſtria*, are ſullen, as Loſers uſe to be, and ſo, in all the Paces of the Treaty are ſlow and reſty; hoping for ſomething from the Campaign, which may make room for Pretenſions that would hardly be in countenance as Things ſtand at preſent. The *Swede* is earneſt for a Peace; as having more Hopes of recovering himſelf that way, than by a War. This State deſires it as much as any, and has no Pretences of its own; but dares not break from their Confederates, not truſting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, ſo as to depend upon either after the Peace is made. *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* are eager in the War; finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and unrelievable by *France* any further than their Money, and ſo hoping to drive them this Summer out of *Germany*; which, for ought I ſee, they may endanger, if the Concert of the Confederates prove anſwerable to their Strength in thoſe Parts.

With theſe Diſpoſitions the Congreſs is to begin; but how it will end, muſt certainly depend, in a great meaſure, upon the Succeſſes that will attend the Campaign. The Deſigns, at preſent, of the Confederates, ſeem to determine in the Siege of *Stratſonde* in *Pomerania*; of *Philipsburgh* in *Germany*; and in *Flanders* upon that of *Maſtricht*: and it will be hard if one of theſe does not occaſion a Battle, which may be more deciſive than any Siege.

I know Your Lordſhip has but too much Share in the Trouble of my conſtant Letters to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*; and therefore, I ſhall not give You any further Interruption, than by the very unfeigned Profeſſions of my being moſt paſſionately, and ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful

and moſt Humble Servant.

To the KING.

Nimeguen, September 2. S. N. 1676.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

THough what we writ jointly this Day of our Conjecture, that ſome of the Parties, perhaps, on each Side, would this Winter endeavour rather to fall into ſeparate Meaſures with ſome of the Parties, than to advance a general Peace, was grounded upon what Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* told me, he had obſerved in his late Viſits and Converſations with the *French* Ambaſſadors; wherein they owned, very plainly, their Hopes and Expectation of breaking the Force of the Alliance this Winter, by drawing off either the *Dutch*, or, at leaſt, ſome of the *German* Princes: Yet I thought fit to trouble Your Majeſty with ſome more particular Obſervations of my own upon this Subject, in Diſcourſe more private with ſeveral of the Parties, and which I have not communicated to any other. Monſieur *Colbert*, after much Compliment to me the firſt Month I was here, of his Maſter's particular Eſteem of me, and of his own believing, that no Man but I could make the Peace, in regard of the Intereſt he believed I had with the Prince of *Orange*, and of the Neceſſity there was of the Houſe of *Auſtria*'s complying with any Meaſures the Prince ſhould take; has lately deſcended into more particular Diſcourſes, Of the Advantages the Prince ſhall be ſure to find in a Treaty with the King his Maſter: Of the Convenience the Prince would find in carrying it on privately with *France*, during the more publick Negotiations here: That the late Duke of *Bavaria* did the ſame at the Treaty of *Munſter*, and thereby was the Perſon that made that Peace, and, at the ſame time, eſtabliſh'd his own Intereſts with all the Advantage he could propoſe to himſelf: That the Prince of *Orange* might act the ſame Part here, and with the ſame Succeſs both to the General Peace and to Himſelf: That he could negotiate it by no Man ſo well as by me; and none could have a Part of greater Honour or Advantage, than mine would be in the Conduct of ſuch an Affair. I told him, upon this Occaſion, the Truth of what I thought concerning the Prince and my Self in this Matter; which was, that though, perhaps, his Highneſs would hear me talk to him, either of his general or particular Intereſts, as ſoon as another Man, yet I had never known that Perſon who had *aucun pouvoir ſur ſon eſprit*: That Your Majeſty had found You had a great deal leſs than You had Reaſon to expect; and that others had none at all, who pretended to have more than their Share: That by what I knew of the Prince's Diſpoſitions, I much doubted the Relief of *Maſtricht* would not diſpoſe him to the Peace; and that he would be loth to ſit down melancholy at the *Hague* with that Thorn at his Heart, That I heard he was *fort dépité* at preſent; but that when the Campaign ended, I ſhould have Occaſion of ſeeing him, and ſhould then be ſure to know the Bottom of his Heart; which I ſhould acquaint Your Majeſty with, and obſerve Your Directions upon it. Monſieur *Colbert* replied, That if the Prince would by me have given them any private Aſſurances, that the carrying of *Maſtricht* would have diſpoſed him to the Peace, has was ſure the King his Maſter would willingly have given him the Glory of it, and employ'd his Army ſomewhere in *Flanders*; *Mais qu'il ne falloit pas quitter le certain pour l'incertain*; that he believed the Prince was in ill Humour upon it, *Mais que le temps le rameneroit*; and that he believed, that would not be before the End of the Campaign.

I obſerved, in ſome particular Diſcourſes of M. *Beverning*, in a Humour when we are apteſt to tell Truth, That at leaſt, for his own Part, he was extreme ill ſatisfy'd with the *Spaniards*, and with the War being purſu'd only for the Intereſts of that Crown, who contributed ſo little towards it: That he deſired the Peace ſo much, as, if *Spain* would not be reaſonable in it, to wiſh for it without them. This, I know, is the Senſe of the ſubſtantial Part of the People in *Holland*, as well as his; and whether the Prince, and the Perſons at preſent in the Government, will be able, after this Diſgrace at *Maſtricht*, to keep the Spirits there in Temper enough to carry on the War another Year, I cannot yet, or at this Diſtance, take upon me to judge.

I have obſerved by my Converſation with the *Swediſh* Miniſters, both at the *Hague* and here, that they deſire a Peace with more Impatience than any of the Parties; and ſo far, that if they cannot have it general in a ſhort time, they would be glad of a particular one, either with *Holland*, or the Duke of *Brandenburgh*. They do not think *France* conſiders them at all in proportion to the Loſſes and Misfortunes they have engaged them in: And one of their Ambaſſadors told me, He did not believe *que les affaires fuſſent encore dans l'aſſiette que la France demandoit, ny qu'il eſtoit neceſſaire pour leur faire tout de bon ſouhaiter la paix generale.* He ſaid this a little myſteriouſly, making me believe, he had already particular Reaſon to think ſo; but ſhould, in a little Time, know more, and would then, in Confidence, acquaint me with it.

I doubt it will be neceſſary for me, in the Courſe of this Affair, ſometimes to give Your Majeſty ſome ſuch Accounts as this, of what may paſs to me in particular Confidence from ſome of the Miniſters, either by force of Old Acquaintances, or any other Motions they ſhall find towards it: And, poſſibly, they may give Your Majeſty more Light than the more open Paces here. But if Your Majeſty will avoid the Trouble, and appoint any other Perſon, to whom I ſhall addreſs ſuch Diſpatches, I ſhall not farther preſume to give Your Majeſty theſe Interruptions; but content my ſelf with Your Majeſty's Pardon for what is paſt, and with Your Juſtice in believing and accepting that inviolable Truth and Devotion, wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal

Subject and Servant,

W. Temple.

To the KING.

Nimeguen, September 20. *S. N.* 1676.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

UPON the Prince's Return from the Army, he was pleaſed to write me a Letter, giving me notice of it, and deſiring me to meet him at his Houſe near *Utrecht*, which I did on *Thurſday* laſt. I ſtaid Two Days with his Highneſs, and had very large Diſcourſes with him upon the Events of the preſent Campaign, and Appearances of the Treaty. As to my own Part in them, I ſhall only ſay, That they were all apply'd to thoſe Ends, and in that Method, which I thought moſt agreeable to Your Majeſty's Intentions, and to the ſeveral Inſtructions I have had the Honour to receive from Your Majeſty, or by Your Order upon this Subject. The Subſtance of all his Highneſs's Diſcourſe, I ſhall ſum up in as few and as ſhort Heads as I can for Your Majeſty's Eaſe.

He expreſs'd great Senſe of the Misfortune of this Campaign, and ſaid, He knew very well, *Le malheur de ſon poſte, ou pendant que les autres faiſoient les fautes, c'eſtoit à luy de ſouffrir la honte.* When I told him, That was too hard an Expreſſion, and that no body thought he deſerved, he repeated it again, and ſaid, It muſt be ſo in the Opinion of all the World, but only ſome few, who knew the Inſide of the Buſineſs: That he ſaw no Remedy for it with the preſent Conduct of *Spain*, nor with ſuch Men as they employ'd in *Flanders*:

That ſome of them were loth to venture the Army, and ſome as loth to venture themſelves, and others knew not how to do either *a propos*: That I might very well think, however, that he had no mind to ſit down with the Diſgrace of ſuch a Campaign; and that if the *Spaniards* could but garriſon their Towns, ſo as to make any Defence in Form, he would yet hope, he might have his Revenge another Year, by truſting to no Army but his own.

When I asked, Whether he thought the States were in Humour, or the Country in Condition to go on with the War? he ſaid, He would not diſſemble it; They had a horrible Mind to the Peace; but ſo they had for theſe Two laſt Years: That they were, however, able to go on with it, eſpecially if they were eaſed of their Subſidies to the Allies, and would be inſenſibly ingaged in it, as they had been theſe Two laſt Campaigns, if they could not have a Peace with ſome Honour and Safety.

When I took notice of his little Inclinations to any ſudden Peace, he ſaid, on the contrary, He had a mind to it, and that no Intereſts of his own ſhould delay it; but that he could not tell how to come by it (which Words, I remember, he ſpoke in *Engliſh*): That he would deal plainly with me as to his own Thoughts; That though a Congreſs was neceſſary, yet, he believ'd, we could not hope to make a Peace here in leſs than about Four Years: That he was of Opinion, if Your Majeſty would have it this Winter, You muſt make it Your ſelf, by telling all the Parties upon what Terms You expected and thought reaſonable it ſhould be made: That if You would do this, You muſt at leaſt employ more private Negotiations towards it, and firſt ſound *France* to the Bottom, inſtead of ſounding him (the Prince); and this for Two Reaſons: Firſt, Becauſe *France* was ſingle, and Maſter of their own Reſolutions, which he was not; and tho' he could anſwer for himſelf, yet he could not for thoſe he was engaged with. Next, Becauſe if his Highneſs or *Spain* ſhould firſt declare themſelves upon the Conditions of a General Peace, *France* might very well make uſe of it towards breaking their Alliance, or the Confidence of it, which they could not do towards *France*, which had no other Ally but the *Swede*, and him but very little conſidered, either in the Peace or the War.

When I would have enter'd into ſome Diſcourſe of Conditions the moſt apparent for the Peace, he ſaid, That, upon the whole, he did not believe, in the preſent Poſture of Affairs, *France* could poſſibly be brought to ſuch Terms as it was poſſible for the Allies to accept; nor was it reaſonable to think or to hope they ſhould, after ſuch a Campaign as had paſs'd in *Flanders*. But it was not yet ended in *Alſace*, nor, perhaps in *Flanders* neither: For tho' he would not go into the Field again to do nothing, yet, if there ſhould happen a good Occaſion, he would be gone again at half an Hour's Warning: That, however this Campaign ſhould end with *France*, 'twas like to paſs well enough againſt the *Swedes*; and as they had already Eighteen thouſand Men of the *Lunenburgh* and *Munſter* Troops by the Conqueſt of *Bremen*; ſo they hoped to have Thirty thouſand more next Campaign, if the *Swedes* were beaten out of *Pomerania*, which was not unlikely yet before the Year ended.

He ſaid, we muſt talk over this Matter again when the Campaign was done, and that we ſhould then know better what to ſay upon it: That it would be neceſſary for me to come ſometimes to the *Hague*, and to that end adviſed me to get Leave to do it whenever I ſaw Occaſion. I told his Highneſs, That I had it already, and ſhould make uſe of it whenever his Highneſs thought it neceſſary, and would let me know it, as well as upon any other Occaſions of Your Majeſty's Service there.

I remember no more to trouble Your Majeſty with out of all our Diſcourſes upon this Matter. There was one thing more his Highneſs ſaid, which, I think, will be fit to tell Your Majeſty, tho' he might not intend it. He told me, He had received a Letter from Your Majeſty, in Anſwer to that he ſent by my Wife; That You had refuſed him Leave to go over into *England* before the Peace, and with Terms ſomething hardiſh (which were his *Engliſh* Words);

That he thought it was fit to take an Anſwer when Your Majeſty gave it him; and therefore he ſhould trouble You no more about it: That Your Majeſty beſt knew when You thought was a fit Time for him to do it, and he ſuppos'd, would let him know it, ſince, it ſeems, he did not himſelf.

I cannot but add one Word of an Advice of another kind, and from another Hand, becauſe it was new to me, and look'd conſiderable. Upon Diſcourſe with Count *Oxenſterne*, about the Court of *Vienna* (where he had been lately Ambaſſador) he told me, the Emperor was ſo infirm, that it was not believed he could ever have Children that would live; that this being foreſeen, he found among the Miniſters there, that it was reſolved, in caſe of his dying without Sons, to leave the whole Succeſſion of the Dutchy of *Auſtria*, and its Dependencies to the Duke of *Lorrain*, with Condition to marry the Emperor's Siſter, and by this means to make way for his being Emperor, which he did not believe there would be any Difficulty in, eſpecially when ſuch an Accident ſhould find him in the Head of the Imperial Army.

I humbly beg Your Majeſty's Pardon for this long Interruption, and Your Acceptance of that humble and hearty Devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient,

Subject and Servant,

W. Temple.

To the KING.

Nimeguen, October 19. *S. N.* 1676.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

I Cannot better acknowledge the Honour of receiving Your Majeſty's particular Commands, than by aſſuring Your Majeſty of the infinite Satiſfaction I ſhall have in obeying them. I do not remember, that the Reflections I made upon my laſt Diſcourſe with the Prince, went ſo far as what Your Majeſty is pleaſed to make upon them in Your laſt Letter. I did not conclude upon all which paſt, that he had a mind to continue the War; but rather, that he was unreſolved between the Deſires of repairing his Honour by another Campaign, and the Fears of being more in ſuch Company as he is join'd with in *Flanders*. But though his Diſpoſitions ſeemed doubtful, yet his Judgment was indeed very poſitive, that the Peace would not be made this Winter, unleſs Your Majeſty undertook it, by advancing ſome Propoſitions of Your own towards it: He concluded, That we ſhould talk it over again after the Campaign ſhould be ended on all ſides: And, indeed, the Winter Quarters of the Imperial Armies, where-ever they fall, will open the Proſpect into the next Year's Events, more than any thing that has paſs'd this Summer: For if the *French* can maintain a Defenſive War in *Alſace* another Campaign, I believe, they will take *St. Omers*, *Cambray* or *Valenciennes* (if not two or all of them), in ſpight of all the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Forces will be able to do in *Flanders*, unleſs a very great Change happen in their Conduct or Fortune. But if the *German* Armies ſhould enter into *France*, that Crown may, perhaps, have Work enough on that ſide, and be thereby forced to call away ſo many of their Troops out of *Flanders*, as to leave the Prince of *Orange* an eaſie Campaign there. This, I find, the *French* Ambaſſadors here apprehend, in caſe the *Swede* be wholly beaten out of *Germany* this Seaſon, and the Alliance continues united and vigorous another Year. And Monſieur *Beverning*, after all his *Fanfares* about a ſeparate Peace, (which Your Majeſty will meet with in Two of our joint Letters by the laſt and this Ordinary) ſeems too publick and affected to mean much more, than to induce the Emperor into thoſe Meaſures: For after he had talk'd himſelf ſober with me upon that whole Subject, he ſaid at laſt, in plain Terms, That if the *Germans* would let *Briſac* alone, and enter into *France* next Spring, the States would not make the Peace this Year; and that they had already taken their Meaſures, and found they could go on with the War another Campaign, and with the ſame Forces they had this laſt, or ſomething greater, if there were a good Occaſion.

He intends to go again into *Holland* about the 10th of next Month, when the next Aſſembly will be of the States of *Holland*, at which Time the Counſels and Meaſures are uſually taken for the enſuing Year, and always for the chief Expence of it, as near as it can be then foreſeen. I hope my Lord *Berkley* will by that Time be here, and then I ſhall take an Occaſion of going again to the Prince, and ſhall, I ſuppoſe, be able, at ſo critical a Time, to make a clearer Judgment of what Your Majeſty may hope from him, as to the Peace; and neglect no Endeavours to give his Highneſs thoſe Impreſſions which are not only agreeable with Your Majeſty's Intentions, but, in my Opinion, with his own Intereſts too, in the Poſture he ſtands with Friends and Enemies, both at Home and Abroad. I ſhall then give Your Majeſty a full Account of what Diſpoſitions or Motions I find at the *Hague*, which the *French* Ambaſſadors ſay, upon all Occaſions, muſt chiefly govern what paſſes here. In the mean Time, I ſhall only beg Your Majeſty's Pardon for this Interruption, and Your Juſtice in believing me what I ſhall ever be, with the greateſt Devotion and Truth,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient

Subject and Servant.

W. Temple.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Nimeguen, October 31. *S. N.* 1676.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

I Received lately a Letter from his Majeſty, dated at *Newmarket* the 8th of this Month, and in Anſwer to the Account I gave him of Your Highneſs's Diſcourſes with me at *Soeſdyke*, and Your Opinions, that his Majeſty propoſing the Terms of a Peace to the Parties, will be the only way of making it. His Majeſty ſays upon it, That he doubts Your Highneſs has a mind to continue the War, which he is ſorry for; becauſe, as it is conducted by Your Allies, he fears, You will not find Your Account in it; and aſſures me, one of the great Motives he has for the Peace, is the Belief, that Your Highneſs will be the better for it; That it has ever been his Endeavour, and is ſo ſtill, to oblige *France* to declare it ſelf to him upon what Terms they will be content to make the Peace; but if they will not, it muſt take the Forms which the Congreſs here will give it; and if that will not bring it to paſs, his Majeſty muſt content himſelf with having done what he could towards it, according to the Figure he has taken of the Common Mediator. Upon another Subject his

Majeſty ſays, He is glad to underſtand from me, that Your Highneſs is of Opinion, You muſt learn from his Majeſty the Time of Your going over into *England*, which is not yet proper for it; but when it ſhall be ſo, he ſhall be as glad to ſee You, as You can with Your ſelf.

I have given Your Highneſs the King's own Words in what I have written, between Two Marks, and intended to have given You a larger Account of it my ſelf at the *Hague* before this, if my Lord *Berkley* had come hither ſo ſoon as we were made believe: It cannot be long before he arrives; and it will not be long after, I hope, before I ſhall have the Honour of kiſſing Your Highneſs's Hands, and ending the Diſcourſe we began at *Soeſdyke*. In the mean time, I am with great Thanks to acknowledge the very great Favour which my Wife ſays, Your Highneſs is pleaſed to offer, of lodging me at the *Hague*, and may very well take Your Highneſs at Your Word, if the Weather and my Health continue ill, as they have been of late.

I ſend Your Highneſs incloſed a Letter I received from Mr. *Sidney*, which came not ſooner, becauſe, as I found by another, he had great Diſputes with his Father before he would give this Anſwer. I am very ſorry for it; but ſince You find the Lieutenant Colonel ſo very capable, I hope it will be no Loſs. In caſe he has the Regiment, Major *Archer* has begg'd of me to mention him to Your Highneſs, for the Lieutenant Colonel's Place, which I ſhould not do, but that I remember Your Highneſs expreſs'd a very good Opinion of him; and I find by him, That he cannot (as he ſays) poſſibly live on the Regiment he is with *Fenwick* and *Weaſly*. I hear, this laſt is endeavouring to turn out one Captain *Knight*, for having been a Friend to Major *Archer* in ſome of their Quarrels; I humbly beg Your Highneſs to ſuſpend any ſuch Reſolution, till I have the Honour of ſeeing You. I am ever, with perfect Truth and Devotion,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's moſt Obedient,

and moſt Humble Servant,

W. Temple.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, January 5. *S. N.* 1677.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt, the Day after my Arrival here, I endeavoured to ſpeak with the Penſioner upon thoſe Matters relating to this Embaſſy, and ſtill remaining without any Anſwer, or, at leaſt, Diſpatch. After having twice excuſed himſelf upon his Indiſpoſition, at length he gave me an Hour; and I found him in the Poſture of a ſick Man, complaining of *une Fievre lente*, and Weakneſs upon the Loſs of very much Blood; which, he ſaid, was all *Sanguis aduſtus*. Which I repeat from his own Mouth, as Expreſſions that, compared to other Circumſtances of our Converſation, made me conclude his Illneſs to be at leaſt as much of Mind as of Body; and derived, perhaps, from the Fatigue and Chagrin of his Buſineſs, rather than his ill Conſtitution; tho' ſomething of that be natural to him.

I firſt complained of the States Delay, not only in the Satisfaction, but even in the Anſwer due to Two of his Majeſty's Letters, upon the Buſineſs of the Three *Scotch* Miniſters, which I took to be clear in the Words of the Treaty, and ſubject to no Diſpute or Evaſion. He confeſs'd, It might look like a Neglect in the States, not to anſwer the Letters they had received from his Majeſty; but they had delayed it, in hopes his Majeſty might have been ſatisfied with the Reaſons their Ambaſſadors in *England* had been charged to repreſent on that Subject; and they were unwilling it ſhould appear by their Letter, either that his Majeſty demanded a Thing of them by virtue of a Treaty, which they did not think the Treaty oblig'd them to; or that any of the King's Subjects, who were, or ſhould be hereafter baniſhed by his Majeſty, might from their Letter take occaſion to hope for Refuge in theſe Countries. But if I would enter into the Debate of this Matter at a Conference with the States Commiſſioners, and ſhould not be ſatisfied with their Reaſons, but deſire them in Writing, they would either give them me to repreſent to his Majeſty, or elſe they would comprehend them in a Letter to his Majeſty, in Anſwer of thoſe they had received from him.

I ſaid, I was reſolved to enter upon this Matter, and ſee the Bottom of it while I was here; but hoped, they would upon it be ſo far ſatisfied with the Clearneſs of the Caſe, as to anſwer his Majeſty's Demand rather by Compliance than Reaſons: And ſo we reſolved to attend two or three Days, in hopes he might at that Time aſſiſt at the Conference, ſince he deſired it; and I knew very well, nothing would be done to any purpoſe without it. I found, however, That the Streſs of their Pretenſions will lie in the Difference between Perſons baniſhed, and either Rebels or Fugitives who are named in the Articles. For the Penſioner thinks his Majeſty may declare any of his Subjects Rebels or Fugitives; and ſuch a Declaration is enough (being ſignified to the States) to ground the Demand now made. But when a Prince or State baniſheth any Man, they thereby declare him to be a Subject no longer; and have not afterwards Power to declare him Rebel or Fugitive, eſpecially if he have offered himſelf to the Law; as Two of theſe Men, he ſaid, did, and did not fly their Country, but by Sentence were forced to do it. But the Iſſue of this Matter I muſt refer to our Conference; as likewiſe that of the *Dort* Company, and the Ships *Thomas* and *John*, which were recommended in Your laſt to my Care.

When theſe Diſcourſes had paſs'd, the Penſioner asked me, Whether I had brought them the Peace from *Nimeguen?* and I replied, Since he was ſo ignorant of what had paſſed there, I would tell him; That they had carried their Matters there *en habiles gens:* That to bring their Allies to the Congreſs, they had pretended to treat by the Firſt of *November*, whether they came or no: That after the Day they had found Fault with the Powers; offered at new; made the Mediators courſe from one to t'other; ſpun out Two Months Time in theſe Paces, and thereby were gotten in ſight of both *Spaniſh* and *Imperial* Miniſters, which, I ſuppoſed, was the Thing they always intended.

He anſwered me, with ſomething in his Face both ſerious and ſad; That either I did not know the Courſe of their Affairs here, ſince I left the *Hague*, or elſe I would not ſeem to know them: That they deſired the Peace from their Hearts, and not only ſo, but thought it abſolutely neceſſary: That they would certainly have entred into the Treaty, if the *French* had either brought Powers in Form to be admitted, or obliged themſelves to procure new ones. I ſaid, I believed him, and that they could have found no better way to bring their Allies to the Congreſs.

He replied, *Je vous diray donc encore, que nous n'inſiſterons pas ſur une paix ſelon les pretenſions de nos Allies, & ue vous rêponds pas que nous ne la ferons même ſeparée.* I ſaid, It was at leaſt a Matter of that Moment, that, I believed, they would think of it before they did it.

With this, he drew his Chair up cloſer to me, and begun, with great Earneſtneſs, a very long Diſcourſe upon this whole Matter; ſaying firſt, That they had thought enough of it already; and, for his Part, he was grown, by thinking much, to conclude it was without Remedy: That they had great Obligations to *Spain*, for entring into the War to ſave this Country; but therein to ſave *Flanders* too: But they had made no ill Return by continuing the War now Three Years only for the Intereſts of *Spain*; ſince there remained nothing of Conſequence between *France* and them: That they had, beſides, engaged to carry it on this following Year, with the ſame Number of Forces they did the laſt; and ſo they would, if their Allies had performed their Parts: But for *Spain*, they took no Care, but only to let them ſee they were reſolved to periſh: That they ſent their Fleets home from *Sicily* without any of the Payments agreed for, and left them to be paid by the States here at their Arrival. That not a Penny could be got of 300000 Guilders they owed them for Carriages and Proviſions the laſt Campaign, and which was deſigned for their Magazines in *Flanders* againſt the next: That they had repreſented to *Spain* the abſolute Neceſſity of keeping ſo many Forces in *Flanders* as would defend their Towns, while the Prince took the Field; which he was content to do with the Army of this State; but not a Word of Anſwer: That they had then deſired *Spain* to receive ſo many of the Forces of their Allies, as might ſerve to defend their Places; but, inſtead of this, they drove them out of their Country. That, for the Emperor, they had always told him, unleſs his Army would march into *France*, or give a Battle, *Flanders* could not be defended laſt Year, nor this next, unleſs his Forces took up their Winter Quarters in *Alſatia*, or that ſide of the *Rhine*: but at *Vienna*, they conſider'd *Flanders* as much as the *Dutch* do *Hungary*: And becauſe the Imperial Officers could make greater Advantages of Winter Quarters in *Germany*, than in ſuch a haraſſed Country as *Alſatia*, their Armies muſt return this Winter, and thereby loſe all the Advantages that might have been made of the laſt Campaign: That for want of Magazines in *Flanders*, Two or Three of the beſt Frontier Towns would be loſt next Year before the Imperialiſts could poſſibly take the Field; and if *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, and *Mons* were gone, all the reſt would certainly revolt; conſidering the Miſeries they had already ſuffered, and muſt ſtill by a longer War: That either the Prince could not be ſoon enough in the Field to prevent it, or elſe he would not be able to ſubſiſt for want of Magazines, and the Country's being like to be deſerted and waſte by this Buſineſs of Contributions unſettled; or elſe he would not be ſtrong enough to venture a Battle, or raiſe a Siege; conſidering how weak the *Spaniards* would be, how poorly their Towns would be defended, and how ſtrong *France* would come on that ſide into the Field, while they had no Enemy upon the *Rhine*: That the Prince's Friends could never ſuffer him to go into the Field, only to ſee Towns taken under his Noſe, and, perhaps, the whole Country loſt, while he was expected to defend it, and render'd uncapable of doing it by the Faults of the *Spaniards*; who yet would lay it to his Charge, and be the firſt to reproach him: Which would be done likewiſe by his Enemies at Home, and Ill-willers Abroad; who would be glad of the Occaſion.

In the mean time, from *France* they could have whatever Conditions they pretended, either as to the reſtoring of *Maſtricht*, or the *Reglement* of Commerce, or the Advantages of the Prince; and as to this laſt, all they could deſire. That they had Letters every Week from the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades* upon this Subject, and from other Hands: And, for his own part, though he ſhould fall into it with Regret, yet he did not ſee what elſe was to be done; and he did not know one Man in *Holland* that was not of the ſame Mind.

This long Diſcourſe ended with ſaying, That he did not talk to me like an Ambaſſador, but a Friend, and one whoſe Opinion he eſteemed: That he diſcovered to me *leur fort*, *&* *leur foible*; and would be glad to know what elſe I thought they could do *dans l'accablement de cet Etat par une ſi longue guerre*, and all the Circumſtances that now attend it both from their Friends and their Enemies.

I gave him Thanks for the Confidence he expreſs'd towards me; but deſired to be excuſed for giving my Counſel or Opinion to a Perſon who was ſo able to take Meaſures for the State and for Himſelf. But I deſired to know what he reckoned would become of *Flanders* after this State had made a ſeparate Peace? He replied, That it would be loſt either in one Summer or two; but more probably in one: For, he believed, the Towns of *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, and *Mons*, might be taken in one Campaign; or, if *Valenciennes* were only taken on that ſide, *Cambray* would be out of Care, and muſt fall of it ſelf: That after this, none of the great Towns would offer at defending themſelves, unleſs it were *Antwerp*; and for that, perhaps, ſome Meaſures might be taken with *France*.

I asked him, How he reckoned this State was to live with *France*, after *Flanders* was wholly loſt? And whether he thought it would not be perfectly at Diſcretion?

He ſaid, If they could hope to ſave *Flanders* by continuing the War, they would not think of a ſeparate Peace: But if they ſaw it muſt be loſt by one as well as t'other, they thought it beſt by the laſt; which would not only leſs exhauſt the State, but be leſs Diſhonour to the Prince too: That after *Flanders* was loſt, they would live ſo with *France*, that they ſhould find it more for their Profit to preſerve this State, than to deſtroy it: That he knew very well, it was not a Thing to be choſen; but they ſhould be forced to it, as Men are ſometimes to deſperate Remedies: That they had long hoped ſome Reſource from better Conduct in the *Spaniſh* Affairs: That they had believed ſome Impreſſions of the *German* Army in *France* it ſelf, might have brought the Buſineſs *à un accommodement raiſonnable*: That he, for his own Part, had ever believed, *England* it ſelf would cry *Halte* at one Step or other; and if they would be content to ſee half *Flanders* loſt, yet they would not ſee it all; and the ſame of *Sicily:* That the King had the Peace in his Hands for theſe Two Years paſt, and might have made it when he pleaſed, and upon what Conditions he thought fit: That for their Parts, Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* had deſired his Majeſty to ſay whatever he would have in it, and that this State would endeavour it upon any Terms his Majeſty propoſed; but that he could never get one Word of Anſwer: That he had full Power to make any ſort of Alliance with his Majeſty that he deſired; but nothing of that neither. That he confeſſed it was true, *Cuncta prius tentanda*; but he found at length, it was *immedicabile vulnus:* And he ſaw nothing left for them to do, but a ſeparate Peace: That he underſtood very well, what I meant by asking how they were to live with *France* after the Loſs of *Flanders*; but he had caſt up that too: That, firſt, *La viſee de la France ſera plûtôt ſur l'Allemagne ou ſur l'Italie, que ſur eux:* That, in the next place, he knew it would not be their Intereſt to conquer or deſtroy this State, but could make better Uſes by preſerving it in a Dependance upon them: That the King had ſeen their Country, and underſtood it ſo; and had ſaid upon all Occaſions ſince, That he had rather have them for his Friends, than his Subjects: That for their Religion, which he had as much at Heart as any Man, he did not fear any thing in that from *France* neither: That the King was not *ſi coiffé de ſa Religion*, as thereby to loſe any Intereſts of his State; and he knew very well, that any Force or Change in Religion here, would quickly deſtroy the Trade; and thereby the Sea Forces of this Country, which he might make better uſe of, than if it were left *un grand marêcage.* But at laſt, if their State muſt fall in four and twenty Hours, 'twere better for them to defer it to the laſt; and that it ſhould happen at Night, rather than at Noon.

All this was diſcourſed with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that I was afraid it had done him Hurt; and, indeed, it left him not in Condition or Breath, to go on with a longer Converſation. And ſo, having ſaid, It was not a Matter to be reſolved between us Two; and that I wiſh'd him Health enough to go thro' the Thoughts and Buſineſs of ſo great a Conjuncture, I left him.

The next Morning I went to the Prince; and after ſome common Talk, I told him, I had ſeen the Penſioner, and asked, Whether his Highneſs knew what Diſcourſe had paſſed between us? He ſaid, No, he had not ſeen him ſince; and asked me, What it was? I repeated ſeveral Heads of it, and ſaid, It all concluded in the Neceſſity of this State's making a ſeparate Peace; and that he ſaid, There was not one Man in *Holland* againſt it. The Prince interrupted me, and ſaid, Yes, I am ſure, I know one, and that is my ſelf; and I will hinder it as long as I can: But if any thing ſhould happen to me, they would do it in Two Days Time. I asked his Highneſs, Whether he was of the Penſioner's Opinion in what was likely to happen next Year in *Flanders*? He ſaid, The Appearances were ill; but Campaigns did not always end as they began: That ſome Accidents might happen, which no Man could foreſee; and if a Battle ſhould be given, none could anſwer for the Event. After this, and two or three little Things he ſaid about our Indifference in what became either of the Peace, or of *Flanders*; his Highneſs roſe up, as if he did not care for going on further with the Diſcourſe; and ſo broke it off.

I have been very exact in the Account of all theſe Paſſages, the Introductions to them, and often the very Words (which I have marked) becauſe I believe them the true Repreſentations of the preſent Diſpoſitions here in this Matter of a ſeparate Peace. That is, The People in general, the Towns, the States, are all bent upon it, from an extreme Diſlike of their Allies Conduct, both in the Treaty and the War. But the Prince alone, upon whoſe Honour the Allies have wholly relied in all their Negotiations with this State, is not yet able to digeſt it; and being equally apprehenſive of the Diſhonour may befall him, either by ſeparating from his Allies by a Peace, or purſuing the War in Conjunction with *Spain* (whoſe Weakneſs and ill Conduct will make the Faults, of which he muſt, in common Opinion, bear the Blame). He is certainly at this Time, moſt extremely deſirous of a general Peace; and will not only go into it, in ſuch ways as his Majeſty ſhall think the moſt expedient; but will take it the kindlieſt in the World, if his Majeſty ſhould think fit to uſe his Offices with *France*, ſo as to bring it about with Honour to his Highneſs, in ſome moderate Satisfaction to his Allies.

If his Majeſty interpoſeth no further than by the bare and formal Offices of his Mediation at the Place of Treaty, and the *Auſtrians* hold off, as they have hitherto done; I ſuppoſe the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* will fall into ſeparate, and, perhaps, private Negotiations of the Differences between them; which, I gueſs (from the Diſpoſitions I can obſerve on both ſides) will be very ſoon and eaſily adjuſted: And then the *Dutch* will be ready to clap up a ſeparate Peace in Two Days Time, whenever they grow more out of Patience at the Slowneſs and Unſincereneſs of their Allies in the general Treaty; or more apprehenſive of Diſhonour and ill Succeſs in the War; or when theſe or any other Circumſtances ſhall bring the Prince to fall into the ſame Opinion with the States upon this Matter.

Monſieur *Colbert* hath in many and particular Diſcourſes, beſides others from the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades*, told me ſo much of their Deſires to enter into this Matter of ſeparate Negotiations and Meaſures with the Prince and this State; of the Eaſineſs they ſhould find in Points of Commerce, and Advantages his Highneſs ſhould receive by it to himſelf, both in the Treaty, and in the Courſe of the King their Maſter's Friendſhip hereafter; that, I ſuppoſe, there can occur no Difficulty of that ſide, whenever it grows full ripe on this. And therefore, I preſume, the Knowledge of all theſe Circumſtances would be neceſſary for his Majeſty's Information, in ſo great and ſo nice a Conjuncture; and more particularly ſo, for his Inſtructions to us, as to our Conduct at *Nimeguen*, whenever we meet with ſuch Motions there, as are likely to ariſe from ſuch Diſpoſitions here.

I beg Your Pardon for ſo long a Trouble, and one Word, if You pleaſe, of the Incloſed by laſt Poſt from hence being delivered to his Majeſty, and Your Belief of my being always,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful,

Humble Servant.

To

To Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Hague, January 8. *S. N.* 1677.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge the Honour of one from You of the 5th paſt, ſince which Time I found it neceſſary for me to make a Turn hither; both from a Letter of the Prince which deſired it, and ſome Buſineſs relating to this Embaſſy that required a Diſpatch; and, alſo, that, in ſuch a Conjuncture, I might be perfectly informed how the Game was like to play: which could be known no where but here, nor, indeed, by other Hands than thoſe I deal with; which are the Prince and the Penſioner. You will have known from my Diſpatch laſt Ordinary, all I am like to know upon the Subject of a general or ſeparate Peace: And I find by Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*'s Letter this Day to me, that he is fallen upon the Scent of this laſt at *Nimeguen*, ſince I came away; and likewiſe, that he has received ſome Letters from Court ſince I left him; which looks as if You had apprehended it there already, and given ſome Orders in a late Letter about our Conduct in the Caſe, by way of Proteſtation; which he ſeems much in Pain about, and deſires my Help in, without having ſent me any Copy of Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*'s Letter upon that Subject; ſo that I can make no Judgment at all of the Thing, how it is given us in Charge. But if it ſhould be, as I apprehend by his Letter, that in caſe we find a ſeparate Peace between *France* and *Holland*, concluding or concluded at *Nimeguen*, without our Communication, we ſhould proteſt publickly againſt it in his Majeſty's Name. I do not well underſtand to what purpoſe ſuch a Thing can be intended. If we diſlike the Thing, and it appear to ſanguine Men at Court, as dangerous as to melancholy Men in the Country, we may endeavour to prevent it; but if it be once concluded, our Proteſtations can, in my Opinion, ſerve only to irritate the Parties, and bind them faſter together by the Apprehenſion of our being angry at them both, and at their Conjunction. Nor can I well ſee, either what Ground ſuch a Proteſtation can have, any more than what Effect. For the Parties have not obliged themſelves to his Majeſty upon his Mediation of a General Peace, either that they will not treat without his Mediation, nor ſeparately; or, if they had, the ſame Intereſts that force them to break through ſo many Obligations to their Allies, would make them as bold with thoſe to a Mediator. Beſides, I obſerved in Monſieur *Colbert*'s Exceptions to our Form of Powers, he ſaid, There was one eſſential Default in the very Diſpoſitive; which was, The Omiſſion of that Clauſe, that they might treat with the adverſe Miniſters, either with or without the Intervention of the Mediators: And ſo we may certainly reckon they will do, when Intereſt leads them to it.

I am forced to trouble You with this Diſcourſe, having received this Letter from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* ſince I cloſed mine this Night to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*. I know not whether what I have ſaid be at all to the purpoſe, becauſe 'tis very likely I may have miſapprehended the late Inſtructions ſent us over, which are mentioned very ſhort in my Colleague's Letter to me. Beſides, I am the apter to think I may be miſtaken; becauſe, I remember, upon our deſiring Inſtructions Two Months ſince, how to conduct our ſelves in caſe of ſeparate Treaties, we had no Anſwer given us upon it. And I will tell You, That not only the Allies are of Opinion, that we would promote it; but the Prince himſelf ſeems to believe, we would be glad of it; though I aſſure him, all our Inſtructions run quite contrary, and impower us only to perform our Offices towards the general Peace.

I am ever, with the Eſteem and Truth that become me,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, January 8. *S. N.* 1677.

My Lord,

UPON the Incident of a Letter juſt now from my Colleague Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, concerning ſome Inſtructions he had receiv'd ſince I left him, in relation to a ſeparate Peace, I thought it neceſſary to write the Incloſed to Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, having already cloſed my Pacquet to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*; and our Inſtructions commanding us to correſpond with the Secretaries of State; ſo as all Advices of Importance are neceſſarily addreſſed to one of them for our Diſcharge.

However, I thought what I had written fit to be preſented to Your Lordſhip as early as I could, in hopes You will give Your Hand towards our full Inſtructions in his Majeſty's Mind upon this Matter. For my Part, if I apprehend right what Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* writes to me about a Proteſtation, I cannot underſtand the Drift of ſuch a Counſel, nor why one ſhould be angry, when one hurts no body but one's ſelf. To prevent the Thing may be a wiſe and neceſſary Counſel, and in which his Majeſty's Meaning ought to have been ſignified early, where it was likely to be of Moment to that end; but if the Thing ſhould be done, I cannot imagine either how to ground our Offence, or ſeek our Revenge, and it would be to ſtay till we are ſtruck, and then truſt to crying out. Whereas, for ought I know, it were better to anger either of the Parties before a ſeparate Peace, than both of them afterwards; and if we muſt ſtrain any Points of Courteſie with them, to do it rather by making a fair and general Peace, than by complaining and proteſting againſt a ſeparate one.

I beg Your Lordſhip's Pardon for this Trouble, and Your Juſtice in believing me ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, January 12. *S. N.* 1677.

SIR,

I Have received the Honour of Yours of the 26th paſt, with the Copy of another of the ſame Date to the Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*; for which I humbly thank You. As to what concerns the Points depending here, I can add little more than what I writ laſt; but that I have received Aſſurance that the States will give ſudden Order for returning of the Money, and Security given the Maſter of the *Thomas* and *John*, taken by a *Dutch* Man of War from a *Dunkirk* Caper; and this they will do upon the Aſſurance I give them (from his Majeſty's Letters) of the like Procedure on our ſide towards them in like Caſes.

All I have left, is, The Affair of the Three *Scotch* Miniſters, which muſt be brought to a Conference; and that the Penſioner's Illneſs will not yet ſuffer him to aſſiſt at, ſince it muſt be at my Houſe, and he has not yet ſtirred Abroad, but is ſomething better to Day, ſo as to give me hopes it may be to Morrow, or *Thurſday*; if not, I will have it on *Friday* without him, and drive it as far as it will go. His Illneſs begins to be apprehended by many, being a continual, tho' ſlow Fever, and would extremely diſconcert the Meaſures of this State, if any thing of ill ſhould happen to him. Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, who has abſented himſelf from his Poſt here for near three Months, upon the Shame of appearing without Money for the Fleet from *Sicily*, and that to *Denmark* laſt Year; and the Want whereof would have endangered ſome Trouble at *Amſterdam*, if the Ships from *Sicily* had been able to come in before the Froſt, writes now Word from *Bruſſels*, That he is preparing to come away immediately; and that he ſhall do it with leſs Regret and Shame, being poſſeſs'd of the Money due, *por el Mediterraneo, y el Baltico, y ſin Gaſconado*; which are the Words of his Letter, and have ſo much Credit with the Prince and the States, that they take it for a Thing done; and it was high Time. The Prince tells me, He thinks the Remiſes come by laſt Ordinary to *Bruſſels*, are of Two Millions and a half of Crowns, but that more is expected.

The *Daniſh* Miniſter preſſes very much for Money, Ships, and Men here; but I believe they will go hard from this State; who pretend the *Danes* may content themſelves with their New Conqueſts, and the *Spaniſh* Subſidies, towards carrying on the War. I know not whether they reckon well: For, however the laſt Action in *Schonen* paſs'd, or however it be told, I look upon it as very advantageous to the *Swedes*; not only by gaining their Point in the Relief of *Malmoe*, but alſo by being left Maſters of the Field in that Province. And tho' the Loſs may have been equal on both Sides, or, perhaps, greater on the *Swedes*, yet I take that Crown to have much greater Reſources than *Denmark*, both in Bodies of Men of their own Natives, and in the Moneys from *France*; whereas *Denmark* will find very hard to repair the Loſs of their Foot in this Battel, without Levies from *Germany*, which will coſt more Money than they can well furniſh, without the Subſidies agreed, both from this State and *Spain*.

I intend to get away from hence as ſoon as poſſibly I can, upon the preſſing Inſtances made me from my Lord Ambaſſador *Jenkins*, as well as from Monſieur *Colbert* and *Beverning*; but, chiefly, from the great Embarraſs that You will find fallen upon the Buſineſs of the Aſſembly, by the irregular Demarches of Count *Kinski*; whereof I have been this Day acquainted, by a Copy of the Joint-Letter that goes to You with this Ordinary; which, if they proceed one Pace farther, as it ſeems, he intends, muſt of Neceſſity break all Communication between the *Imperial* and *French* Ambaſſadors, and, conſequently, give a Stop to the Progreſs of any General Treaty. Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* preſſes me ſo earneſtly to give him my Advice, by to Morrow's Pacquet, what to do, in caſe they receive a ſecond, and more formal, Notification from Count *Kinski*, of his Arrival, in order to a ſecond Viſit of Ceremony, that I cannot avoid giving my Opinion upon it; ſince the Caſe is like to happen before he can receive Directions from You.

I think they are to uſe all Endeavours poſſible to divert Count *Kinski* from this Reſolution: Firſt, becauſe it is contrary to the Stile hitherto uſed by all Ambaſſadors in the Congreſs. Secondly, becauſe our viſiting the Count a ſecond Time in Form, will be to give him a new Honour, which has not been pretended by, or given to, any other Ambaſſador. Thirdly, Becauſe upon this Practice the *French* will certainly make him no Viſit, as receiving from him but half the Honour which he will have done, not only to the Mediators, but to the Ambaſſadors of all the Allies, by two formal Notifications. Fourthly, Becauſe the Mediators have already declared to him, as well as to the *French*, their own Opinion in the Caſe; and if any Thing at all be allowed to a Mediator, it is regulating ſuch Matters of Form as theſe. My laſt Reaſon concerns the Honour of the Mediation, and ſo muſt be private among us; which is, That a Preference has been declaredly given to the Mediators by Count *Kinski*, in the firſt Notification, which, it ſeems, is not like to be taken Care of in the ſecond.

To gain this Point of Count *Kinski*, it will be, perhaps, neceſſary to employ the Offices of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, as well as the foregoing Reaſons; and, poſſibly, to tell him one of greater Weight than all the reſt; which is, That if the Miniſters of *Auſtria* retard the Progreſs of the Aſſembly, by any of theſe

Motions, contrary to the uſual Stile and Form, it will be interpreted as a new and affected Delay; and the End of that will be, to drive the *Dutch* into private Negotiations, or ſeparate Treaties; whereas the only Way to keep them cloſe to a general Peace, were, for the *Auſtrians* to expreſs all Facility towards it that others have done, at leaſt, in the formal, and preliminary Parts of it.

If by all theſe Reaſons and Perſwaſions, Count *Kinski* will not be prevailed with, I think the Mediators ought to tell him plainly, That in caſe of a ſecond Notification, they cannot take Notice of it, or make him a ſecond Viſit in Form, without firſt receiving his Majeſty's Orders, and ſo attend Your poſitive Directions, upon the Account given You by this Ordinary.

In caſe Count *Kinski* will be prevailed with to content himſelf with the firſt Notifications, and Viſits made him upon them; then, I ſuppoſe, the *French* and *Swedes* may be appeaſed upon receiving their Notifications ſo late; ſince Count *Kinski* pretends to have yet notified none but the Mediators, and to have received Viſits from the reſt without Notifications.

For my part, I ſee no other Way out of this Wood; and if by Count *Kinski*'s Obſtinacy, it muſt come to his Majeſty, I know not well what in that Caſe can be done, but to ſtick cloſe to the Stile already uſed in the Aſſembly; where no firſt Viſits have been diſtinguiſhed by *Cognito* or *Incognito*: Since a change made by his Majeſty in this Practice, will not only break all Correſpondence, or Viſits, between the *Imperialiſts* and *French*; but will give an Offence from his Majeſty to the *French*, by giving a Point more to the Emperor than to their King; whereas they pretend to yield only Place to him, but no Diſtinction of Rank.

I thought fit to trouble You with my Thoughts upon this Occaſion, as well as to tranſmit them to my Colleague at *Nimeguen*; in regard they may poſſibly ſerve to give his Majeſty ſome little Light, before the Reſolution be taken in it. And I will preſume to add one Conſideration more, upon the other Embarraſs already fallen out, between us and the *Brandenburgh* Ambaſſadors, wherein, it ſeems, his Majeſty has not yet interpoſed his Judgment: The Allegations on either ſide are ſo blank contrary one to another, that it is difficult to determine them; though the Teſtimony of Monſieur *Courtin*, *Quenſtiern*, and *Colbert*, in what they have themſelves practiſ'd, or ſeen practiſ'd ſo often, ſeems not eaſily to be ſcrupled. But the great Strength of the *Brandenburgh* Pretenſion will be the late Reſolution of the Emperor, dated, as I remember, *November* 25. laſt paſt, in the Practice intended thereupon in their Favour by the *Imperial* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, and thereupon, poſſibly, by the *Spaniſh* too. Now this new Conceſſion of the Emperor ſeems, on one Side, to weaken the *Brandenburgh* Allegations, as to former Practice (in which caſe there would be no need of this new Reſolution:) But, on the other Side, it ſeems to induce other Kings to give them what the Emperor does, to whom they yield in Point of Place.

This only is to be conſidered, Whether other Kings will take themſelves to be obliged by the Emperor's Stile to *German* Princes; ſince he may have an Intereſt in doing it, toward the Deciſion of what remains in Queſtion between him and other Kings. For, though the Emperor pretends to be in Rank above other Crowned Heads in *Chriſtendom*; yet, as I take it, the other Kings conſider him only as the firſt of Kings, but not as of a Rank above them. But if the Emperor can procure, by his Example, the Electors to be treated equally, in all Points, with the Crowned Heads, it will be an Advantage to his Pretenſions, ſince there is certainly a Difference of Rank between him and his Electors. In caſe *Spain* gives it, by the Emperor's Example, and from Conſiderations of their preſent Confederacy, both with the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*; the Inducements will then be ſtronger for his Majeſty to do it; and the Queſtion remaining will only be, Whether his Majeſty ſhould do it, without Aſſurance that *France* and *Sweden* will do it too? For ſince his Majeſty has already declared the Stile he intended the Electors, and grounded it upon the Precedents of *Munſter*, and other late Aſſemblies; if he ſhould change his Stile, upon the Example of the Emperor and *Spain* alone, it may ſeem a Partiality to the Opinion and Practice of thoſe Two Crowns, and againſt thoſe of *France* and *Sweden*: Whereas, his Majeſty, as Mediator, may be allowed not to change his own Stile, but upon a Change or Conſent of all the other Crowned Heads.

But the Determination of theſe Matters muſt be given us by Your Orders from his Majeſty to us, and our Parts are no other but offering the ſmall Lights we can towards his Majeſty's better Information in theſe Caſes.

Monſieur *Colbert* ſends me word, That they have received their own *Plein-pouvoirs*, and in ſuch a Form, *que Monſieur* Beverning *avoüe luy même qu'il a tout cequ'il demandoit*: Which I take notice of, as ſomething that has paſs'd between them without the Communication of my Colleague at *Nimeguen*, for as much as I obſerve by their Diſpatch. And I doubt not but the Delays of the Allies will haſten Monſieur *Beverning*, one way or other, to enter the ſooner and deeper into the Buſineſs, as far as lies particularly between *France* and them.

I took notice in the Duplicate of the laſt Letter to the Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, of his Majeſty's Pleaſure concerning Mr. *Hyde*, whom I have not yet ſeen; his Arrival happening at *Nimeguen* ſeveral Days after I left it. But I have given Order for the offering him all the Convenience of my Houſe or Equipage, during his Stay there; and was ſurpriz'd with the News, by this Day's Letters, of his having already left *Nimeguen* upon his way hither, where I am now like to ſee him firſt.

I am,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Ambaſſador Jenkins.

Hague, January 13. *S. N.* 1677.

My Lord,

I WAS ſorry to find by Your Lordſhip's Yeſterday, how great an Embarraſs Count *Kinski* is like to bring upon You there, by a Proceeding which I take to be very contrary to all Form and Stile uſed among Ambaſſadors, either in the preſent Congreſs, or any other Place. By what I can gueſs from the exact Account given of it in Your joint Letter, I judge, that in caſe he perſiſts to give the ſecond Notifications, in order to ſecond Viſits of Ceremony, it muſt neceſſarily break off all Communication between him and the *French* Ambaſſadors, and thereby wholly obſtruct the fair and eaſie Progreſs of this Aſſembly. Therefore, in my Opinion, Your Lordſhip ought to uſe all poſſible Endeavours to divert him from this Reſolution: And to this purpoſe, very many Arguments will eaſily occur to You: As, Firſt, That it is contrary to all Stile; becauſe, if he intended his firſt Interviews *incognito*, he ought either to have come himſelf frankly to ſuch Ambaſſadors as he had a mind to ſee, or receive ſuch Viſits as were made him in the ſame manner, without any Notification: For any formal Notification, ſignifieth plainly, that he is not *incognito*, but owneth a Character of Ambaſſador, in right whereof ſuch Notifications are always given. Secondly, If Your Lordſhip makes him another Viſit in Form, You give him a double Honour in reſpect of what You have given any other Ambaſſador; which is a Thing they will all reſent. Thirdly, If this happens, the *French* will certainly not viſit him, becauſe he will have given Two Notifications to other Ambaſſadors, and but one to them, which makes them plainly go leſs than the reſt. Fourthly, It is a leſſening likewiſe to the other Ambaſſadors, who have viſited him upon his firſt Notifications; ſince he hath engaged them to make them a Viſit in Form, and pretends for it to have returned them only a Viſit *incognito*, wherein there is no Equality. Fifthly, The Mediators have already declared their Opinion both to him, and to the *French* Ambaſſadors: And if any thing be allowed them as Mediators, it will be certainly the Liberty of directing or adjudging ſuch Points of Form as theſe are, whenever they think fit to declare their Opinion.

If theſe Arguments will not prevail with the Count *Kinſki*, I think You may uſe one more of greater Weight (but as in Confidence to him;) which is, That theſe kind of Paces, contrary to uſual Form, will be interpreted as new and affected Delays; and that the Effect of them will be to drive the *Dutch* into ſeparate Negotiations and Treaties; whereas his Majeſty's Intentions aim wholly at a General Peace. But the *Dutch* ſeem reſolved not to go on with the War, unleſs they can *mettre la France dans ſon tort:* And upon this he may be brought to adviſe with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors; and they, on the t'other ſide, may be perſuaded to employ their Offices to divert him from his preſent Reſolution. In caſe all theſe prevail not, Your Lordſhip, I think, may plainly tell him, that You cannot make him a ſecond Viſit in Form upon his ſecond Notification, without firſt receiving his Majeſty's Orders, which thereupon, I ſuppoſe, You will attend, in Anſwer to the Letter that went by laſt Poſt.

In caſe Count *Kinſki* be content the firſt Viſits already made, ſhould paſs for thoſe of Form, and thereupon will ſend his Notifications to the *French* and *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, I ſuppoſe, You may eaſily prevail with the *French* to receive them, and make their Viſits upon them before Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* appears, in regard Count *Kinſki* declareth, That he hath yet notified none but the Mediators; and that the Ground of his not doing the ſame to the *French* before, ſeemed only his Doubt, whether upon it they would viſit him, or no.

This is all I can ſay upon this Subject, and ſhould not have ſaid any thing at this Diſtance, and to Your Lordſhip, who are ſo well able to judge Your ſelf upon all theſe Emergencies; but that You are pleaſed to engage me to it by Your Letter: And I cannot make a Difficulty upon what You ſo earneſtly deſire of me, in this, or any other kind; being ever, with ſo much Eſteem and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful

Humble Servant.

To the KING.

Hague, January 15. *S. N.* 1677.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

I Know no better Acknowledgments I can make Your Majeſty for ſo great an Honour as I received laſt Night by a Letter from Your own Hand, than in the beſt Obedience I can yield to the Commands it brought me; eſpecially that of giving Your Majeſty, with all ſpeed, an Account of what Concluſions the Prince ſhould fall into upon the Subject of it. I have already had Two Audiences from his Highneſs upon this Occaſion, and diſcourſed over the whole Thing with the beſt Advantage I could, to what Your Majeſty propoſes to Your ſelf, and to the Prince, with ſo great Reaſon, in the Courſe of this Affair. I ſhall not trouble Your Majeſty with the Particulars of theſe Converſations, but give You as ſhort and as cloſe as I can, his Highneſs's laſt Anſwer and

Concluſion upon them; which is this, and to which he told me he would refer himſelf in the Letter he intends this Night to Your Majeſty.

His Highneſs ſays, That this being the firſt Time Your Majeſty has pleaſed to tell him plainly the Conduct You would have him hold in the Courſe of this Affair; he is reſolved to let Your Majeſty ſee how great Eſteem he makes of this Confidence, by the moſt perfect Compliance with what Your Majeſty propoſes as the firſt Step to be made in it; and by falling in with Your Majeſty in the Concert of the reſt, as far as he can poſſibly, whenever he ſhall know more of Your Mind: That their Ambaſſador ſhall receive Orders to give in a Memorial to Your Majeſty in their Maſter's Name, deſiring and preſſing the Continuance and Enforcement of Your Majeſty's Offices towards a General Peace; and chiefly upon this Ground, That they apprehend the Loſs of *Flanders* without it; and that his Highneſs will ſo concert it here, that this ſhall be in ſuch Terms as will reach Your Majeſty's End, and ſhall be left for You to make what publick Uſe of it You think fit: That, becauſe this cannot be prepared before the next Poſt, his Highneſs will this Night put into my Hands a Letter, ſigned by himſelf and the Penſioner, to Monſieur *Van Beuningben*, giving him Order to apply all his Diſcourſes in common and particular Converſations, to the ſame End; and even to receive Inſtructions from Your Majeſty in what Manner and Terms, in what Places, and to what Perſon chiefly to apply them. That this Letter being not to be communicated ſo much as to the Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs here, ſhall be incloſed by me to Your Majeſty's own Hands, to uſe as You pleaſe; to give it privately Your ſelf, or cauſe it to be delivered by any other Hand, and at ſuch Time as You think fit: And his Highneſs queſtions not Monſieur *Van Beuningben*'s governing himſelf in this Affair intirely to Your Majeſty's Satisfaction: That for the Miniſters of their Allies, he cannot anſwer for them, becauſe he knows very well, they have not a mind to the Peace, as his Highneſs and this State have. That it will be hard to make them ſay what they do not think of *Flanders* being loſt without the Peace; but that he knows Don *Emanuel de Lyra* to be ſo reaſonable a Man, that his Highneſs hopes to bring him to Your Opinion, that this Conduct is fitteſt for their Miniſters in *England*, and to prevail with him to write effectually to Don *Bernardo* upon it: And to this End the Prince told me, He would write to Don *Emanuel de Lyra*, that it would be abſolutely neceſſary for him to come immediately hither; and that at his Arrival, he would uſe his utmoſt Offices to diſpoſe him to it.

In all theſe Paces, his Highneſs thinks he goes to the utmoſt Length Your Majeſty can deſire; and, indeed, I could not think of any more to propoſe. But, after all, he ſaid, He could not ingage to go farther in the Endeavours of effecting the Peace, till he knew upon what Terms Your Majeſty intended it; For, there are ſome that may be ſupported, and others that cannot; and ſuch as theſe they will venture *le tout pour le tout*, rather than agree to them. And therefore, it would be neceſſary to know Your Majeſty's Mind as ſoon as was poſſible.

I told his Highneſs, I would repreſent this to Your Majeſty; but deſired him to conſider, That there might very well be Three Weeks or a Month's Time between Your Majeſty's knowing His Mind firſt, and telling him Your own upon it; or his Highneſs's knowing Your Majeſty's firſt, and then telling You His upon it, and expecting afterwards a Return from Your Majeſty. His Highneſs made a Pauſe at this and other Arguments I uſed towards prevailing with him to explain himſelf firſt; eſpecially that of my believing Your Majeſty would be more pleaſed with it, and take it as a Piece of more Confidence from him. And having thought a while, he anſwered: That to ſhew Your Majeſty how frankly he would deal with You, and with how much Confidence he deſired to live in all that paſſed between You, he would not make a Difficulty of explaining himſelf firſt, though he might have Reaſons to do it: That if Your Majeſty had a mind to make a Peace, he thought You muſt do it upon the Foot of *Aix la Chapelle*; which You would have the more Ground for, becauſe You had both made and warranted it: That for Exchanges, he thought there ſhould be no other propoſed upon it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, for *Aire* and *St. Omers*; which Two laſt, he thought, imported a great deal more than the others; unleſs *France* would declare, That they ended this War with a Proſpect of beginning another, by which they may get the reſt of *Flanders*: That this is all need paſs between *France* and *Spain*; and for what concerns the Emperor and this State; That the Emperor having taken *Philipsburgh* from the *French*, ſhould raze it; and the *French* having taken *Maſtricht* from this State, ſhould raze that too. And ſo this whole War ſhould paſs, *comme un tourbillon qui avoit enfin ceſſé, apres avoir menacé beaucoup, & fait fort peu de remuements au monde.*

He ſaid, For any other Intereſts that might be involved in this War, it would not be neceſſary now to ſay any thing of them: For if thus far were agreed on, the reſt muſt follow one way or other: That the Emperor and *Spain* had propoſed other Schemes to themſelves by the War, and therefore deſired the Continuance of it, and would fall hardly into this; but if Your Majeſty did, he would, for his part, do his utmoſt to effect it in Concert with You, he hoped with Them: And, however, deſired to know, what You thought fit to be changed in this Scheme he had drawn of it.

I obſerved Two Things to his Highneſs upon it; *Firſt*, That by it the County of *Burgundy* would be reſtored to *Spain*; with which Condition, Your Majeſty was abſolutely of Opinion, when I laſt attended You, that *France* would not hear of a Peace; and, I thought, nothing had ſince paſs'd in the War to make You believe it leſs. *Secondly*, That after ſo many Conqueſts made, and ſo many expected by *France* at this Time, it would be very hard to belive, they could be brought to reſtore ſuch Acquiſitions as they were poſſeſs'd of, ſo very conſiderable, and without any Equivalent. He anſwered to the Firſt, That *Burgundy* could not be left in the *French* Hands, without Reſtitution of ſeveral other Towns in *Flanders*; upon which ſo many Debates would ariſe, as muſt, of neceſſity, draw the Buſineſs into great Lengths, and leave all to the Deciſion of another Campaign. But if Your Majeſty perſiſted in Your former Opinion upon that Matter, there was no way but finding out what was propoſed by *France*, as the Equivalent of *Burgundy* upon the Treaty of *Aix*, and regulate it accordingly.

From the Second, he ſaid, I had Reaſon, and he did not believe *France* would do it at this Time upon other Motives, than thoſe of Your Majeſty's Interpoſition. But if they would not conſent to theſe Terms, or ſome others near them, that Your Majeſty ſhould think fit to propoſe, the War muſt go on, and God Almighty muſt decide it: That all the Allies, beſide this State, deſired nothing elſe; and the *Spaniards* believed, if Don *John* came to the Head of their Affairs, as he might very well be by this Time, it would be a new World with them: And, the Truth was, That Crown had great Reſources, how ill Uſe ſoever they made of them: That one good Town well defended, or one Battle well fought, would change the Buſineſs: That, for his own Part, he would give in, all that could be, with his Majeſty, to bring about a General Peace, upon very moderate Terms: But, if *France* would make them inſupportable, they would venture All rather than receive them: And if they hoped the ill Conduct or ill Fortunes of their Allies, would bring this State to make a ſeparate Peace, let the Penſioner, or any elſe, tell me what they pleaſed, they ſhould never do it whilſt he was alive: And he would ſay one thing further to me, That he had it in his Power to hinder it. That if he died, he knew very well, it would be made next Day: But he did not trouble himſelf how the World was like to go when he was gone out of it; and, perhaps, we were the Perſons moſt concerned to look after that.

This was the End of his Highneſs's Diſcourſe; and the laſt part of it was ſpoke with a good deal of Emotion: With which he roſe up; and I promiſed to repreſent the whole to Your Majeſty in the trueſt Lines and Colours I could poſſibly (as I have done here); and he told me, He would come to me before this Poſt went away, and put the Two Letters he promiſed into my Hands.

I moſt humbly beg Your Majeſty's Pardon for a Trouble which ſhould not have been ſo long, if it had not been neceſſary; and that You will pleaſe to accept that true and hearty Devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall be ever,

S I R,

Your Majeſty's, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, January 15. *S. N.* 1677.

S I R,

LAST Night I received the Honour of Yours of the 29th paſt, with Two from his Majeſty, one to the States, and the other to me: The Acknowledgment whereof by this incloſed, I humbly deſire You will pleaſe to preſent to his Majeſty's own Hands, with the firſt Opportunity. For that to the States concerning the Three *Scotchmen*, I intend to deliver it to Morrow, and have deferred till then the Conference I intended this Day upon it. The Penſioner is of a ſudden reſtored, in a great meaſure, to his Health by this Thaw, and aſſured me to Day, that he will be to morrow at the States, when his Majeſty's Letter ſhall be delivered; and at the Conference I will, at the ſame Time, demand for the Afternoon. The Buſineſs is very hard to make him comprehend in point of Juſtice upon the Treaty, and will be hard to digeſt by the Province of *Holland*, in point of Intereſt; being one of the great Things which has peopled, and thereby raiſed, this Country: I mean, The Eſteem in which it has paſſed, of being a Refuge to Men miſerable at Home, or perſecuted by their own Governments. But I will charge my ſelf not to ſtir from hence, without an Anſwer to his Majeſty upon this Matter, and will not yet deſpair of ſuch a one as he deſires.

The great News here, but which is yet in few Hands, is, what the laſt *Spaniſh* Courier met (they ſay) upon the Way, That Don *John*, at the Head of moſt of the great Nobility of *Spain*, was upon his Way to *Madrid*, to deſire both the Queen and the Marquis *de Valanzuela*, to retire from Court, and, conſequently, to take Poſſeſſion of the abſolute Miniſtry there. Some ſay, the King himſelf is in it: Others ſpeak as if the Marquis were ſo too: But, I find, Don *Emanuel de Lyra* believes the Thing, and that it will be decided in Four and twenty Hours, and one way or other give an Eſtabliſhment to their Affairs.

Mr. *Hyde* came hither Yeſterday from *Rotterdam*, not knowing any thing of the Orders given by his Majeſty for his ſtay at *Nimeguen*. I ſhewed him a Copy You had pleaſed to ſend me of Your Letter to the Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, wherein was that Paragraph concerned him. He ſeemed much ſurprized with it, and perplexed what to reſolve, having not met it till he had over-ſhot the Place where it was intended he ſhould receive it. He parted this Morning again for *Rotterdam*, to meet all the Letters he expected there, but will return hither to morrow; though I know not whether with Reſolutions of ſtaying here, or returning to *Nimeguen*, till his Commiſſion and farther Orders come: But of this I preſume You will have a farther Account from himſelf.

I humbly thank You for the Duplicate of Your laſt to *Nimeguen*; I can pretend to no Share in the Approbation You pleaſe to give us; but I am ſure muſt have a great deal in any Faults we made while I was there; and can only ſay, That I am ever very glad to hear of them, and ſhall be more ſo to mend them. For the Offer of our Form of Powers in *French*, it was only a firſt Draught, and offered but for the Parties Approbation or Amendments; and being done at the Deſires of the *French* and *Dutch*, it was done in the Language

guage they both uſe in their Powers: But when we ſhewed it the *Swedes*, we told them, If it were approved, we intended to offer it in *Latin*.

For the Offer of his Majeſty's contenting himſelf without mention of the Mediation, we were very far from making any; and the fartheſt we went, was to ſay, when all the Parties deſired us to leave it out, We would give them our Anſwer upon it. For the Inſinuation, That his Majeſty would not ſtand upon that Circumſtance, if all the Parties deſired it; we were moved to it by the Diſcourſes we heard of among ſome of the Miniſters, That the Difficulties then on foot in the Treaty, were raiſed by the Mediators more than the Parties: But yet, what was ſaid, was not till after both *Swedes* and *Danes* had told us, They would never deſire that Omiſſion from us. If after this, they ſtill were Faults, I humbly beg his Majeſty's Pardon for my Share of them, and deſire Your Belief of my being always,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, January 19. *S. N.* 1677.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

I Was forced to give Your Majeſty ſo large a Trouble by the laſt Ordinary, that I ſhould not have the Confidence to renew it ſo ſoon, but that I think it becomes me to let Your Majeſty know, That upon the Cloſure of my laſt, the Prince came to me, and ſhewed me the Letter he had writ to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, asking me, Whether it would reach what Your Majeſty deſired. I told his Highneſs, what, indeed, I thought, That it was as full as could be wiſhed, towards the governing of his private Converſation; but that Your Majeſty expected ſomething that might be open too and above-board; which, I thought, could not be otherwiſe done than by a Memorial from the Ambaſſador to Your Majeſty in his Maſter's Name. The Prince ſaid, That though the Allies would take it ill, yet it ſhould be done; and Orders ſhould be ſent him to that purpoſe by the next. After this the Prince told me, He had writ to your Majeſty, but not troubled You with the Detail of what had paſs'd between us, having referred Your Majeſty wholly to me in that Point; and therefore he deſired to ſee my Letter; which he read, and ſaid, It was not only what he ſaid and meant, but all he could ſay, till he knew more of Your Majeſty's Mind. In the mean Time, That he looked upon this as the firſt Pace of Confidence between Your Majeſty and him: That he hoped it would go on from this Time, and prove fortunate to You both. He ſaid, He ſhould go to *Soeſdyke* the latter end of this Week, and ſpend moſt of this Seaſon between that and *Dieren*; at either of which Places he ſhould be in my Reach to *Nimeguen*, upon any thing that ſhould come to me from Your Majeſty, and be neceſſary for him to know, and to ſtake his Meaſures upon with me. I believe one Reaſon more is, That our Commerce there may paſs with leſs Noiſe than this here has done; which has given his Allies ſo great Alarms of my being here, to negotiate a ſeparate Treaty with his Highneſs, that he would be glad to be out of the way, and avoid their Expoſtulations upon a Matter wherein, tho' he does them no Wrong, yet he makes them not of his Confidence, as he has hitherto done; and is ſo hardned againſt thoſe Delicacies he uſed to have in that Point, that upon the Emperor's Miniſter entring very deep with him Yeſterday upon the Occaſion of my being here, he contented himſelf only to tell him, That he had yet heard nothing of a ſeparate Peace; but ſuch a Conduct as that of the Emperor's had been theſe Two laſt

Years, might put this State upon deſperate Councils: And if *Flanders* muſt be loſt, it was but what the Emperor ſeem'd to intend; and that if he the Reſident pleaſed, he might write to *Vienna* what Anſwer he the Prince had made him.

I will add only, That as I doubt not Your Majeſty will have what Helps his Highneſs can give You on this ſide, towards effecting the Peace; ſo I cannot imagine You ſhould meet with any Hindrances at Home, after theſe Inſtructions ſent to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*; and after thoſe two Letters I writ ſince my coming hither, to the Two Secretaries of State, upon the Appearances of a ſeparate Peace; which, I am confident, were enough to convince all Men, That Your Majeſty cannot endeavour any thing at this Time of more Safety to your own Kingdoms, as well as Glory Abroad, than the ſudden Concluſion of a General one. I ſhall end this Trouble with the ſincere Profeſſions of that humble and hearty Devotion wherewith I am, and ſhall ever be,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, January 22. *S. N.* 1677.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

THE Prince deſired me this Morning to beg Your Majeſty's Excuſe for thoſe Orders I mentioned to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, being not yet gone; for putting in ſuch a Memorial to Your Majeſty, as might reach the End You deſired. The Delay has been occaſioned by Returns of the Penſioner's Illneſs, and the extraordinary Seſſions of the States of *Holland*, but his Highneſs aſſures me, it will not fail of going by next Poſt. He deſired me at the ſame time, to tell Your Majeſty, That he has had Reaſon given him to believe, *France* will be content to give *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenarde*, and *Courtray*, for *Aire* and *St. Omers*; ſo that he has been an ill Negotiator in what he laſt propoſed; but hopes Your Majeſty is ſo much a Friend to the Preſervation of *Flanders*, as to manage it to the beſt Advantage. I promiſed his Highneſs to ſay what he deſired me to your Majeſty, and in this manner to Your own Hand, as he particularly deſired it might be. But I muſt obſerve one Thing I gathered from the Penſioner upon this Subject, which his Highneſs did not mention: Among many Overtures he has entertained me with from *France*, both general and particular to this State; he told me in a Viſit to Day, That *France* would be willing to give thoſe Four Towns for Two, in caſe *Sweden* might be reſtored to all they had loſt. I aſked him what was to become of *Burgundy?* and he ſaid, To return to *Spain*, ſince the Propoſition was the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, with only that Exchange; and that he had it from a good Hand. I told both him, and afterwards the Prince, That I doubted it upon that Point of *Burgundy*. The Prince is of Opinion, That if *France* be obſtinate in not reſtoring *Burgundy*, ſome Temper might be found in leaving it Neutral by Agreement. The Prince goes to morrow to *Soeſdyke*, and I ſhall return, God willing, to *Nimeguen* the Day after; his Highneſs having concerted upon any neceſſary Communications from Your Majeſty, that I ſhall make a ſtep thither or to *Dieren*, which will be done without much Noiſe for a Night or two. I have been forced, in my own Juſtification, to give Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* this Night an Account of ſome Diſcourſes of Monſieur *Colbert*, which I ſhould not otherwiſe have mentioned. I hope Your Majeſty will think fit ſuch Matters be private as they were intended, ſince, at one Time or other, You may make uſe of that Diſpoſition in him and others to enter a little further into Confidences with me than with other Miniſters.

I am and ſhall be ever, with perfect Devotion and Truth,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, January 22. *S. N.* 1677.

SIR,

THE unuſual Length of my Conference with the States Deputies laſt *Thurſday*, left me no Time to give You an Account of it that Poſt: And a Viſit I received to Day from the Penſioner hath left me no Occaſion to trouble You with the Particulars of ſo long and warm Arguments as paſſed on both ſides upon it. I will only ſay, That the Buſineſs of the Three *Scotch* Miniſters hath been the hardeſt Piece of the Negotiation that I ever yet entred upon here, both from the particular Intereſts of the Towns and Province of *Holland*, and the general Eſteem they have, of *Mackaird* being a very quiet and pious Man; but chiefly, from the firm Perſuaſion they have, of not being obliged to it by any bare Letter of his Majeſty, without any Sentence having paſs'd againſt them, by which they are adjudged Rebels or Fugitives: And, on the contrary, after a Sentence of Baniſhment againſt *Mackaird* and *Brown*, which, they ſay, is by all Writers eſteemed wholly to extinguiſh their Subjection, and, conſequently, his Majeſty's Right of declaring them Rebels after they are baniſh'd, and become Subjects to another State. And they ſay, His Majeſty would have no Reaſon to take notice of any Letter from the States declaring any Man a Rebel, without a Copy of the Sentence pronounced againſt him to that purpoſe; the Reciprocal whereof they expected likewiſe from his Majeſty, upon theſe Occaſions. But I found the King's Honour ſo far engaged in this Matter, by Three ſeveral Letters which muſt have been publick, that I have left no ſort of Arguments uneſſayed with the Prince, the Penſioner, and Deputies both of the Provinces and Towns, to procure his Majeſty's Satiſfaction, and make it paſs for a Thing ſo neceſſary to diſpatch, that it hath taken up Two long Debates in the States of *Holland* theſe Two Days paſt, though their meeting was intended but for Five Days, and for no other Buſineſs but the Levies of Monies neceſſary for the Campaign; yet this Morning the Penſioner came to give me Hopes, that it might be effected this very Day; and, at leaſt, the Aſſurance, that he would uſe his utmoſt Endeavours in it; and that the Diſpatch ſhould be made by a Letter from the States to his Majeſty, which ſhould be put into my Hands to go by this very Ordinary; ſo that I will reckon upon it as a Thing done, unleſs I ſee my ſelf forced to cloſe this Pacquet without it. I incloſe the States Reſolution about the Ship *Thomas* and *John*, recommended by his Majeſty's Letter, with the Aſſurance of the like Dealing on his Majeſty's Side, in the like Caſes. For the Merchant-Adventurers of *Dort*, not only the Penſioner, but all the Deputies, have renewed the former Aſſurances given me of its receiving a final Anſwer, next Ordinary Seſſion of the States of *Holland*, which is to be in *February*. And for the Ships taken upon Pretence of Trading from Enemy's to Enemy's Port, the States have, upon my Inſtances, written a ſecond Letter to the Admiralty of *Zealand*, to require their ſpeedy Anſwer; upon which the Deputies promiſed their Endeavours to ſee Juſtice done in that Matter.

The Prince goeth early to Morrow Morning to *Soeſdyke*, where he intends to paſs as much of this Seaſon as the Affairs here will give him Leave: And in caſe I receive the Satisfaction and Letter for his Majeſty, I expect this Night, upon the Affair of the three *Scotchmen*, I ſhall begin my Journey towards *Nimeguen*, either to Morrow Morning, or the Day after; finding nothing more that requires my Preſence here, and being much preſſed to my Return. In the mean Time, having newly received Yours of the 5th, I find a Paragraph in it, which I think it will be neceſſary to anſwer by this Diſpatch, though I have not my Letters here, to which I might have ſome Occaſion to refer.

You are pleaſed to ſay upon the Subject of a ſeparate Peace, That his Majeſty puts much Weight upon what I ſaid in mine of the 5th, of Monſieur *Colbert*'s many and particular Diſcourſes to me, as well as the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades*, of their Deſires to enter into this Matter of ſeparate Negotiations and Meaſures with the Prince and this State; which are the Words of my Letter: And that You being called upon in the Point, could not find any Thing mentioned till now; or, at leaſt, not ſo as that I had found Cauſe to make that important Judgment I ſeemed, in mine of the 5th, to have made upon it; which was, That I ſuppoſe there could occur no Difficulty on that Side, whenever it grows full ripe on the Part of *Holland*.

I will confeſs in the firſt Place, That if I never had met with the leaſt Motive for this Suppoſition from any Diſcourſes of the *French* Ambaſſadors, yet I ſhould have been of the ſame Opinion; and never yet met with any Man that doubted it; ſince the Conſequences of a ſeparate Peace between *France* and *Holland* muſt be the Loſs of *Flanders*, and the Dependance of this State upon *France*; which are too great Intereſts ever to be neglected by ſo wiſe a Crown. But I ſhall now tell You what farther Reaſons I had to believe it, from the Diſcourſes I mentioned of the *French* Ambaſſadors, ſince You are pleaſed to put me upon it; and that which might before have paſſed for Vanity to trouble You with, is now grown neceſſary for my own Juſtification in what I writ to You upon this Subject.

You may pleaſe to remember what I writ to You upon my firſt particular Viſits with thoſe two Ambaſſadors, after my Arrival at *Nimeguen*; the Overtures, and, indeed, Inſtances they made me apart, of entring into particular Intelligences and Negotiations with me, ſeparately from my Colleagues; and in Order to cloſe any particular Meaſures that might be entered into between them and the Prince of *Orange*, by my Intervention. You acknowledged my private Letter to You upon that Subject; and ſaid, you had ſhewed it his Majeſty, but gave me no Sort of Reflection upon it, either from his Majeſty or Your ſelf, by which I might know whether it was fit for me, or no, to entertain or encourage any ſuch Commerce, diſtinct from my Colleagues: And thereupon I took up the Reſolution to avoid it, and to continue the Anſwers I had firſt made upon ſuch Overtures, of my having nothing at all, diſtinct from my Colleagues, either in his Majeſty's Inſtructions, or (as they called it) his *Secret*; or any Thing that would bear me out in any ſeparate Negotiations with the Prince; or any other Steps than thoſe of a General Mediator. Notwithſtanding all this, Monſieur *Colbert* continued very particular Applications to me of this Kind, but with Inſtances much more preſſing, about the Time of the Prince's Return from the Campaign; and eſpecially in Two very long and deſigned Converſations, which he grounded upon Letters he had received to that Purpoſe from the King his Maſter. His Diſcourſes began with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Eſteem of my being able to contribute more than any Man to the Peace; ſince it depended wholly upon the Prince of *Orange*, and I had more Acquaintance, and (as he would have it) Intereſt with his Highneſs, than any other Miniſter. That nothing could be done of ſo much Service to the Prince, as inducing him to enter into particular Negotiations with the King his Maſter. That if they Two could agree, the reſt of the Parties muſt fall into the Meaſures they would take: The Kindneſs the moſt Chriſtian King ever had for the Prince's Family, and Eſteem for his Perſon: The Eaſineſs he would ſhew in all that concerned particularly the Intereſts of his Highneſs and this State. And thereupon he preſſed me, by all poſſible Arguments, to undertake the bringing about this Intelligence between his Maſter and the Prince. When I excuſed my ſelf, upon our Inſtructions being common to us all Three, and impowering us only to Offices of a general Mediation: He told me, Nothing elſe could make a general Peace; and that it had never been made at *Munſter*, but for the Duke of *Bavaria*'s acting in the whole Matter, by Concert with *France*, under-hand; by which he received all the Advantages he could propoſe to himſelf: And the Prince of *Orange* ought to play the ſame Game in this preſent Treaty, and would certainly meet with the ſame Succeſs. Nor was it once, or twice, or thrice only, that I have been entertained with theſe Diſcourſes; nor from themſelves alone, but from ſome of my Friends too upon their Suggeſtions; which was enough to give me ſuch a Suppoſition as You mention, that there could be no Difficulty on that Side, if the Thing ſhould once grow to be ripe on this. However, I ſuffered them to paſs as Matters only of particular Converſation, and not worth troubling You with; ſince it was like to have no Effect, by my excuſing my ſelf always from entring into any ſuch Intelligences, without his Majeſty's expreſs Command; and by my finding no Appearances of the Prince of *Orange* giving into any ſuch Meaſures, though other Ways have been made uſe of to give him the Impreſſions, by a continual Correſpondence which Monſieur *d' Eſtrades* holds with Perſons here to that Purpoſe. And I ſuppoſe You have Reaſon to think I was not deceived; both by what I told You the Prince ſaid to me upon the Subject of a ſeparate Peace, the Day after that long Diſcourſe upon it with the Penſioner; and likewiſe by what his Highneſs ſaid to me ſince, That it ſhould never be while he lived; and that it was in his Power to hinder it; which I then gave his Majeſty an Account of. And yet I am of Opinion, That if, beyond all Expectation, the laſt Remiſes of Money had not come from *Spain*; and that the *Mediterranean* as well as *Baltick* Fleets had come to be paid off, before any Money had been paid by *Spain*, to the Admiralties here, the Prince would have found Difficulties to carry on the War, without endangering a Mutiny at *Amſterdam*. On the other Side, I am very well perſuaded to have given You, in mine of the 5th, the true Scheme of what will be the Procedure of this State in the Treaty at *Nimeguen*: Which is, To enter into Matter as ſoon as they can, to adjuſt the Points that are particular between *France* and them; and after the Propoſal of Satisfaction to their Allies, to leave the Management of that Head to the Allies themſelves; and ſo appear, as to their own Part, to be *hors d'Affaires*, and thereby lie ready to take ſuch Meaſures as Time and Conjunctures ſhall ſuggeſt to them. But, as the Prince's Firmneſs ſeems to ſecure this Point while he lives; at leaſt, if he be right in the Calculation of his own Power: So, I am of his Highneſs's Opinion, That nothing can prevent it, if any Thing ſhould happen to his Perſon. And that, on the other Side, by all the Diſpoſitions I diſcover here, both in the Prince and States, his Majeſty hath never yet found a more favourable Conjuncture towards the effecting what he hath ſo long deſired, and employ'd ſo much of his Care in, as the happy Mediation of a general Peace; wherein I ſhall endeavour, at my Return to *Nimeguen*, to purſue his Majeſty's Intentions, both upon our firſt Inſtructions, and thoſe we continually receive from Your Hands, by his Majeſty's Command.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Arnheim, January 25. *N. S.* 167⅞.

My Lord,

I Had only Leiſure, in my laſt, to acknowledge the Honour of Two I had then received from Your Lordſhip, but ſhall now anſwer the Particulars of them; and give You as much Light, and as little Trouble by it, as I can. The Offer his Majeſty made the Prince, concerning an Alliance after the Peace, was received by his Highneſs with all the Satisfaction that could be; and he said, immediately, upon it, That he would ſend it to the Penſioner, to be communicated to ſome of the States, who, he was ſure, would be as glad of it as he; and would take it as a Sign of his Majeſty's concerning himſelf not only in his Highneſs, but in the Safety of this Country: And that, for the Condition his Majeſty requir'd, of no Alliances in prejudice of it; he ſuppoſed his Majeſty did not mean thoſe they were already engaged in, and, he was ſure, they would enter into no new ones, but in Concert with his Majeſty; in caſe he would bring them out of this War: Upon which he deſired me to acquaint him with his Majeſty's Thoughts. Thus far I had Reaſon to believe, the Advance made by his Majeſty would not fail of having all the Effects, Your Lordſhip tells me, You then propoſed to Your ſelves: But when I acquainted his Highneſs with the Subſtance of Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*'s Letter, after caſting up, diſtinctly, what it amounted to, he ſaid, He would die rather than make ſuch a Peace: And afterwards, That he would rather charge a Thouſand Men with a Hundred, though he were ſure to die in the Action; and ſeveral ſuch deſperate Things as theſe. Afterwards he talked a great deal in colder Blood; how loſt he ſhould be in Honour, to his Allies, and to all the World, by ſuch a Peace as this; and that the preſſing them to it, would have the ſame Effect as if he abſolutely broke from them by a ſeparate Peace. I told him, That whilſt he conſider'd his own Honour on one Side, his Majeſty muſt conſider his on the other, if he ſhould now make ſuch Propoſitions to *France* as his Highneſs deſired; after having been their Ally in the War, and being now a Mediator. The Prince anſwered me, That when I ſpoke of his Majeſty's Honour, I could mean it only in the Eſteem of *France*; for he believed every Body elſe would think it more Honour in the King to make a reaſonable Peace, than to ſuffer *Flanders* to be loſt: And thereupon he fell into a great deal of Diſcourſe, what the Effects of that would be; and whenever it was, that this State muſt of Neceſſity fall into an abſolute Dependance upon *France*, and could never think of defending it ſelf by any Alliance with *England*. That this Country was not made to be the Stage of a long War, by being wholly a Place of Trade, which would all die when the Country came into that Condition. And that, beſides, being of ſmall Extent, the taking of one or two Towns by *France*, would bring them into the Heart of all their Provinces. I told his Highneſs, All that was true; but yet I knew him ſo well, as to believe he would venture it, rather than ſee this State grow a Province to *France*, as muſt follow that which he call'd falling into a Dependance upon them; and that I knew he was not made to ſerve. He ſaid, Perhaps, I was in the right; and yet, he believed, he ſhould do ſome deſperate Thing or other, rather than come to it; but that would do us no good; and either with him, or without him, the Thing muſt come to that Iſſue, if *Flanders* were once loſt. I told him, I believed the King was as unwilling to ſee that, as his Highneſs; but asked, How his Majeſty could propoſe ſuch a Peace to *France* as he deſired, after ſuch a War, as the Allies had made for theſe two laſt Campaigns, and with ſuch Appearances as were of the next, even in his own Opinion, and by the Penſioner's Diſcourſes to me upon that Subject? The Prince ſaid, very plainly, That I had Reaſon; and that they could not hope for ſuch from *France*, as

Things now ſtood, unleſs either his Majeſty's Kindneſs to him, or the Intereſt of his own Kingdom, would put him upon letting *France* know, that he deſired it; and he was ſure, if that were done, they would come to eaſier Terms than he (the Prince) had already propoſed. If the King would not make the Peace, he knew no Remedy, but muſt try how the Emperor would make the War; and if he would do it as the State had propoſed to him, and as they had it in their Hands at *Vienna*, to do if they pleaſed; he might yet hope for a Peace that Way, ſince he could not do it this: That, for his own Part, he muſt go on, ſince he was in; *Et quand on eſt à la grande meſſe on y eſt*; meaning, I ſuppoſe, one muſt ſtay till it was done, for there was no getting out.

I asked him, What I ſhould ſay about his Majeſty's Offer of Alliance? He ſaid, He could make no Anſwer, till he had ſpoken with the Penſioner and the Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs; but he would ſay ſomething of it in his Letter to the King: But that was not the Buſineſs now; it would be very well if the War were ended; and ſhould leave this State in a Condition to be defended: But they had now a Diſeaſe upon them that they were dying of, and we told them what they ſhould do when they were recovered. Thus he ended the Diſcourſe; and, to ſay Truth, the moſt unſatisfied that ever I ſaw him in my Life. And I have given Your Lordſhip all the Particulars of this Converſation, which I had omitted in the Account I gave Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*; contenting my ſelf to give him the Groſs of it; being by his Example induced to write a good deal in Cypher, when I had none with me that I thought fit to uſe in a Buſineſs of this moment: And my own Eyes will not go through with it: And therefore I am apt to truſt to a Conveyance, which, in near Six Years Embaſſy in this Country, never yet failed me once.

Your Lordſhip does me too great Honour in deſiring my Opinion concerning the Terms of a Peace, as they now have paſſed between his Majeſty and the Prince, wherein I cannot preſume to mix any Senſe of my own. The Prince told me abſolutely, He had gone as low as he could, in his firſt Scheme I ſent from the *Hague*: And by what his Majeſty was pleaſed to diſcourſe to me, with great Freedom, when I was laſt in *England*, I am not apt to believe he will go much farther, than what he has already ſignified by Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*'s Letter: So that I do not ſee any Appearance of their falling into a Concert upon this Matter; which I am ſorry for, upon particular Reaſons between his Majeſty and the Prince, and upon general ones of the War, and Conſequences of it. For I am apt to believe *Flanders* in danger of being loſt this Summer, or in ſuch a Way to it, as not afterwards to be ſaved: And I doubt the Prince and Penſioner tell us the Truth of this State falling into an abſolute Dependance upon *France* whenever that happens. Becauſe I remember Monſieur *de Witt* told me the ſame thing very often, after our Alliances with this State for the Defence of it in 1668. And I know about Three Months before thoſe were made, when the *Dutch* deſpaired of our entring into the Defence of *Flanders* after the Peace of *Breda*, they had ſo perfectly agreed the Terms between them of dividing *Flanders*, that it was hindred only by the ſingle Diſſent of the Province of *Utrecht*. And the Penſioner, in his Diſcourſes at the *Hague*, put me in mind of it, by ſaying, amongſt other Things they could have by a ſeparate Peace, That I could not tell whether they might not have *Antwerp* and *Oſtende*, which, I remember, were part of the Conditions in Monſieur *de Witt*'s Scheme. Upon the whole, conſidering how both his Majeſty and the Prince ſtand tied in different Points of Honour upon this Matter, I know nothing like to ſalve all, unleſs upon this Reſolution in *Spain*, that Court ſhould be content to break their Marriage with the Emperor's Daughter, and endeavour it with Madamoiſelle the Duke of *Orleans*'s Daughter; and *France*, in Conſideration of that Marriage, ſhould be content to part with ſome Towns in *Flanders*, more than they would do upon a Peace without a Match; ſince this Way it would be done, at leaſt, with Honour. I know not whether, in ſuch an Affair, his Majeſty might not uſe both his laſt Offices in *France*, and a perſonal Intereſt that he has (as I take it) in Don *John*.

This, for ought I ſee, can be the only Expedient between the Two great Difficulties in the Peace; which are, That the Affairs of *Spain* are ſo ill in *Flanders*, that the Allies cannot think fit to make a Peace upon the preſent Foot, or any thing near it: And, on the other ſide, thoſe of *France* are in ſo good, that it cannot be expected they ſhould eaſily be prevailed with to reſtore much by a Peace, when they are in ſo fair Appearances of gaining ſtill more by a War, at leaſt, in *Flanders* and *Sicily*.

If ever a Peace ſhould be made, and leave *Flanders* in a Condition of being defended, and the Prince alive, I do not think there can be any Difficulty in taking thoſe Meaſures with this State, which his Majeſty has offered, and in the manner he ſhall deſire. As for that Circumſtance Your Lordſhip mentions for me to endeavour the obtaining, eſpecially having been offered before on this ſide, I take it to be a Thing that muſt be eſtabliſhed upon private and particular Confidence between the King and the Prince, and not by any publick or private Treaties, conſidering the Conſtitutions of this Government. And this, I remember, to have ſaid to his Majeſty upon it, and he was pleaſed to be of the ſame Mind.

Your Lordſhip will find in both our common Letters of laſt Poſt and this, an Embarraſs fallen out between us and the Count *Kinski*, about the Communication of his Powers to the *French*, before that of the *French* to him. We have made the beſt Excuſes we could; but to the Thing it ſelf, the Truth is, it will not bear it; though he may, on t'other ſide, be too rigid in the Offence he takes, and Satiſfaction he expects. But there was a Fault made, and it neither was the firſt, nor will be the laſt; and it was Forty to One a greater had not been made next Day; and ſuch, as I believe, would have broken all Commerce between Us and ſome of the Ambaſſadors here.

I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Arnheim, January 28. *S.N.* 1677.

SIR,

MY laſt was of the 22d from the *Hague*; the next Day being *Saturday*, I viſited the Penſioner, upon my Reſolution of going out of Town ſo ſoon as my Letters then due ſhould arrive, the Prince being gone to *Soeſdyke* that Morning. I told the Penſioner the Orders his Majeſty had given us at *Nimeguen*, to take off, upon Occaſion, the Impreſſion made there among the Allies of his Majeſty's favouring a ſeparate Peace; and asked him, Whether he thought it of Service to the Prince, for me to ſay ſomething of the ſame kind at the *Hague*, before I left it; the Jealouſie having been as great among the Miniſters there, as at *Nimeguen*? He told me, It was not worth my while, and that he was content they ſhould believe it, ſince it was in their Allies to help it, or not, as they pleaſed: That he had the Day before told the Emperor's Miniſter, in plain Terms, That if the Conduct at *Vienna* continues what it had hitherto been; nay, if it did not fall abſolutely into the Meaſures the State inſiſted on, by the 13th of next Month; this State would be forced to make a ſeparate Peace, and he was content the Emperor ſhould know it. I told him, It might be a fit Language to hold to the Emperor's Miniſter; but that I knew the Prince too well to believe it: That he had told me, It ſhould be never while he lived; and that he had it in his Power to hinder it. The

Penſioner reply'd, That he ſhould come to it with as much Regret as the Prince himſelf; but that his Highneſs might be forced to it by the ill Conduct of his Allies; and if not by that, by Mutinies of the People here upon ill Succeſſes of this next Campaign: That this late Revolution in *Spain* had ſhewed what could be brought about by the violent Humour of a People; and that his Highneſs knew this Country too well, to go too far againſt it: That, in ſhort, it would depend upon the Emperor and *Spain*; for if they took right and vigorous Meaſures, they might yet hope for a good Campaign; if they followed ſuch as they had hitherto uſed, this State would be forced to a ſeparate Peace, unleſs a general one could be made before the Action of this Year began. This is all I remember material in his Diſcourſes; beſides valuing what he had carried for his Majeſty's Satisfaction both in the States of *Holland*, and States General, ſo much againſt the Humour of both, in the Buſineſs of the *Scotch* Miniſters, for whoſe Departures, within the limited Time, he ſaid, Orders had been already given.

On *Sunday* Morning I received Yours of *January* 9th, with the incloſed Pacquet from his Majeſty; upon which I immediately began my Journey towards *Soeſdyke*, where I arrived on *Monday* Afternoon; but met there only a Letter from the Prince, inviting me to come down to *Dieren*, his Highneſs having gone out that Morning a hunting, with Intention to lie there that Night. On *Tueſday* Night I came to *Arnheim*, and Yeſterday Morning went to *Dieren*, where I found the Prince, and delivered both his Majeſty's Letters. Upon reading the firſt, he ſeemed extremely pleaſed, and ſaid, It was all the Aſſurance that could be given, and that he would ſend it that Afternoon to the Penſioner, to be communicated to the Committee of Secret Affairs, to whom, he was confident, it would be the welcomeſt Thing that could be; and yet he would give them notice of the Secrecy required in it. I told his Highneſs, I hoped he obſerved the Condition ſpecified, of making no Alliances in Prejudice of this: He anſwered, That his Majeſty could not mean thoſe they had already; and for any new ones, he would undertake it, while his Majeſty continued in this Mind. After this he read the ſecond Letter, and ſaid, It was only of Credence to me in what I ſhould ſay of his Majeſty's Mind about the Conditions of the Peace. I diſcourſed the whole over in the ſame Manner and Order, and, as near as I could, in the ſame Terms wherein I was inſtructed; valuing the whole as ſuch a Scheme his Majeſty thought poſſible to be obtained of *France*, rather than ſuch as he thought to be wiſhed, if the Matter were whole, and the Affairs of the Allies in a better Poſture. I obſerved the Prince of *Orange* change Countenance when I named *Cambray*, yet he heard me go through the whole Scheme: And when he had done, he ſaid, That Dinner ſtaid, and that he would talk of it after he had dined: So we went up, but as he was near the Door, he turned and ſaid, Though we ſhould talk more of it after Dinner, yet he could ſay, in few Words, all that was to be ſaid to it; which was, That he muſt rather die than make ſuch a Peace.

After Dinner we fell again into the Diſcourſe. He asked me diſtinctly the Particulars, and caſt them up ſeveral Ways what they would amount to, both as to the preſent State of Things, and that upon which the War begun: As, That *Spain* muſt by it part with *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omers*, inſtead of the five Towns mentioned by his Majeſty. He ſaid, I had ſpoiled his Dinner; that he had been thinking it over while he ſhould have eat; but, upon the whole, was of the ſame Opinion he told me at firſt upon it; and that all muſt be ventured ſince he was in, and there was no other Way out. I told him, I ſuppoſed he would give his Majeſty his own Thoughts upon it; but hoped, he would think it over a little more, and in all its Circumſtances, before he did it: He replied, That he would write that very Night to the King, and ſend me his Letter next Morning, ſo as it might go by this Poſt: But that to ſave his Majeſty Trouble, he would refer him to me for Particulars, and only touch ſome Points in general. He then deſired me to let his Majeſty know, That he had been very plain in what he had told me, upon this Matter of his own Thoughts, when he writ laſt to the King: That he had gone as low as he thought he could, with any regard to his Allies, or the Safety of this Country: That he doubted whether *Spain* would ever have been brought to it; but if his Majeſty would have fallen in, he would have uſed his utmoſt Endeavours: But for this, he was certain they would not, though they were ſure to loſe all *Flanders* by the War; and that he would never propoſe it to them: That if *Holland* ſhould make the Peace upon theſe Conditions, it would be the ſame Thing as to make it ſeparate, and would have the ſame Effects, by loſing wholly their Allies, and thereby caſting their Dependance abſolutely upon *France*: For if *Spain* were left in this State, *Flanders* could be defended neither by *Holland*, nor by *England* it ſelf, whenever *France* ſhould think fit to invade it: That if *Flanders* were once loſt, *Holland* could not poſſibly be defended by *England* againſt *France*; and they would be forced to take their Meaſures with them, rather than be made the Stage of the War: That hereby, what his Majeſty was pleaſed to offer in his firſt Letter, would come to have no Effect: And that it depended upon the Iſſue of the War, whether *Holland* would be left capable of being defended, or deſerving the Honour of ſuch an Alliance with his Majeſty. He concluded, That what he ſaid at firſt, was all that could be ſaid from hence; That if his Majeſty proceeded farther in this Matter, it muſt be with *France*: And thereupon repeated what he had ſaid ſeveral times before, That if his Majeſty, either upon Kindneſs to Him (the Prince) or Conſideration of what his own Crowns might be concerned in this Affair, would help him out of this War by a general Peace, upon any reaſonable Terms, there were no Meaſures his Majeſty ſhould deſire, which he would not fall into with all the Readineſs and Satisfaction that could be: If his Majeſty would not concern himſelf ſo far in it, he muſt leave it to God Almighty to decide it as he pleaſed. I deſired the Prince to think again, before he writ to his Majeſty; but he ſaid, He would certainly write to Night; and that all he could think of any Buſineſs, was thought in an Hour's Time; and therefore he deſired me to write this as his Anſwer: Which, that I might not miſtake, I repeated over as I apprehended it, and his Highneſs ſaid, It was right; and I have kept cloſe to it in what I have written: Which is all I ſhall, or, indeed, can trouble You with upon this Subject. And, I think, his Majeſty has before him, from my ſeveral Diſpatches ſince I left *Nimeguen*, the perfect and clear State of all Matters and Diſpoſitions as they play here, which yet may alter by the Accidents that the Spring or Summer ſhall bring forth; but, I believe, not till then. Upon the Cloſure of this, I intend for *Nimeguen*, and there fall into the Footſteps I left; and hope to recover my Health, which has ſuffered a good deal by this Journey, and which I ſhall always reſerve for the Occaſions of his Majeſty's Service.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

Nimeguen, February 6. *S. N.* 1677.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

I Received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* by his Majeſty's Command, in Anſwer to the Account I gave him of Your Highneſs's Diſcourſes to me at *Dieren*, upon the Subject of his Majeſty's laſt Letter to Your Highneſs.

I find the King apprehends by the Way and Manner of Your Highneſs's Anſwer (in return to what I diſcourſed to You there, as his Majeſty's Thoughts in Confidence between You, about the Conditions of a Peace) that what his Majeſty had offered upon that Subject, had not been rightly underſtood by Your Highneſs, or by me: Becauſe, Firſt, The Thing is not meant to be any Propoſition that the King would make (which his Majeſty thinks is not in his Part, nor has he any Authority to do it) but merely a Confidence between Him and Your Highneſs, in return of what You were pleaſed to aſk of his Majeſty, by Your Letter of the 15th paſt; upon which the King gave his Thoughts, framed and applied particularly to what Your Highneſs had repreſented of Yours, as to the main Conditions of a Peace.

Next, His Majeſty obſerves, That the Change of *Cambray* was not a direct Part of the principal Scheme there offered; but is added, in the ſecond place, as, what his Majeſty propoſes, were to be wiſhed, in his Opinion, for the making, as it were, a double Frontier to *Bruſſels*, if it could be obtained from *France*. And farther, his Majeſty obſerves, There were Six Towns propoſed to be reſtored to *Spain* upon that Exchange; ſo as his Majeſty is of Opinion, that what he has propoſed, if it could be got, would be better for *Flanders* (which is the great Thing the King thinks he ought to have in his Care) than what even Your Highneſs propoſes. And therefore his Majeſty deſires You would think a little farther of the Thing, and not let it fall ſo very flat as You ſeemed to do by Your laſt Anſwer, without trying what it can be beaten out to: For Things of this kind cannot be expected to have their Perfection upon the firſt Eſſay; but muſt be wrought upon with Patience and Temper. And ſo his Majeſty deſires Your Highneſs will do in this, and let him know Your farther Mind upon it; which his Majeſty deſires in the Point, for the great Care he is in, to have this Matter of *Flanders* ſecured before it be too late.

But if, after all, Your Highneſs ſtill continues of Your own Mind, and that You ſo deſire it, his Majeſty will very readily hand forward, in the beſt manner he can, this or any other Scheme Your Highneſs ſhall think fit to have him hand towards *France*, and give Your Highneſs the beſt Account he can of the Succeſs it hath. But his Majeſty cannot but think ſtrange, the Thing having been taken up in Confidence between Him and Your Highneſs, and ſo reſolved to be handled between You, ſhould thus be wholly let fall by Your Highneſs.

This being what I have Order to write to Your Highneſs upon this Subject, from his Majeſty, I ſhall not preſume to encreaſe Your Trouble any farther, than by the Profeſſions of that Paſſion and Truth, wherewith I am ever,

Your Highneſs's moſt

Faithful and moſt

Obedient Servant.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Soeſdyke, February 26. *S. N.* 1677.

SIR,

ON *Friday* laſt I received a Letter by an Expreſs from the Prince, by which he deſired me to meet him at this Place on *Sunday*, as I accordingly did; and had laſt Night a long Converſation with his Highneſs upon the Subject of my Letter to him; which, as You will have obſerved by the Copy I ſent You, was a perfect Extract of what You were pleaſed to write to me by his Majeſty's Command of the 30th paſt. I repeated to him again his Majeſty's Apprehenſions prehenſion of his Highneſs having miſtaken the Thing as it was offered by his Majeſty; in regard that *Cambray* was not made a direct Part of the principal Scheme; but added only as the King's Opinion, for making a ſort of a double Frontier to *Bruſſels*, if it could be obtained from *France*: And alſo, That by this Scheme there would be Six Towns reſtored to *Spain*; whereas his Highneſs had reckoned there would be but Five.

The Prince replied, He underſtood there would be but Five of thoſe that were given to *France* by the Peace of *Aix*; and that You had given *un autre tour à cette affaire, mais que cela ne change pas la choſe*. But, that the Difference was plain between his Majeſty's Thoughts and His: For his Majeſty intended they ſhould treat *ſur le pied de ce que la France poſſedoit à preſent, & que les échanges ſe feroient là deſſus*: Whereas, His (the Prince's) Meaning was, That they ſhould treat upon the Foot of *Aix la Chapelle*, and that the Exchanges ſhould be made upon That.

I told him, His Majeſty deſired, however, That he would think a little farther of it, and not let it fall ſo ſuddenly; ſince his Majeſty's Deſign was the ſecuring of *Flanders* before it were too late: And that, however, if his Highneſs ſhould continue of the ſame mind, the King would be willing to hand over to *France* any Scheme the Prince ſhould think fit, and give him the beſt Account he could of it.

The Prince replied, That he had conſidered enough of it; but did not well know what he could ſay more upon it at this Time: That when he had firſt ſpoke to me of it at the *Hague*, he was not only very deſirous of a Peace, but of Opinion, that it might have been compaſſed this Winter, and thought it was fitter for him to addreſs himſelf to his Majeſty upon it, than go any other Way; both becauſe he believed his Majeſty deſired the Peace, and was alſo concerned that *Flanders* ſhould not be loſt: That he had made *ce pas d'avance*, in telling the King his Thoughts upon the Terms; and had ſome Reaſon to hope, that *France* might have been contented with them, if his Majeſty had fallen into the ſame mind: That he was very ſorry the King's Thoughts had been ſo different from his, and ſuch as he is ſure he cannot agree to, if he be a Man of Honour; conſidering how he ſtands engaged to his Allies: That he is not at all confident, he could have brought them to what he had propoſed; but ſhould, however, have endeavoured it, and whenever his Majeſty's Thoughts came nearer his, that he ſhall be ſtill glad to know them: But he now looked upon the Campaign as begun, and believed, at the very Time we talked, the Guns were playing before *Valenciennes*, and that the Succeſs of the Campaign would every Day change the Pretenſions of the Parties in point of the Peace: That, for his own Part, he now ſaw no Hopes of it; but expected a very long War, unleſs *Flanders* ſhould be wholly loſt; and, in that Caſe, the States muſt make the beſt Terms they could: But, he confeſſed, he was of the *Spaniards* mind, That it was better to loſe *Flanders* by a War, than by a Peace: That, he believed, *Valenciennes* would be taken, and, perhaps, *St. Omers* too; and the more Towns were taken, the more difficult the Peace would be, ſince there could be found no Equivalent for them upon a Treaty: That he expected a very ill Beginning of the Campaign, and to make an ill Figure in it himſelf; at leaſt, till the *Germans* took the Field: But he was in, and muſt go through with it; and the beſt was, that few Campaigns end as they begin: That he gave his Majeſty Thanks for his Offer of handing any Propoſition from Him to *France*; but that was never his Meaning; for, if it had, he could eaſily have found a directer Way: But his Intention was to enter into a Confidence with his Majeſty alone upon that Subject; and to owe a Peace to him, if they had agreed upon the Terms. But if any thing be propoſed to *France* otherwiſe than as his Majeſty's own Thoughts, it muſt be from the Alliance, and not particularly from him.

I asked his Highneſs, Whether he would not write to the King upon this Subject; but he excuſed it upon his having ſo many other Diſpatches laſt Night upon his Hands, and his going ſo early this Morning to the *Hague*: Upon which he deſired me to let his Majeſty know all we had been able to ſay upon it: I repeated it to him, as near as I could, to what he had ſaid; and upon his approving of it, immediately ſet it down in Writing according to what I have tranſmitted now to You.

His Highneſs went this Morning by Five a Clock towards the *Hague*, and talks of going from thence in Eight or Ten Days. I have ſtay'd here till this Afternoon upon the Diſpatch of my Letters, that I might not loſe this Poſt; but am now returning towards *Nimeguen*; and ſhall not lengthen this Trouble beyond the Aſſurances of my being ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Nimeguen, March 26. S. N. 1677.

My Lord,

I Were not excuſable to offer Your Lordſhip many Troubles of this kind, at a Time I know you have ſo many of another; yet having lately received an Intimation from my Son, of Your Lordſhip's Deſire, to know if I had lately heard of any Project offered by the *French* to the Prince of *Orange* towards a Peace; I thought it became me to tell your Lordſhip my ſelf, That ſince the Account I gave Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* of what paſſed at my laſt Interview with his Highneſs at *Soeſdyke*, I have not heard of any thing of that kind, farther than the Jealouſies of Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*, about ſome private Negotiations between them upon the Articles of the Marine Treaty, which he the more apprehends by the Delays of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors to enter into that Matter here; as they pretended to do within few Days after the Exchange of the Pretenſions between the Parties. If there be any thing of that kind on foot, I believe it is between the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades* and the Penſioner, by the Intervention of one *Peſſer* (as I remember his Name is) who was Penſioner of the Town of *Maſtricht* when the *French* took it; and who has kept up a Correſpondence of Letters with the Mareſchal ever ſince his Return into *Holland*.

The Penſioner had formerly ſhewed me ſeveral of thoſe Letters in general Terms, about the Advantages the State might find in a Peace with *France*. And when I was laſt at the *Hague*, he told me, He newly received Two with very particular Overtures. I would fain have ſeen them, but he excuſed it, upon knowing that I was bound to give an Account of them to Court; and ſuſpecting, that no other Uſe would be made of them there, but communicating all to *France*, which would loſe the Penſioner's Credit upon ſuch Occaſions.

On the other ſide, Monſieur *Colbert* and *d'Avaux* have told me, That the Reaſon of their Maſter's ſending Monſieur *d'Eſtrades* hither inſtead of the Duke *de Vitry* (who was in the firſt Commiſſion) was, the Poſſeſſion he had given the Miniſters in *France*, of the great Correſpondences he had in *Holland*. Upon which Point, though I know he is very pretending, yet I do not think it goes farther than what I have mentioned, and had not reached any thing particular with the Prince when I ſaw him laſt.

Beſides, I left his Highneſs fully reſolved upon the Proſecution of the War this Campaign, without more Thoughts of the Peace, after that Tranſaction with his Majeſty had failed: And, I hear, Don *John* has not only performed with him in what Payments were due to the Admiralty at *Amſterdam*, but in an Advance of 50000 Crowns, and a Fund for the reſt of his Highneſs's Perſonal Debts from *Spain*, and likewiſe had eſtabliſhed a Courſe that will not fail, for the tranſmitting Two hundred thouſand Crowns a Month for the

Affairs of *Flanders*, and Payment of the Allies. So that I do not well ſee what can prevent the Courſe of this Campaign, unleſs the Emperor ſhould fail in what he aſſured the Prince of *Orange*, concerning the Motions and Conduct of the *German* Armies, either by the Uncertainty of the Councils at *Vienna*, between the differing Factions of the Duke of *Lorrain* and *Montecuculi* in that Court; or by the Faultering of ſome of the Princes of *Germany* in the Alliance, which has been of late ſuſpected of the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*. In theſe Caſes, or any other, that ſhall hinder the *German* Armies from drawing off the *French* Forces from *Flanders* into *Germany*, it will not be in the Power of the Prince of *Orange* and the *Spaniards* to ſave the reſt of *Flanders* this Summer: And what Meaſures that will draw on, of force, between his Highneſs and *France*, I cannot tell. But otherwiſe, if the *Germans* perform what they have promiſed their Allies, it may be a warm Summer on that Side; and the poor Remainder of *Flanders*, after the Loſs of *St. Omers* and *Cambray* (which the *French* Ambaſſadors here aſſure themſelves of) may be ſaved by Diverſion; for otherwiſe it never can.

Thus I believe that Affair plays at preſent. In the mean Time, I muſt confeſs to Your Lordſhip, I was troubled to find the Prince go into the Field ſo ill ſatisfied with that Scheme of Peace, which his Majeſty, by Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*'s Letter, ordered me to communicate to him: And the more, becauſe ſome Words he let fall in the Heat of Diſcourſe, made me doubt, if he ſhould have a mind hereafter to make any Overtures to *France*, he might do it by ſome other Way than by his Majeſty. For, as to the Thing it ſelf, he thought what the King propoſed, was the utmoſt that *France* would have asked. Nay, he ſaid, He had Reaſon to believe, when he ſpoke to me firſt, that *France* would have accepted even what his Highneſs mentioned, if his Majeſty would but have propoſed it as his own Opinion: And he wondred his Majeſty would not make that Peace, and, at leaſt, ſend his Highneſs the Anſwer of *France* upon it. Then, for the Manner, he was as much unſatisfied, as with the Matter of it. He ſaid, Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* thought he could make him miſtake the Thing, by giving it *un autre tour*; and that he could ſatisfie him with *la crême foitée*: And asked, Why ſuch Dealing with ſo plain a Man as He (the Prince) was? And ſaid, That if he had thought *qu'on auroit pris l'affaire de cet air là*, he would never have troubled them with it in *England*, and could have found a nearer Way to *France*.

I ſaid what I could to ſatisfie him: But he has a Way of falling downright into the Bottom of a Buſineſs, and is to be dealt with no other Way that ever I could find; and, upon this Occaſion, ſaid a great deal very ſharply of ſome of the King's Miniſters dealing artificially with him, and believing they could talk him into any thing: Which, he said, was not a Way to do Buſineſs, and only ſhewed the mean Opinion they had of Him, that they thought was to be dealt with by ſuch Methods as thoſe.

I am ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Mr. Hyde.

Nimeguen, May 21. *S. N.* 1677.

SIR,

I Am to acknowledge the Favour of one from You of the 8th, and the Teſtimonies it gave me of the Continuance of Your Kindneſs to me, and Remembrance of our Converſation here, which, I queſtion not, will begin again where it ended, at what Time, or in what Place ſoever it happens to be renewed. Since You tell me, You know no more of Your Return hither, than I find by Your Letter, I will enter no farther upon a Diſcourſe You ſeem reſolved to let fall, but attend the Effect of thoſe good Words You give me, about employing me in Your Service here, when You begin to look this Way. I ſuppoſe this Day will for the preſent have turned Your Thoughts upon another Scene, and by the Motions whereof they here either hope or fear that the Meaſures of this will be influenced.

For my part, I am ſo much a Stranger to the Councils in *England*, that I cannot pretend to give my ſelf the leaſt Account of them upon this Occaſion, and much leſs to other Men that are very inquiſitive after them: And am very well content to be ſo; for, You know, all my Politicks are at an End with that of my late Negotiation at the *Hague*: And I pretend no more than to do a plain Duty while I am in theſe Employments, and paſs a private eaſie Life after this is ended; and, inſtead of Care to mend the World, buſie my Thoughts no farther than with that of mending my ſelf. All we wiſh is, That we might at one Time or other loſe the Reproach I told You, of *Fluctuation perpetuelle*, and reſolve for good and all what Ends and Points are fitteſt for us to purſue, and then bend our Endeavours in ſteddy Courſes to bring them about; and when one Way fails, try another, as we have good Examples. And I think in Politicks, as well as Morals, it is a good Queſtion of one of Your Friends and mine, though our Colleague's Enemy;

> *Eſt aliquid quo tendis, & in quod dirigis arcum,*
> *An paſſim ſequeris corvos?*

And there I leave all theſe kind of Thoughts, and wiſh You happy Succeſs in this Seſſion of Parliament You are entring, and the good Fortunes and Entertainments You propoſe to Your ſelf at Court, or any where, and to my ſelf many Occaſions of expreſſing, how much I am

Your moſt Faithful and
moſt Humble Servant.

To my Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter.

Nimeguen, May 21. *S. N.* 1677.

My Lord,

I Am unacquainted with Thanks or Praiſes, having ſo little deſerved any, that I muſt judge of them rather by the Report of others, than by any Experience of my own. But if by either, I underſtand any thing of them, all the Charm or Value they have, ariſes from the Eſteem a Man has of the Perſon that gives them, or the Belief, in ſome meaſure, of his own deſerving them. The firſt of theſe Circumſtances gave ſo great an Advantage to thoſe I had lately the Honour of receiving from Your Lordſhip in a Letter delivered me by Mr. *Dolben*, that the Want of the other was but neceſſary to allay the Vanity they might otherwiſe have given me. But where a Man can find no Ground to flatter himſelf upon the Thanks he receives, he begins to conſider whether they are Praiſe or Reproach: And ſo, I am ſure, I have Reaſon to do in the Acknowledgments Your Lordſhip is pleaſed to make me of any Favours to Your Son, who has never yet been ſo kind to me, as to give me the leaſt Occaſion of obliging him. I confeſs, I ſhould have been glad to meet with any, though I do not remember ſo much as ever to have told him ſo; but if he has gueſs'd it from my Countenance or Converſation, it is a Teſtimony of his obſerving much, and judging well; which are Qualities I have thought him guilty of, among thoſe others that allow me to do him no Favour but Juſtice only in eſteeming him. 'Tis his Fortune to have been before-hand with me, by giving Your Lordſhip an Occaſion to take notice of me, and thereby furniſhing me with a Pretence of entring into Your Service; which gives Him a new Title to any I can do him, and Your Lordſhip a very juſt one to employ me upon all Occaſions.

Notwithſtanding Your Lordſhip's favourable Opinion, I will aſſure You, 'tis well for me, that our Work here requires a little Skill, and that we have no more but Forms to deal with in this Congreſs, while the Treaty is truly in the Field, where the Conditions of it are yet to be determined. *Fata viam invenient*: Which is all I can ſay of it; nor ſhall I increaſe Your Lordſhip's preſent Trouble, beyond the Profeſſions of my being,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient

Humble Servant.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Nimeguen, June 25. *S. N.* 1677.

My Lord,

IF I pretended to make Your Lordſhip the Acknowledgments I owe for the Honour and Kindneſs of Your laſt Letter, this, I am ſure, would be made up of nothing elſe: And therefore, when I have aſſured Your Lordſhip, That no Man could be more obliged than I was by it, nor more ſenſible than I was upon it, I ſhall tell You, without more Circumſtance, what my Thoughts have amounted to, upon the Conſideration of that Propoſal You are pleaſed to make me from the King. His Majeſty has always been ſo gracious to me, but ſo much more particularly in the Opinion of my being capable of ſerving him in that Station Your Lordſhip mentions; that if I were worth that Sum, or a greater than what, it ſeems, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* expects, I would the readieſt in the World, lay it down, either upon this Occaſion, or any other, or upon none at all beſides the leaſt Signification of his Majeſty's Pleaſure. But in the Condition of my Fortune, I will aſſure Your Lordſhip, it were as eaſie for me to coin it, as to find it any other ways; my Father living ſtill, and keeping the whole Eſtate of the Family: And the beſt Husbandry in ſuch Employments as mine have been, reaching no farther than to bring the Year about, unleſs, upon the Change of them, ſome Preſents attend it. But, if either it ſhould arrive that I ſhould out-live my Father, who is very infirm; or that this Employment ſhould end with the Preſents uſual to Mediators; I ſhall leave it wholly to his Majeſty to command me how to diſpoſe of any thing I ſhall thereby poſſeſs. And I am of Opinion, upon the general Proſpect I have into the Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, from my Station here, that I ſhall eaſily ſee to an End of this Employment, as ſoon as this Campaign is done: And that within three Months after, we ſhall either fall into the War, or ſhall ſee a Peace of one ſort or other.

In either of theſe Caſes, my Figure here determines, and ſhall do ſo in *Holland* too, if his Majeſty gives me Leave; and the Preſents of this laſt will bring ſomething into my Purſe, though the other ſhould fail, and go a little way towards what Your Lordſhip propoſes. And 'tis poſſible, that in the mean while I may be a little neceſſary to his Majeſty's Honour in this very Poſt, where it happens unfortunately, that though the wiſe Paces a Miniſter makes, may never be worth taking notice of, yet he lies every Day in the Way of making ill ones; and upon them lies as open both to his Majeſty's Diſhonour and his own, as, perhaps, in any Employment of the World beſides.

Upon Mr. Secretary *Coventry*'s Part in ſuch a Delay, I can ſay little, but hope, his Majeſty will be content, at the leaſt for ſo long to keep a good Servant, inſtead of hazarding an ill one: And, I think, the Bargain between my Lord *Arlington* and Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, depended a great deal longer than this can do; though, as I remember, it was but ſix thouſand Pounds that was given between them, and my Lord *Arlington* gave my Lord *St. Albans* Ten. And if his Majeſty ſhould have a mind, in the mean Time, to excuſe himſelf from admitting any other, by ſaying, He is engaged; he may very well do it, upon what he was pleaſed to ſay to me in the Year 1674, after the Peace was made, when I made my Acknowledgments, as well as Excuſes, upon the Offer of going Ambaſſador into *Spain*: That he intended me a better Thing; and that though he was then engag'd, yet, when it fell again, I ſhould have it. I do not ſay this to lay the leaſt hold in the World upon any ſuch Promiſe, but to furniſh his Majeſty with the Excuſe of being engag'd, if he ſhould think fit. Otherwiſe, it is a Thing I abſolutely forget, whenever his Majeſty does ſo: And if he finds any other Perſon he thinks fit to bring into the Place, I ſhall, however, upon my Return from hence, either in any other Station, or in none, endeavour, the reſt of my Life, to deſerve his Majeſty's Opinion, of being either as good a Servant, or, at leaſt, as good a Subject as any he has.

I had a Letter this laſt Week from the Prince, wherein he was pleaſed to give me ſome Account of Monſieur *Bentinck*'s Journey and Return, extremely to his Higneſs's Satisfaction, as to all that paſſed from his Majeſty upon that Occaſion. As to Your Lordſhip's Part, he ſays theſe Words: *Je l'avois particulierement adreſſé à Monſieur le Grand Treſorier; qui en a uſé d'une maniere ſi obligeante, & luy a parlé avec tant de franchiſe, que je ne puis m'en aſſes louer.* If he can ſucceed in the Deſires I know he has, of making a Journey into *England* when the Campaign ends, I believe ſo much of his Inclinations towards a Peace (that may, in any kind, ſave his Honour and the reſt of *Flanders*) that I am confident, the King and his Highneſs, if they meet, will take their Meaſures together upon that Matter, and upon the future Conduct of both their Allies.

I aſk Your Lordſhip's Pardon for ſo long a Trouble; which yet muſt not end without the Repetition of all the moſt ſenſible Acknowledgments that can be made You for ſo much Favour as has obliged me to be for ever, and with as much Reaſon as Paſſion,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To

To Sir John Temple.

Sheen, Auguſt ——, 1677.

SIR,

SINCE the Account I gave You lately from *Nimeguen*, of my Son's coming to me, the Errand he was ſent on, and the Anſwer I had returned thereupon to his Majeſty, I thought that Affair would have ſlept, at leaſt, for ſome Time: But within a Fortnight after, I received by Expreſs, a Command to repair immediately into *England*, without ſo much as any notice of the Occaſion. I accordingly left *Nimeguen* the 5th of *July*, and had a very good Paſſage over in a Yacht that was ſent for me to the *Briel*. The firſt time I ſaw the King, he was pleaſed to call me into his Cloſet, and to tell me, I knew the Occaſion of my coming over, from what my Lord Treaſurer had lately writ to me by his Command: That he had ſeen my Anſwer, and was, however, reſolved I ſhould come into that Poſt: That he knew no Man was ſo fit to ſerve him in it as I; and ſince he found I was not able to bear the Charge of coming into it, he was content to do it himſelf: That upon my coming over, Secretary *Coventry* had taken a great Alarm; and though he had before been willing to part with his Place, upon the Terms my Lord Treaſurer had propoſed to him, yet he had, upon this Occaſion, come to Him (the King) and told him the Reports he met with from all Hands, of my being ſent for over to come into his Office: That he hoped he had, at leaſt, deſerved, by ſo long Services, not to be turned off without giving him ſo much Time, that his Friends and the World might ſee it was a Choice of his own, rather than the King's. His Majeſty ſaid, He had told him, That he need not trouble himſelf any farther about it, and that when he took ſuch a Reſolution, he would tell him of it himſelf; and that this was all he had ſaid till he ſpoke with me.

I gave his Majeſty my humble Thanks, as became me upon ſuch an Occaſion; but ſaid, I thought Secretary *Coventry* had great Reaſon in what he deſired: That he was a very worthy Gentleman, and had ſerved him long: And therefore I made it my humble Suit to his Majeſty, That he would not part with him, to make Room for me, till he himſelf ſhould be content. The King bid me ſpeak with my Lord Treaſurer about it; and ſo this Matter reſts; and I am ſure ſhall do ſo for me; For my Friends muſt pardon me if I cannot overcome the Coldneſs I have at Heart upon this Occaſion; to ſay no more.

Some Days after, the King ſeeming to be in great Apprehenſions for the Prince of *Orange*'s Perſon, upon the Hazards he is continually expoſed to, and likewiſe for the Succeſs of the preſent Campaign; conſidering the *French* Forces now in the Field, and how ill the Prince is ſeconded by his Allies, told me, He had a mind I ſhould go over to him, and try, whether he would fall into ſuch Terms of a Peace, as his Majeſty might hope to get accepted by *France*: That, in caſe any ſuch could be agreed on before the Campaign ended, he ſhould be glad to ſee the Prince here, having conſented to it when Monſieur *Bentinck* was in *England*. I told his Majeſty, That, I was confident, he knew the Prince's Mind upon the Terms of a Peace, without ſending to him, by all that paſſed in that Negotiation between the Prince and me laſt Winter; and that I believed nothing could alter him, unleſs it were ſome great Change of Affairs, by the good or ill Succeſs of this Campaign, which was not yet near an End: And when it was done, ſince his Majeſty was content the Prince ſhould come over, they would much eaſier agree, when they were together, than by any Miniſter between them, in how much Confidence ſoever.

I was extremely preſſed for ſome Days upon this Journey, and had no mind to it, knowing how unwelcome it would be to the Prince while he was in the Field, for many Reaſons; and how ill it would anſwer the End for which his Majeſty intended it; and therefore, at laſt, told the King and Duke together, That if they were reſolved to make the Trial, I deſired they would do it by another Hand: That I had ſpent all my Shot laſt Winter, and left the Prince fix'd upon a Stand, which, I was ſure, he would make good as long as he could: That Mr *Hyde* was now idle here; who having upon his Return from *Poland*, received a Commiſſion to appear as one of the Kings Mediators, during the ſhort Stay he ſhould make at *Nimeguen*; and there being now but one Ambaſſador of the King's there, I thought there was nothing ſo proper, as for Mr. *Hyde* to return to *Nimeguen* in that Figure, how little ſoever there was to do; ſince, by our Original Commiſſion, there ought to be Two to act in that Mediation: That, upon his Journey, he might ſee the Prince of *Orange*, and purſue ſuch Inſtructions as his Majeſty ſhould give him upon that Occaſion.

This was approved and reſolved on; and Mr. *Hyde* is well enough pleaſed with the Employment; which renews his Character at *Nimeguen*, that was before but a Compliment to him as he paſſed by that Place! though I have, as a Friend, told him before-hand what Succeſs he is like to meet in his Journey to the Prince; and he reckons upon it.

This is all the preſent Account I can give You of my ſelf, whatever You will meet with in the News-Papers that run Abroad, and have made me Secretary of State already; ſo that I receive Twenty impertinent Compliments upon it, and Applications for Places in the Office. But I am, I thank God, in an eaſie Place here at *Sheen*, where I ſpend all the Time I can poſſibly, and never ſaw any thing pleaſanter than my Garden, and the Country and River about it, which I was grown almoſt a Stranger to. I think here often of *Sancho*, that ſaid, He had got nothing by his Government, but the Knowledge that he was not fit to govern any thing beſides his Sheep. And that I have got by knowing a Court, and the Courſe of Publick Affairs, that I am not fit to ſerve in one, nor to manage the other; which is all I ſhall ſay in Excuſe of my Conduct: And You, and my Friends, will be content I ſhall, at leaſt, take a little Breath, and ſee the Iſſue of the preſent Campaign Abroad, and of the Prince's Journey hither at the End of it, before I take any new Meaſures, or fall into any new Engagements.

My Wife and Family continue ſtill at *Nimeguen*; only my Siſter and *Jack* are with me here, and both ſeem as kind to *Sheen* as I am. We are confident, You would be ſo too, if You could reſolve of ſeeing it once ſince the Alterations made here; that You might have a Share in the Pleaſure of them, as well as You had in the Charge.

We long to hear of Your good Health, having, I doubt, loſt ſome Letters by our ſudden Removals.

I am ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

London, November ——, 1677.

SIR,

THO' I do not trouble You often with publick News or Buſineſs, yet I am ſenſible of having too much neglected it of late, conſidering what has paſſed; which, I know, You will be more pleaſed with than any You have been entertained with a great while. For, I remember how often and how much You have deſired to ſee the Prince of *Orange* married here; not only from Your good Wiſhes to Him, but from Your Apprehenſions of ſome greater Matches that might befall us, and with Conſequences ill enough to Poſterity, as well as to the preſent Age. I am in a good deal of Haſte at this preſent Time, and therefore ſhall ſum up a great deal in a little Room. The Prince of *Orange* came to the King at *Newmarket*, where he was mighty well received both of King and Duke. I made the Acquaintance there between the Prince and my Lord Treaſurer; and in ſuch a manner, as, though they were not at all known before to one another, yet, they fell very ſoon into Confidence.

The Prince ſaid not a Word to any of them of any Thoughts of a Wife while they ſtaid at *Newmarket*; and told me, No Conſiderations ſhould move him in that Affair, till he had ſeen the Lady. The Day after he ſaw her here, he moved it to the King and Duke, and tho' he did it with ſo good a Grace, that it was very well received, yet, in Four or Five Days Treaty, it proved to be intangled in ſuch Difficulties, that the Prince ſent for me one Night, and uttering his whole Heart, told me, He was reſolved to give it over, repenting him from the Heart of his Journey, and would be gone within Two Days, and truſt God Almighty with what would follow; and ſo went to Bed the moſt melancholy that ever I ſaw him in my Life. Yet before Eleven a Clock the next Morning, the King ſent me to him, to let him know, He was reſolved on the Match, and that it ſhould be done immediately, and in the Prince's own Way.

Thus far what had paſs'd went no farther than the King, the Duke, the Prince, my Lord Treaſurer, and me: But that Afternoon it was declared at the Foreign Committee, and next Day at Council; You will eaſily imagine with what general Joy. I cannot but tell You, That no Man ſeems to lay it to Heart ſo much as my Lord *Arlington*; having had no part in it; which he could not but take notice of to the Prince, who told me, His Compliment to him upon it was, That ſome Things, though they were good in themſelves, yet were ſpoiled by the Manner of doing them; but this was in it ſelf ſo good, that the Manner of doing it could not ſpoil it. I am told, he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me; which I muſt bear as well as I can: But yet, becauſe You know how we have formerly lived, I will tell You, That it was not only impoſſible my Lord Treaſurer and he ſhould concur in one Thing, but he had likewiſe loſt all the Prince's Confidence and Opinion, ſince his laſt Journey into *Holland*. Beſides, for my own Part, I found theſe Two years paſt, he could not bear my being ſo well neither with the Prince, nor with the Treaſurer; but endeavoured by Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* to break the firſt, by Steps which the Prince acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me with the laſt whenever I went to him; though he himſelf had firſt adviſed me to apply my ſelf to my Lord Treaſurer all I could, upon my laſt Embaſſy into *Holland*. And though I had ever ſince told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my Lord Treaſurer had been ſo reaſonable as to be contented with it.

Since the Marriage, the King and the Prince have fallen into the Buſineſs Abroad, and agreed upon the Terms of a Peace, which the King will offer to *France*, and ſuch as they both conclude will ſecure *Flanders*. They both agree, that I muſt of neceſſity go to *Paris* immediately upon this Errand, and bring a poſitive Anſwer from that Court within a Time prefix'd. I never undertook any Journey more unwillingly, knowing in what Opinion I ſtand already at that Court; how deeply they reſent the Prince's Match without their Communication, or the leaſt Word to their Ambaſſador here; and with how little Reaſon I can hope to be the welcomer for this Errand. But the King will abſolutely have it; and ſo I have made all my ſmall Preparations, and think to be gone within Two Days; which is all at preſent, but to aſk Your Bleſſing, and aſſure You of my being,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the Prince of ORANGE.

London, December 8. 1677.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

I Should by laſt Poſt have rejoiced with Your Highneſs upon the News of Your happy Arrival, and upon the Reſolutions that have been taken here ſince You went, in thoſe Affairs wherein Your Highneſs is ſo deeply concerned; but that my Lord Treaſurer's Letter to You upon this Subject, was ſo long and ſo particular, that nothing could be added to it for Your Highneſs's Information or Satisfaction: And therefore I reſolved not to trouble You with the ſame Thing by that Poſt, and from ſo much a worſe Hand. I ſuppoſe my Lord Ambaſſador *Hyde* will have ſhewed Your Highneſs his Inſtructions, and Mr. Secretary's Letter upon that Occaſion; which agreeing ſo fully with what my Lord Treaſurer writ, muſt have left You in no doubt of thoſe Reſolutions being taken here. And yet I thought Your Highneſs would not be diſpleaſed to know from me, that I am of Opinion they are ſo; and, which is more, that the Duke will go up to as great a Height in them as any Man, in caſe *France* gives them the Occaſion, by their Anſwer to what Mr. *Mountague* goes away with to Day; and that his Highneſs will abſolutely conclude from thence, what their good Intentions are or have been to the King: Tho' I have this ſecond time excuſed my ſelf from attending upon Your Highneſs, and thereby devolved his Majeſty's Commands upon Mr. *Hyde* once more, yet, I hope, Your Highneſs will pardon me, ſince I have only reſerved my ſelf for the next Occaſion, which, I expect, will be of more moment, and within a very little Time. For the preſent, I only deſire Your Highneſs, will pleaſe to give Your Anſwer to what Mr. *Hyde* carries You, in ſuch manner as may be fully to his Majeſty's Satisfaction; and if You ſhould ſcruple the doing it to any other Hand, that You would, at leaſt, do it in a private Letter to his Majeſty's own, which may not go farther than to thoſe Hands by which all Your Highneſs's Concerns have hitherto been tranſacted.

I hope Your Highneſs will think to write particularly to the Duke, as well as the King, in Acknowledgment and Applauſe of theſe late Reſolutions; and my Lord Treaſurer will deſerve it too, by the great Part he has had in them.

I aſk Your Highneſs's Pardon for the Length and Confidence of this Letter, and Your Juſtice in believing me ever, what I ſhall ever be, with a perfect Devotion,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

The KING's Speech, intended to the Parliament, drawn up at my Lord Treaſurer's Deſire, April 27. 1678.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Intended to have met You ſooner, but found it neceſſary to defer it for ſome few Days, that I might diſcourſe more freely and clearly to You upon the preſent Conjunctures; and that we might perfectly underſtand one another, which, I am confident, we now ſhall do, and this Day end all Diſtruſts and Jealouſies between us; becauſe I know we mean the ſame Things, which are, the Honour and Safety of theſe Kingdoms, the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and preventing the Growth of the *French* Power.

I was ſome Time in hopes to have attained theſe Ends by the Exerciſe of my Mediation, in Purſuit of a Peace; which I thought the more neceſſary by obſerving the Bent of ſome of the Confederates towards it, and the ill Conduct of the War by others: While I received, at the ſame Time, frequent Aſſurances from *France*, That they never intended the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, but deſired a reaſonable Peace; and ſhould very far conſider my Offices and Thoughts upon the Conditions of it.

But ſeeing the State of the War ſo much changed, and *Flanders* ſo much endangered, by the Events of laſt Campaign, I thought it neceſſary for the Safety of theſe Kingdoms (and, indeed, that of *Chriſtendom*) ſo far to enforce my Mediation, as to propoſe laſt Winter to *France*, ſuch Terms of a Peace as I had Reaſon to believe the Confederates would accept; and, as I was ſure, would leave *Flanders* defenſible; which, at that Time, I doubted would hardly be ſo by continuing the War: And I had not much Reaſon to doubt of *France*, becauſe their Refuſal would plainly diſcover their Deſign of conquering *Flanders* (contrary to all their Profeſſions) ſince both they and I knew, it could not be ſecured without a Frontier, as I propoſed for it. Upon the Difficulties made by *France* to accept theſe Conditions, and finding *Holland* would not continue the War, otherwiſe than in Purſuit, and with the Proſpect of a Peace, I immediately made Two Alliances with them; One of mutual Defence, and the other Offenſive againſt *France*, in Caſe they would not accept the Terms I had propoſed: Which were theſe,

That they ſhould reſtore to *Spain* the Towns of *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, *Condé*, with their Dependencies; and all others which ſhould be taken after that Time (as *St. Giſlain*, *Ghent*, and *Ypres* have unfortunately been.) That they ſhould reſtore all they had taken in *Sicily* (which is a Care now happily prevented): That they ſhould reſtore *Maſtricht* to the *Dutch*, and *Lorrain* to the Duke of that Name. That the Peace of the Emperor ſhould be made upon the Foot of Affairs at that Time, by which *Philipſburgh* would have remain'd to the Empire, and the Loſs of *Friburgh* would have been prevented. That, becauſe the Peace of the North could not be adjuſted in ſo ſhort a Time, a Truce ſhould be concluded there, till by the Purſuit of our Mediation, a Peace could be agreed on.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am not aſhamed to own publickly this Scheme of a Peace, both to You here, and to all the World abroad; as what I thought moſt agreeable with the Duty of a Mediator, and with what I owed to the Safety of my own Kingdoms, and the Regard I had to Your Satisfaction, in the juſt Concernment You had ſo often expreſs'd for the Preſervation of *Flanders*; which I knew might be much eaſier defended after the reſtoring thoſe Towns, than before it. But I will confeſs I am aſhamed to find my ſelf ſo much deceived, as I have been by *France* upon this Occaſion; who, contrary to all they have ſo often profeſſed, and promiſed me, have cut off all Hopes of any reaſonable Peace, by which *Flanders* might be ſafe: But, on the other Side, making Difficulties, firſt upon one Town, then upon another (as the Neceſſity of the

Spaniards, or Diſpoſitions of the *Dutch* gave them Occaſion) they have all along too plainly diſcover'd their Deſigns of carrying on the War, to the full Conqueſt of *Flanders*; whilſt they endeavour to amuſe the World, and us in particular, with the Diſcourſes or Overtures of a Peace.

Yet in the laſt they have made, they include the preſent Reſtitution of *Sweden*, and the Duke of *Holſtein*; though they confine the Peace they offer to the 10th of *May*. They will, indeed, keep *Lorrain*, whilſt they pretend to reſtore it: For they will keep *Nancy*, *Marſal*, and the Highways through that Country: And they will have *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, *Condé*, and *Ypres*, which are the very Keys of *Flanders* on that Side; beſides *Dinant* or *Charlemont*, on the other.

I would not confeſs to You how much I have been deceived by them in theſe Practices, and in thoſe they have ſince begun with the *Dutch* upon this Occaſion, if I were not reſolved to be ſo no more: And I will tell You plainly, That I ſhould immediately have declared the War upon the Diſcovery of them, but that I found it neceſſary firſt to make my Alliances with the reſt of the Confederates, and therein to purſue the good Advice You hinted to me Your ſelves, in one of Your Addreſſes, to provide that none of the Parties engaged in the Confederacy, ſhould lay down their Arms, or depart from their Alliances: As likewiſe, That none of them ſhould hold any Commerce, or Trade, with the *French* King, or his Subjects, during the War.

Both theſe Points I have been endeavouring to ſecure now for ſome Time; but have been delayed in them, contrary to my Expectation, by the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors wanting Powers, or Inſtructions, to conclude upon thoſe Two Particulars. And, I doubt, in the laſt, Your too great Haſte in forbidding *French* Commodities, was the Occaſion of the *Dutch* declining what before they had offered, in ſo material a Point. I ſay not this at all to reproach You, becauſe I know Your Meaning was good; and becauſe, in a Time when the Safety of *Chriſtendom*, as well as our own, ſeems to lye at Stake, we ought all to look forward, upon what is beſt to be done; and not backward, upon what Occaſions are loſt, or what Errors have paſſed; or what, in ſhort, is now paſt Remedy.

God be thanked, I have at length, retrieved this Point, in a great Meaſure; and find the Miniſters of the Confederates now ready to conclude our Treaties, for carrying on the War by common Conſent; and purſuing it according to ſuch Succeſſes as God Almighty ſhall pleaſe to give to ſo juſt and neceſſary an Undertaking. I have, in the mean Time, made my Levies of Land Forces, and my Preparations for Sea, according to the Scheme and Proportions You Your ſelves deſigned. I have already ſent ——— Thouſand Men over into *Flanders*, and have ——— Thouſand more ready to ſend after them; and am ready to declare the War, immediately upon the ſigning of our Treaties: But firſt reſolved to have Your Advice upon it, now I have laid the whole Affair before You. For Your Aſſiſtances I doubt them not at all, conſidering the many Aſſurances You have given me upon this Occaſion, and the Zeal You have ever expreſſed to the Safety, Honour, and true Intereſts of the Nation; in which I doubt not but we ſhall always agree.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Sheen, *May* 18*th*, 1678.

My Lord,

Finding my ſelf ſomething recovered of my Illneſs, which hindred me from waiting upon Your Lordſhip before I left the Town; I could not but let You know how very ſenſible I was of what You laſt told me, with ſo much Kindneſs, about his Majeſty and Royal Highneſs having been ſo much diſpleaſed with ſome of my late Diſcourſes to his Majeſty; though Your Lordſhip could not tell me more of them, than that they were ſome popular Notions: As likewiſe the great Diſſatisfaction his Majeſty would receive at the Difficulties I made to enter into an Affair which belonged not at all to my Poſt; and wherein his Majeſty had not done me the Honour to acquaint me with the Deliberation or Digeſtion of it. I muſt confeſs, the Senſe of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure (which I never deſerved), has been ſo great a Mortification to me, that, to ſhew how much I have ever been concerned in his Majeſty's Service and Satisfaction, and how little in any Advantages of my own, I have reſolved moſt humbly to lay at his Majeſty's Feet, not only my Two preſent Embaſſies, but alſo the Promiſe of the Secretary's Place, which his Majeſty was pleaſed long ſince to make me ſo graciouſly, and of his Motion: Therefore, whenever his Majeſty pleaſes to order me a Letter of Revocation to the States General (which I ſhall ſend over to my Secretary at the *Hague*) and give me Leave to ſend for both my Families away from the *Hague* and *Nimeguen*, I ſhall upon it come and beg the Honour of kiſſing his Majeſty's Hand, and make him my humble Acknowledgments for the undeſerved Honours he hath done me, by ſo many and ſo great Employments Abroad, as well as by deſigning me ſo much a greater at Home. I ſhall at the ſame Time aſſure his Majeſty of my Reſolutions, to paſs the reſt of my Life in the conſtant and hearty Wiſhes, and Prayers, for the Honour and Safety of his Majeſty and his Kingdoms; and that, how mean a Servant ſoever I have been, he ſhall find me as good a Subject as any Man alive.

For what I ought to ſay to Your Lordſhip upon this Occaſion, I ſhall leave it till I wait upon You; being reſolved, by all means poſſible, to preſerve the Honour of ſo long an Acquaintance, and of ſo much Favour as Your Lordſhip's to me. And as, during all my Employments, I never yet asked any thing of his Majeſty, beſides the bare Pay of them, nor ever uſed to trouble Your Lordſhip about any Buſineſs of my own, ſo I ſhall continue the ſame Courſe at the End of them, and leave to my Wife the Purſuit of what his Majeſty owes me upon them; that ſo Your Lordſhip may ever reckon upon all the Services, and never upon any Trouble from,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

London, July 2. 1678.

My Lord,

THE Account I gave Your Grace by my Brother of my not writing, was ſo true, that though I was very ſorry I had it for ſo long together, yet, I know, Your Grace was ſo juſt, as to receive it. I will not preſume to ſay, 'tis now at an End, becauſe That God Almighty can only tell; but yet thus much is certain, That I am juſt now going aboard for *Holland*, and upon ſuch Meaſures, as his Majeſty ſeems more reſolved to purſue, than ever I thought to ſee him, in caſe the States will be prevailed with to fall into them. He will be ſure to have all the Help the Prince can give him, who ſeems to have recovered a new Soul upon this Incident from *France*; which has given, at leaſt, the Appearance and Overture of new Meaſures in the World. The Truth is, This Refuſal to reſtore the *Spaniſh* and *Dutch* Towns, till the Reſtitution of *Sweden*, has been ſo plain Language, that it has, at preſent, opened many Eyes both Here and in *Holland*, which have long been ſhut to all our Coſt; but, whether they are Proof againſt all Charms, I will not venture to determine. I can only aſſure Your Grace, That the Duke has been the moſt conſtant that can be imagined, in this Opinion of the *French* Deſigns and Intentions to his Majeſty, ever ſince my Lord *Feverſham*'s Return; and declared himſelf the plaineſt that ever I heard, Yeſterday, at the Foreign Committee, That nothing could be more evident, than that *France* intended a Univerſal Monarchy, and nothing but *England* could hinder it; and that, without it, the King would indanger his Crown. And for his Majeſty, I have ſome particular * Reaſons (which I cannot entertain Your Grace with at this Diſtance) to believe, that he is perfectly cured of ever hoping any thing well from *France*, and paſt the Danger of being cajoled by any future Offers from thence.

So that I ſee nothing left to ſhake his preſent Reſolutions, but the Fear of being well ſeconded in them at Home or in *Holland*: The laſt I ſhall ſoon be able to give his Majeſty an Account of: but the firſt I muſt leave to others, that are better acquainted with the Scene where that Game muſt play. I am of Opinion, both that muſt be plaid ill, and the War managed ill, to fail, if we go into it: But I have no Reaſon to believe, but both thoſe may very well befall us. All that is to be ſaid, is, That all Men agree, the preſent Meaſures are of abſolute Neceſſity; ſince no *Penchant* to a Peace can bring it about, if another will have a War; and if it muſt be at one Time or another, though this may be a worſe than any paſt, yet it is a better than any like to come.

This is all I can ſay worth Your Grace's Trouble; at leaſt, if this it ſelf be ſo. For, I am ſure, nothing can be ſo unneceſſary, as to repeat any of thoſe Profeſſions I have ſo long made, and juſtly, of my being ever, and with as much Paſſion, as, I am ſure, it is with Reaſon and Truth,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt

Faithful and moſt

Humble Servant.

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* *The Secret of the King and Duke's being ſo eager and hearty in their Reſolutions to break with* France, *at this Juncture, was as follows:*

France, *in order to break the Force of the Confederacy, and elude all juſt Conditions of a General Peace, reſolved, by any means, to enter into Separate Meaſures with* Holland; *to which end, it was abſolutely neceſſary to engage the good Offices of the King of* England, *who was look'd upon to be Maſter of the Peace whenever he pleas'd. The Bargain was ſtruck for either 3 or 400 Thouſand Pounds. But when all was agreed, Monſieur* Barillon, *the* French *Ambaſſador, told the King, That he had Orders from his Maſter, before Payment, to add a private Article, by which his Majeſty ſhould be ingaged, never to keep above Eight Thouſand Men of ſtanding Troops in his Three Kingdoms. This unexpected Propoſal put the King in a Rage, and made him ſay,* —— d's fiſh! Does my Brother of *France* think to ſerve me thus? Are all his Promiſes to make me abſolute Maſter of my——, come to this? Or, Does he think That a Thing to be done with Eight Thouſand Men?

'Tis poſſible, I may be a little miſtaken as to the Sums of Money, and Number of Men; but the main of the Story is exactly as I had it from the Author.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, July 14. S. N. 1678.

SIR,

I Set ſail on board the *Catharine* Yacht at Two a Clock after Noon on *Tueſday*, and landed at *Rotterdam* about the ſame Hour next Day. I came immediately to the *Hague*, and went ſtrait to the Prince at *Hounſlardyke*, where I arrived about Eight a Clock, and ſtaid till Eleven; and thought it my Duty to give his Majeſty an Account of our firſt Diſcourſes.

When I had entertained his Highneſs at large with the Subject of my Journey; The Diſpoſitions raiſed in his Majeſty by this laſt unexpected Accident from *France*, upon the Point of concluding the Peace; The Neceſſity of knowing

ing fully the Mind of the States, in order to join with them; and the firm Reſolutions his Majeſty had taken upon it, in caſe *France* perſiſted in the Refuſal of the Towns; and this State in not admitting the Peace without it. His Highneſs told me, The laſt Point was the chiefeſt of all; which was, the Firmneſs of his Majeſty's Reſolution in this Matter, upon which all would depend; ſince nothing elſe could diſpoſe either *France* to make the Peace, or this State to any firm Reſolutions of continuing the War. When I had endeavoured, and, I think, ſucceeded, in ſatisfying his Highneſs in this Point, by telling him many Circumſtances in the Game in *England*, as it has played for ſome Months paſt; and many Reaſons his Majeſty had given me to believe how unſatisfied he had been of late with the Dealing from *France*. The Prince told me, How glad he was to receive this Notice from me: That for this laſt Incident in the Peace from *France*, he could not but look upon it as a Thing come down from Heaven, and the Happieſt that ever could have fallen out, both for his Majeſty and Himſelf; conſidering the great Change it was like to make in this State. For, he would tell me in Confidence, That thoſe Diſpoſitions which had been here raiſed in the State, and carried them ſo far in ſo miſchievous a Peace, had been grounded upon the Weakneſs and Uncertainty of our Conduct in *England*, and upon the Opinion of the contrary in *France*; as well as upon that of their good Intentions to live always fairly with this State, and to content themſelves without *pouſſant* their Conqueſts any farther in *Flanders:* That in caſe the Peace had been made upon thoſe Terms accepted here, the ſame Perſons and Diſpoſitions that brought it about, would certainly have ended all Meaſures between *England* and Them, and throw the whole Dependance of this State upon *France*; and that He (the Prince) ſhould not have been able to hinder it: Whereas the laſt Incident had made ſo great a Change in the Minds of the Magiſtrates here, and the People too, that the chief Leaders in thoſe Councils, were come to be aſhamed of themſelves, and to confeſs their Miſtakes: And if they ſhould grow to be aſſured of his Majeſty's going into the War, and ſticking to them firmly, he did not doubt, but, even after a Peace, this State would come to have their Dependance wholly upon *England*. He ſaid, He believed, nevertheleſs, that if *France* ſhould reſtore the Towns before the War broke out into new Action, that this State would not be hindred from accepting the Peace: But of this he ſaw no Appearance, ſince the *French* Ambaſſadors had declared ſo poſitively to thoſe of this State at *Nimeguen*, That their Maſter was fixed in the Point of not reſtoring them till the Satisfaction of *Sweden*; and that Monſieur *de Luxemburgh* had given his direct Refuſal of ſuffering any more Proviſions to go into *Mons*, till the Peace was ſigned: Upon which He (the Prince) was reſolved to go away to the Army within two Days; but would leave the Penſioner ſo inſtructed, that I might go on with my Negotiations here in his Abſence.

I then told his Highneſs the Three Points upon which his Majeſty expected to receive Satisfaction, before he could take a final Meaſure with this State; which were, The not making Peace without mutual Conſent, or, at leaſt, the fixing of certain Terms to which the War ſhould extend, and a Peace not be concluded without them: The Prohibition of Commerce with *France* here as well as in *England:* And, The mutual Concert of Forces. I added a Fourth, which was in the Foot of my Inſtructions; That in caſe of any Places loſt, on either Part, neither ſhall make Peace, without being reſtored to the State they were in, at the Time of the Treaty's being concluded between us.

The Prince told me, To the laſt, there would be no Difficulty. As to the firſt, This State would never be brought to an Article of not making Peace without mutual Conſent, nor ſeeing ſome Bounds to the War: And therefore, thought the Terms of the Treaty of *January* laſt, would be a good Ground to treat upon; or ſuch other Terms as ſhould be farther agreed to by Conſent of Parties.

For the ſecond, The ſame that Monſieur *Van Lewen* had told his Majeſty in *England*, that it would be very hard to gain it by a direct Convention before the War; but that it was a Thing muſt neceſſarily follow: For in a War, the Bottom of *England* failing, in which they now traded, all others would be uſed as Enemies by us; and ſo there could no Trade remain between *France* and this State, while the War laſted.

I told his Highneſs, I did not leave his Majeſty diſpoſed to enter into the War, without this Point being fixed. And though the Thing ſeemed like to play as his Highneſs had diſcourſed, yet it was of that Conſequence to the main Event of the War, that I thought it would be beſt to tell the States what his Majeſty abſolutely reckoned upon, and what they were like to truſt to in this Matter: And to ſhew them, That, ſince it was a neceſſary Conſequence of the War, it might as well be a precedent Article between us. His Highneſs conſented, and ſaid, Follow this Method.

As to the Third, He was of Opinion, no Concert of Forces could be made particular between us, but for our own mutual Defence; which is done by our Defenſive Leagues: But for that which is the Defence of *Flanders*, it muſt be made among all the Confederates, in ſuch manner, as would be moſt conducing to thoſe Ends: That, he ſuppoſed, this State would bring an Army into the Field of Twenty five thouſand Men, beſides their Garriſons: That his Majeſty muſt not go ſo near the Wind in ſuch a War, as to proportion himſelf to the weak and exhauſted Condition of this State (which would go as far, however, as poſſibly they could), but to the Neceſſity of the War, and to what the Parliament would be brought to furniſh upon ſo great an Occaſion, and which they had always had ſo much at Heart: That it would be fit to engage ſome of the Princes of *Germany*; but not as this State has done, leaving the Forces under the Command of their own Princes; but to have them under his Majeſty's Command, to act where he pleaſed; which would make his Majeſty Maſter of the War and Peace, and ſet him at the Head of Affairs (which was the Figure *England* ought to make), and draw this State, and the Neighbouring Princes of *Germany*, into a Dependance upon him.

After this, his Highneſs asked me, Whether the King would not declare the War, till the Three Points were concluded with the States here? I anſwered, That I could not ſay any thing certain; but that I was not impowered otherwiſe, than upon their agreeing with his Majeſty in them, to conclude finally with the States; ſince his Majeſty would follow their Diſpoſitions, having conſented to the Peace upon their Inſtances; and ſo would hope to reckon upon their Firmneſs in it, and not breaking from him, as they had done in their laſt Meaſures. The Prince ſeemed ſomething troubled, that his Majeſty would not go into the War before the granting of the Three Points; but he concluded, I ſhould loſe no Time in entring upon the Buſineſs with the States; ſeemed much pleaſed that Monſieur *Van Lewen* was come over with me, and in Sentiments ſo agreeable to thoſe of his Majeſty; ſaid, He would endeavour to have him immediately brought into the Committee of Foreign Affairs, though out of Method; but upon pretence of his being come from *England*: That he would be extreme glad he could bring Monſieur *Hoeſt* into it too; but that could not be, becauſe he was not of the States General: But that this Incident from *France* had brought him and his Town of *Amſterdam* to be for the War.

Upon this, the Prince ſaid farther, Though ſeveral Perſons here had appeared to be his Enemies upon the laſt Tranſactions; yet he had been ſo far from treating them ſo, that he had continued his Commerce all along, and had his Converſation ever more with them, than his Friends; and by that means they were now grown to underſtand one another.

I have deſired a Conference with the States Commiſſioners at Four this Afternoon.

I am ever, &c.

P. S. Juſt upon the Cloſure of this Letter, the Prince came to me; and deſired me, That I would write to his Majeſty, to beg the diſpatching away of thoſe Troops, which Monſieur *Van Lewen* told the States, were ordered into *Flanders*: And that thoſe Ships which now are ready, may be ſent out in a Squadron to Sea, to give the *French* ſome Jealouſie upon their Coaſts; which might poſſibly make ſome Diverſion now while the Prince marches: And, if his Majeſty thinks fit, that ſome of the Troops in *Flanders* may have Command to obey the Prince's Orders, in caſe he ſhould have need of them, upon ſome great and preſſing Occaſion.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, July 15. 1678.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt, which was Yeſterday, I have had Two Conferences with the States Commiſſioners. In the Firſt, I expoſed to them my Journey's Subject at this Time: I expreſſed to them his Majeſty's Sentiments and Reſolutions, in the very Terms of my Inſtructions; and concluded, That his Majeſty, as he would have entered into Meaſures with them for the Guaranty of the Peace, ſo he would for the continuing of the War.

They returned all Acknowledgments that could be, of his Majeſty's generous Dealing. They excuſed themſelves upon their own Neceſſities, and the Weakneſs of their Allies, particularly in *Flanders*: That they had been extremely ſurprized to meet with this new Accident from *France*; particularly ſince the Reſtitution of the Towns was tied up to the Satisfaction of *Sweden*, without ſo much as mentioning what Satisfaction *Sweden* would accept, and in what Time: And, indeed, without conſenting that *Sweden* ſhould accept of ſuch Satisfaction, as, perhaps, the *Swedes* themſelves would have been contented with. That it would now depend upon his Majeſty, Whether they ſhould ſubmit to the Terms of any Peace that *France* would think fit to impoſe upon them.

That, indeed, upon the Evacuation of the Towns by *France*, the Peace would then be concluded; but there was no Hopes of that, ſince their Expreſs brought Word, That the *French* Ambaſſadors had declared at *Nimeguen*, That they neither had Order to give any other Anſwer, than they have done already, nor expected to receive any from the King their Maſter: And, that in a private Conference between Monſieur *Colbert* and *Beverning*, the firſt had told him, upon the States refuſing to accept the Peace on thoſe Terms, That his Maſter would make them accept it, *bon gré mal gré qu'ils en ayent*. That, upon all this, they deſired me, if I had any farther Lights to give them of his Majeſty's Intentions, in caſe the War went on, I would do it.

Hereupon I propoſed to them the Four Points contained in my Inſtructions.

Upon the firſt I found it true, what the Prince had told me, That they would not hear of a general, and boundleſs, Conſent: So then I deſcended to the Terms of the laſt Treaty, but with ſuch further Conditions, more advantageous to the Safety of *Flanders*, as ſhould be agreed on by the Conſent of both Parties.

Upon the Second they made great Difficulties; but I put, once for all, my whole Strength upon this Point, and ſo told them, That the Prohibition of Commerce was a Thing which had been long preſſed upon his Majeſty, by their Ambaſſador in *England*, that he could not believe they were not equally ſatisfied with it here. But beſides, I told them, The Thing muſt be, and, therefore, a Convention would do nothing but declare it to the World; and that this would be the greateſt Step towards a Peace, it being the only Way to perſuade *France* that we were all reſolved to go on with the War; ſince it was evident, that *France* had made this laſt Incident, only becauſe they thought this State would accept of any Peace, rather than loſe their Trade any longer.

The Commiſſioners told me, for themſelves, They were ſo far convinced of my Reaſons, that if I had none but them to deal with, I might aſſure my ſelf the Thing would be done. But what their Maſters would ſay to a Thing in which they had always apprehended an invincible Difficulty (at leaſt, till *England* ſhould have declared the War) thy could not tell: But, however, they promiſed me to give it all the Advantage they could, by their Office and Repreſentations.

As to the Third, about the Proportion of Forces, they ſeemed infinitely unſatisfied, That *England* ſhould go no more than almoſt an even Pace with a State, ſo out of all Proportion to us in Strength, at the beſt, and ſo exhauſted as this Country now is, by the Sixth Year of ſo great a War.

They pretended to fear, That this Offer would ſhock their Principals ſo far, as to make them think, That ſince *England* would only protract the War, without Forces enough to make a good Peace, they had as good receive an ill one now as hereafter.

They ſaid ſo much upon this Point, that I was fain to put them in mind of the Conſtitution of *England*, as well as their Riches and Forces; and how much it would depend upon Parliaments, whether his Majeſty would be enabled to proſecute the War, with ſuch Vigour as he himſelf, perhaps, would think neceſſary.

The Fourth Point, of mutual Guaranty to each Party, upon the State wherein they ſhould enter into the Treaty, met with no Difficulty, and ſo this Conference ended.

At Two this Afternoon I ſaw the Prince, after having appointed another Conference with the States at Four. He told me the News he had juſt received from *Mons*, of a Skirmiſh much to the Advantage of the Garriſon.

At the Conference at Four this Afternoon the Commiſſioners ſaid, They had acquainted the States with our laſt Conference; who were extremely ſenſible of his Majeſty's Favour to them: But that there were Two Points they found of hard Digeſtion, The Prohibition of Commerce, and the Proportion of Forces. However, that upon the firſt, and the Reaſons I had urged, the States had reſolved, the Deputies ſhould go to conſult their ſeveral Towns: But for the Proportion of Forces, they thought it would be of ill Conſequence to propoſe it to them in thoſe Terms; and, thererefore, had commanded them, the Commiſſioners, once more to preſs me upon this Point, to enlarge the Proportion on his Majeſty's Side. I will not trouble You with the Arguments that paſſed on both Sides; but only tell You, That it ended in this Article, to be propounded by the Deputies to their Towns, *Qu'en attendant un concert plus particulier touchant les Forces que Sa Majeſté, & les Alliés, engagés en cette guerre contribueront; Sa Majeſté fournira par Proviſion un tiers moins de Trouppes en Flandres, & un tiers plus de Forces de Mer que celles qui ſeront fourni par cet Etat*. And ſo this Conference ended, and the Succeſs of it muſt be expected on *Monday*.

Monſieur *Olivecrans* returned this Day from *England*.

I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, July 20. *S. N.* 1678.

My Lord,

HAving drawn up Matters here to a Head; at leaſt, as far as can be till the 5th of next Month; and beſides, the Draught of our Treaty; which I yet know not whether I can ſign, or no; becauſe I cannot tell whether they will come up to a formal Article, for the Prohibition of Commerce; and the Matter will not be of ſo preſſing Haſte, while they here attend the final Anſwer from *France*: I have diſpatch'd away Mr. *Meredith* his Majeſty's Secretary of the Embaſſy here, by the *Catherine* Yacht, and encharged with my main Pacquet to the Secretary; though I ſend a Duplicate both of it, and my laſt Diſpatch by the Maſter of the Pacquet-Boat's Hands, that parts the ſame Day. I have charged him with my Compliments in particular to Your Lordſhip when he makes his own; and ſhall add as little as I can to Your Trouble, beſides the Share of what You will have by my main Diſpatch: Only I cannot but mark to Your Lordſhip upon what the *French* Ambaſſador ſaid to the *Dutch*, of their being ſure of *England* upon Treaties being concluded with his Majeſty; that the Prince tells me, Monſieur *d'Avaux* asked Monſieur *Odyke* at *Nimeguen*, when ſuch Treaties were made, Whether the Prince were not included, and had not his Share in them? And when Monſieur *Odyke* ſaid, Not, and that he believed he knew nothing of it, Monſieur *d'Avaux* ſeemed much to wonder at it. I preſume, by this ſort of Dealing among them, You may reckon upon the Thing's growing publick, whatever may have been private between his Majeſty and them, when the Affair breaks out between us, as it is like to do, unleſs *France* make a Peace contrary to thoſe Heights wherewith they have hitherto treated us and all the World. If it does, his Majeſty may well put it upon the ſame Score with many others of that kind, which have been plaid by *France*; and the publick Notice whereof, will be the only Way to poſſeſs all Men, both at Home and Abroad, with the Belief of his Cure beyond Relapſe. To hear the Tricks and Inſinuations that have been uſed here, eſpecially to have Men apprehend the joint Deſigns of his Majeſty and the Prince upon the Liberty of this People, and the Reſolutions of *France* to defend them; would make any Man alive loſe all Patience: Becauſe it looks as if they deal with Men juſt like ſo many Children, and make them believe any Stories of Cocks and Bulls, whenever it ſerved their Turn; than which nothing can look like ſo great a Scorn; and nothing, methinks, can be leſs born than that. The Mask is falling off here apace, and the Affairs of *Chriſtendom* will, I doubt not, be put once more into his Majeſty's Hands, almoſt by Miracle: But if he lets this Knot ſlip again by any new Fluctuation, or Change of Meaſures, 'tis gone for ever, and the Game of *Chriſtendom*, as well as his own, never to be retrieved.

The Penſioner and Monſieur *Van Lewen* tell me this Evening, That they have certain Intelligence of the Intention of *France*, to ſlight both *Charleroy* and *Oudenarde*, in caſe they come to an Evacuation of the Places in *Flanders*; which is directly (as they Two ſay) contrary to the expreſs Terms of the Agreement. I ought to be inſtructed what I am to do here in caſe of ſuch an Incident, even upon the Execution of the Peace. I hear from all Hands, the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, are horribly unquiet upon the Tranſactions here: And Monſieur *Fagel* told me, He could not but obſerve, that the *French* Ambaſſadors could now come to theirs with this Memorial, and all the fair Words; whereas before, they treated them, *de haut en bas, & comme des coquins*. I am ſo tired out with this cruel Pinch of Buſineſs ſince my coming over, that though I remember nothing elſe worth Your Lordſhip's Trouble, yet if I ſhould, for the preſent, have forgot any material Point, I cannot doubt your Pardon, to one that is with ſo great Paſſion, and ſo perfect a Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Lyonell Jenkins.

Hague, July 20. *S. N.* 1678.

My Lord,

I Am extremely aſham'd, as well as ſorry, to find Two Letters before me of the 16th and 28th from Your Lordſhip, without having the Satisfaction of giving You any Accounts from hence by the laſt Poſt; the Fault whereof I muſt needs lay upon Mr. *Meredith*, and leave him to excuſe himſelf as well as he can; yet, I will ſay, not to leſſen that Fault, but only that Misfortune, that I could not have found very much to have informed Your Lordſhip from hence on *Sunday* laſt, beſides only the Subject of my Inſtructions, and the Aſſurance of my having purſued them here. For the firſt, I preſume, Your Lordſhip had the Knowledge of them given You from the Secretary's Office, about the Time of my Diſpatch; and for the other, I will ſo far reckon upon Your Lordſhip's Juſtice, as to have believ'd it of me, whether I gave You part of it or no; however, finding my ſelf this Morning in poſſeſſion of one Hour of Leiſure, after the ſharpeſt Pinch of Buſineſs ever ſince I came over, that ever yet fell upon me in my Life; and not being aſſured, that the Secretary's Office acquitted themſelves to Your Lordſhip as they ought to have done upon this Occaſion, and as, I am ſure, was the King's Intention; I will tell Your Lordſhip, That the King having laid his abſolute Commands upon me, about a Month ſince, to go away for *Nimeguen*, and aſſiſt there at the Concluſion of the Peace (which ſeemed then ſo near) and to uſe my beſt Offices, that no Difficulty ſhould ariſe between the *French* and *Spaniards*, and thereby the *French* ſhould have no Occaſion left of making any farther Progreſs of their Arms in *Flanders*; I ſubmitted to his Majeſty's Pleaſure, though I had often reſolved, ſince I went laſt over, never to turn my Face Northward any more; but I ſaw then no other Way left of ſaving that little which remained in *Flanders*, conſidering the Circumſtances that plaid here in *Holland*, as well as at Home; and Your Lordſhip knows how long and how often I have told You and my other Friends, That with the Loſs of that Country, all my Politicks are ended.

When I was ready, and within Twenty four Hours of embarking upon this Errand, Your Lordſhip's Letter came to his Majeſty's Hands, giving him an Account of that new Incident from *France*, which alone, in Appearance, could have obſtructed that Peace, by their refuſing to evacuate the Places in *Flanders*, till the Reſtitution in *Sweden*: I never ſaw the King more ſurprized than at this News, who ſent to me immediately to acquaint me with it; and, I muſt needs ſay, that I found both the King and the Duke growing ſo angry upon it, that I thought it my Part to temper them as far as I could, deſiring them, Not to reaſon, or, at leaſt, not to conclude upon a Thing which was yet uncertain; but, in the firſt place, to be aſſured, either from the *French* Ambaſſador, or elſe from *France*, whether that Thing was true or no; becauſe all Steps or Reſolutions taken upon it, would be forced to change, in caſe *France* ſhould diſown their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, in what they advanced there upon this Occaſion. His Majeſty was pleaſed to follow this Method, and that very Night ſpoke to Monſieur *Barillon* about it; but finding him to own no Knowledge of it, and, much leſs, Inſtructions upon it, and, indeed, not ſeeming to believe the Thing, Two Expreſſes were diſpatch'd away into *France* the two following Days, one by Monſieur *Barillon*, for his own Inſtruction, and the other by his Majeſty to Mr. *Mountague*, for his clear Information upon the Point, with Orders to draw a ſudden and poſitive Anſwer upon it from that Court.

The Day after, upon Application of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, repreſenting the Thing to his Majeſty in the ſame Colours, and with the Circumſtances Your Lordſhip had done before, together with the Reſolution taken upon it by the States their Maſters, not to ſubmit to ſuch a new and unreaſonable Impoſition, by which they were like to loſe all the Good they pretended from the Peace; and deſiring his Majeſty's Protection in it; the King thought it a Matter of that Weight and Conſequence, that he reſolved immediately to diſpatch away my Lord *Sunderland*, to know fully the Mind of *France* in this Matter, and with Orders not to ſtay above Five Days in *Paris* for his Anſwer. His Lordſhip was ready to be gone, and within Six Hours of parting from the Town, when not only Monſieur *Barillon*'s Expreſs, as well as his Majeſty's, having returned with an abſolute Anſwer from *France*, That they were reſolved not to evacuate the Towns; a ſecond Expreſs arrived from Mr. *Mountague*, not only to confirm the former Anſwer, but to let his Majeſty know, That the King of *France* had deſired Mr. *Mountague*, that no Perſon might be ſent over upon that Occaſion; ſince it was a Thing in which he was reſolved, and which therefore, would bear no Reaſoning.

Upon this Diſpatch, his Majeſty immediately ſtopp'd that of my Lord *Sunderland*, and reſolv'd to haſten mine, with new Inſtructions, to aſſure this State, How much his Majeſty was ſurpriz'd at this new Incident from *France*; how intirely he approv'd their Reſolution already taken upon it, and how firmly he was reſolved to ſtand by them in it. I was charged likewiſe with Powers and Orders, to conclude immediately upon Meaſures between his Majeſty and this State, in caſe of the War's going on; provided I could firſt agree with them in theſe Three Points: The firſt, Of not making the Peace without mutual Conſent; or, at leaſt, without the Conditions of *January* laſt. The Second, A joining with his Majeſty in the Prohibition of *French* Commerce: And, Laſtly, A Concert of Forces. I could not diſobey his Majeſty in this Second Commiſſion, though I was infinitely diſcourag'd by many Circumſtances, and, moſt of all, by Mr. *Hyde* and *Godolphin*, who told me plainly, That Matters were gone on too far here to be retrieved; at leaſt, that they were ſure it could never be done, without his Majeſty's firſt declaring the War; which he could not reſolve upon, till he was firſt ſure of the Mind of *Holland* in that Caſe: However, I came over, and what hath paſſed here will be better told Your Lordſhip by the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, than by me, with whom, I know, You live in Confidence, and will do ſo the more upon this Occaſion: Beſides, I had rather leave it to them, becauſe I both want Time, and ſhould be forced often to ſpeak of my ſelf in it, which I ever love to avoid. The Upſhot of all hitherto is, That the States ſeem to reſolve an immediate Anſwer ſhall be given to the *French* Ambaſſadors laſt Memorial at *Nimeguen*, and that a poſitive Anſwer from *France* ſhall be deſired by the 5th of next Month, upon the Point of evacuating the Places; that, in the mean Time, the Meaſures ſhall be concluded between his Majeſty and this State, in caſe of *France*'s perſiſting to refuſe it; and the very Towns of *Amſterdam*, *Leyden*, and *Rotterdam*, as well as all the reſt of this Province, ſeem abſolutely and unanimouſly reſolved, in caſe of ſuch a Refuſal, to go on with the War, in Conjunction with his Majeſty, as well as the reſt of the Allies, and upon the ſtricteſt Meaſures between them. This Reſolution I thought would have paſs'd this Day; but the final Reſolution is referr'd till to morrow Morning: However, I would not let this Poſt go away without telling Your Lordſhip thus much, and adding, for Your better Light, That I find the Prince infinitely ſatisfied with the States Diſpoſitions and Carriage in this whole Tranſaction, ſince I came over; and that I left the Duke ſo violently bent upon a War with *France*, that he told the King publickly at the Foreign Committee, in my Hearing, the Day before I came away, after repeating ſeveral

Circumſtances of the *French* ill Uſage and Intention towards him, That nothng could be more evident, than the *French* Deſign of an Univerſal Monarchy; that nothing but *England* could hinder it; and that his Majeſty, without engaging in it, would hazard his own Crown and Safety, as well as that of *Chriſtendom*.

I am ever,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Faithful

Humble Servant,

W. Temple.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, July 25. *S. N.* 1678.

My Lord,

THO' the other Letter be of a ſtaler Date, yet, upon Peruſal again, I found ſome Things in it that might be proper enough for Your Lordſhip to know, and ſo I am content to let it go. I ſhall only here give Your Lordſhip Joy of this Negotiation atchieved under Your Miniſtry; which is by all on this Side eſteemed a much greater than another, whereon I have known ſome former Miniſters in *England* value themſelves very much, tho' not very long. That which may poſſibly make this the more acceptable to his Majeſty, is the Evidence of ſo much Art and Induſtry, with which the *French* have of late uſed all the Practices imaginable to gain this State; upon the Belief whereof, I doubt, they have not conſidered us the more, or uſed us the better. For, I do not find, that the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, took any Notice of Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* in the Delivery of their late Memorial there; or that he came to be poſſeſſed of it otherwiſe than from the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors. And ſince I came over, Monſieur *d' Eſtrades* has written ſeveral Letters to the Towns of *Amſterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Dort*, and *Leyden*, to perſuade them, that the Prince of *Orange* and his Friends will have no Peace: And the Penſioner has ſurprized an Original Letter from Monſieur *Louvois* to Monſieur *d' Eſtrades*; by which he bids him tell thoſe of his Correſpondents in *Holland*, from whom the laſt Advice came, That in caſe they gave him no better, he would certainly ſtop their Penſions. The beſt on't is, the Sore ſeems to be broken, and to have run out ſo, as to leave the Body more healthful than before: And if God bleſs the Prince in this one Enterprize of *Mons*, he will be greater here than ever any of his Anceſtors were: I ſuppoſe, one good Fruit more may ariſe from this Affair; which is, That I do not believe any Man who ſees the Courſe of my Diſpatches, can think there are any more Tricks in the Buſineſs; nor do I ſee why Men ſhould be ſick any longer of that imaginary Diſeaſe in *England*, after they are cured Here. And if the Cure ſhould be wrought at a Time in both Places, the World is ſafe, let the War go on; if not, it may be loſt ſtill: And I know not whether I ſhall have Charity enough to pray God forgive them that prove the Occaſion of it. How all this is received in Court or Country, I ſhould be glad to know from Your Lordſhip: For, after all the Compliments made me here upon it, I am from thence to judge what I may have deſerved by the infinite, perpetual Trouble and Application it has forced me upon ſince I came over.

I ſend Your Lordſhip a Copy incloſed of my Diſpatch this Day to Mr. Secretary; which Mr. *Meredith* reſolves firſt to put into Your Lordſhip's Hands: And whatever other Obſervances You can receive from him, I am ſure will be render'd to your Lordſhip there and here, upon this and all other Occaſions:

ſions; ſince he can have learned nothing elſe, in the Houſe of a Perſon that is, and ever ſhall be, with a conſtant and equal Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, July 25. *S. N.* 1678.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

HAving ſince my coming laſt over, not only drawn all Things here to a Head, but this Day reduc'd them into Form, and ſigned a Treaty with the States, according to my Inſtructions, upon their Conſent to all the Four Points given me in Charge; I preſume Your Majeſty will find it as much to Your Satisfaction, as all Perſons here believe it to the Honour and Greatneſs of Your Crown: Which is all I ſhall ſay upon a Subject, wherein I have had ſo much Part my ſelf. However, You will not, I hope, be diſpleaſed to know, That this Affair ſo ended, has left the Prince of *Orange*, in his own Opinion, a Happy Man; and in all others here, a great Prince once more: this State being more fallen in than ever with his Highneſs, and both of them more than ever into a Dependance upon Your Majeſty. I pray God, You may uſe ſo great a Conjuncture, ſo as may be moſt for Your own Glory and Felicity, as well as thoſe of Your Crowns; and then I have my End and my Reward.

Having charged Mr. *Meredith*, Your Majeſty's Secretary of the Embaſſy here, with the Delivery of the Treaty, and my Diſpatch to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*; I could not but give him this Occaſion of laying himſelf at Your Majeſty's Feet, and ask Your Pardon for the long Troubles I have been forced to give Your Majeſty, ſince my Arrival here; as well as aſſure You at the ſame Time, That no Man alive can be with a ſincerer Truth, or greater Devotion, than I am, and ſhall be ever,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal,

and moſt Obedient

Subject and Servant.

To Mr. Hyde.

Hague, July 29. *N. S.* 1678.

My Lord,

I Heard by Your Servants here, That You were grown to be ſo ill at Court, as to be gone down into the Country to a ſcurvy Piece of Land You had bought there: And I, like a true Courtier, upon this News, would not take the Pains to write to a Man whoſe Affairs went ſo ill: But for fear my Intelligence ſhould prove as falſe as what Monſieur *d'Eſtrades* had received of late from *Amſterdam*; and that You ſhould not only be well at Court ſtill, but the Land You went to ſee, ſhould prove to be one of the beſt Mannors of *England*; I could

I could no longer omit aſſuring Your Excellency of my humble Services, and of the Joy wherewith I ſhall either obey Your Commands here, or receive Your Protection at *Nimeguen*, as his Majeſty's Orders ſhall either keep me in this Place, or call us both thither; of which I have yet no certain Proſpect.

Now I have made You my ſcurvy Compliments, if You pleaſe, we will leave them all off; and in the common Stile of Friends, I will firſt tell You, That I have had the good Luck to end the Buſineſs with which his Majeſty charged me here, extremely to the Prince of *Orange*'s Satisfaction, and as much to that of the States; excepting ſome few, who, by ſhewing their Diſcontent at it, have diſcovered themſelves to be too plainly and too deep in the *French* Intereſt, to be looked upon any longer as Dealers here. Now, I would be glad to know from You, as a Friend, and not as a Miniſter, what is ſaid or thought of it at Court, and whether they continue in the Mind I left them; or what Points the Wind may have tacked about ſince; and what my Lord *Sunderland*'s Buſineſs at preſent is into *France*: which is the great Subject of Talk and Reflections here. I would be glad likewiſe to know Your Conjectures there, whether *France* will come to the Peace or no, without refuſing any longer to evacuate the Towns, which is the preſent Wager current at *Amſterdam*; and my Lord Ambaſſador *Jenkins*, according to the Lights of *Nimeguen*, was abſolutely of Opinion Yeſterday they would.

There never was ſo deſolate a Place as the *Hague* at this Time: And yet I was content the Prince ſhould go, becauſe I never ſaw any Body go in ſo good Humour, as both He and all about him, upon the Concluſion made here the Night before; by which his Friends take him to make a greater Figure than ever he did ſince he came to the Government: But this will depend in ſome meaſure too, upon the Figure he will make in *Flanders*; where I have no very good Opinion of the Relief of *Mons*, upon the joining of Mareſchal *Humieres* and *Schomberg* with the Duke of *Luxemburg*: Of all which, You will ſooner receive an Account by *Flanders* than from hence, where we have had ſince *Monday* laſt, a perfect Vacation of all Affairs; ſo that You ſhall have no farther Trouble beyond the Aſſurances of my being ever, and truly,

Yours, &c.

I gave Mr. *Meredith* Order to wait upon You from me, and to give You any Accounts You deſired of all that had paſſed here.

To Mr. Godolphin.

Hague, July 29. *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

I Had not Time to write to You by Mr. *Meredith*, which was due not only to You, but to the Incloſure of a Letter the Prince had given me for You, upon the Aſſurance, that I intended to write to You by that Diſpatch. All I could do then, was to order Mr. *Meredith* to wait upon You particularly from me; and both aſſure You of my Service, and give You any Account You cared for being troubled with, of my late Negotiation here. I knew You were ſo much a Friend of the Prince, as to be glad of what he was ſo much pleaſed, and all about him ſo exalted with here; becauſe they never took him to be in ſo great Credit or Authority, as upon the Concluſion of this Buſineſs; and thereby the Dependance of this State being wholly caſt upon *England*, which was juſt upon the Point of being thrown into *France*; and thereby leaving the Prince in ſuch a Figure, as I believe would have broke his Heart, if it had proved without Remedy. What You ſay or think of it on that ſide, I am yet to know, and whether you continue in the Mind I left You, or how the Weather has changed. And though You promiſed to have my Statue ſet up, if I could bring this State to take their Meaſures with us before we had declared the War, eſpecially upon the Point of prohibiting Commerce; yet after that and all other Points adjuſted perfectly to his Majeſty's Mind, I will only expect that You keep me from being hanged up in Effigie; if all ſhould be changed, and my Lord *Sunderland* ſhould have more to do in *France*, than I have here: This is the preſent Subject of wiſe Talk in this Place: And, as both Mr. *Hyde* and You concluded with me at my coming away, that one great Ground of the ill and haſty Paces made here of late to a Peace, was, the Belief they were in of ours in *England*; ſo, I believe, You will conclude with me, That if we let this Knot ſlip but once more, it is never to be retrieved again; and they will run into *France* without any Stop, upon a Diſdain of all our Conduct in *England*, and the Deſpair of our proving conſtant to their Intereſt, or our own. In ſhort, The King is once more at the Head of all the Affairs in *Chriſtendom*: What Uſe he will make of it is in his own Hands and thoſe of his Miniſters and Servants that are about him. Among whom, as I know no Man that wiſhes better at Heart to his Majeſty and his Kingdoms, than You do; ſo, I am ſure, no Man can wiſh better to You, in all Points, than I do; nor more deſire the Occaſions of expreſſing the ſincere Truth and Paſſion, as well as Eſteem, wherewith I am and ſhall be always,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, *Hague, Auguſt* 1, *S. N.* 1678.

SINCE my Arrival here, I have had the hardeſt Pinch of Buſineſs that ever befell me in my Life. I have concluded and ſigned a Treaty between his Majeſty and the States; by which he is obliged to enter into the War, and they to continue it, and not make Peace without much greater Conditions, if *France* does not agree to thoſe the States accepted (about a Month ſince) by the 11th of this Month. The Prince would not ſtir till this Treaty was ſigned, believing all his own Intereſts, and the greateſt of the Crown of *England*, to depend upon it. After it was done, he went away immediately to the Army; a Great Prince in all others Opinions, and a Happy one in his own; which he had been far from in both for ſome Months paſt. The *French* have uſed all the Artifices imaginable, to hinder theſe Meaſures between us, and to take them ſeparately with this State, in our Excluſion, and even that of the Prince of *Orange*. Their laſt was Two Days ſince, by a Memorial of their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, offering, That the King of *France* would advance himſelf as far as *St. Quintin*, to meet any Deputies the States would ſend thither, and treat with them in Perſon. The States having Yeſterday conſidered with me upon it, have refuſed the Offer; deſired a poſitive Anſwer upon evacuating the Places in *Flanders*, and let the *French* Ambaſſadors know, they ſhould not be many Days *en leur entier* to receive it. This is a ſtrange Change of Stile in the World, and the King is once more at the Head of Affairs in *Chriſtendom*. What Uſe we ſhall make of this Conjuncture, is in the Stars: Your Grace and I will not venture to gueſs, conſidering how well we know our Court: But I am ſure, we ſhall join in our Wiſhes; and mine ſhall ever be, for the good Health and good Fortunes that Your Grace can propoſe to Your ſelf; ſince no Man can be with greater Paſſion nor Truth, than I am, and ſhall be ever,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, Auguſt 1. *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

YEſterday, about Noon, came an Expreſs from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, bringing me the incloſed Memorial, inviting the States to ſend their Deputies to *St. Quintin*, in *Picardy*, where his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will in Perſon meet with them. I looked upon it as a Reſolution in *France* grounded upon Advices from hence; as believing that ſo great a Condeſcenſion as this of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, could not but give new Life to Monſieur *Pats*, and his Party. That the Effect of it would be, to draw this State into a Negotiation, not only ſeparate from all their Allies, but even from all Offices, or Intervention, of his Majeſty, as Mediator; and make Way for ſome of the conſiderable Perſons, of this State to take particular Meaſures with the Court of *France*.

This Morning Monſieur *Van Lewen* was with me, and we diſcourſed of this new Memorial. He ſaid, The Thing ſeemed of the ſame Piece with all that had come of late from *France*; and to be all but an Amuſement, while he purſued the taking of *Mons*, and the Hopes that this State would ſtill fall into ſome Expedient, in the Point of evacuating the Places. That he was of Opinion, the States would make ſome Reflection upon this new Offer; particularly the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* having ſaid to the States, That by this Way of Treating, Affairs might be more advanced in Twenty four Hours, than in as many Days by other Hands. He told me, That the States General had reſolved, that their Commiſſioners for ſecret Affairs ſhould come to me, and ask my Opinion upon this new Propoſition; which he (Monſieur *Van Lewen*) deſired to know before-hand.

I told him, I was ſure ſending to *St. Quintin* could do no good; ſince, if they were reſolved, as he ſaid they were, to inſiſt upon the Evacuation of the Towns, without farther Expedient, that might be better done at *Nimeguen*. That beſides, it would be leſs Reſpect to a great King, to draw him ſo far in Perſon, only to receive a peremptory Meſſage from them, without Inſtructions to treat, or fall into Temperaments upon it. That thirdly, ſince before the Treaty ſigned with his Majeſty, they had reſolved not to ſend to *Paris*, nor *Ghent*, I thought, ſince the Treaty concluded, they could not ſend to *St. Quintin*, and thereby exclude his Majeſty from any Part in the Negotiation, either as Mediator, or otherwiſe, without his Majeſty's Conſent; which could not be had but by ſending into *England*, ſince I had no Inſtructions upon this new Incident. That this could not be performed within the Time prefixed in the Treaty, of the 11th of this Month: And, therefore, my Opinion was, That they ſhould anſwer this Memorial by another ſhort one from their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, expreſſing, That they could come to no new Negotiations, without the Communication and Conſent of his Majeſty, with whom they had entred into Meaſures upon the late Incident in the Negotiation of the Peace. I told Monſieur *Van Lewen*, That this was *le grand & le beau chemin*; and that I did not ſee how they could take any other, conſidering their Ties to his Majeſty and *Spain*, who had joined them in accepting the Peace.

Monſieur *Van Lewen* fell in with my Opinion, but could not pretend to gueſs what the Advice of the ſeveral Towns would be upon it: After this he left me. I then began to reflect what Iſſue this Affair would have had, in caſe the Treaty had not been ſigned before it came; which it muſt not have been if I had firſt received Your Orders of the 16th current; by which I found his Majeſty inſiſted upon the Prohibition of Commerce to be made a Part of the Treaty, by particular Article, or Convention; which the Prince, Penſioner, and Commiſſioners told me, could not be any Ways hoped for from the Province of *Holland*, ſo as upon it the Treaty muſt, of Neceſſity, have demurred; which imported as much as the whole Iſſue of this Negotiation, in caſe it had not been concluded before the Prince left this Place.

While I was in theſe laſt Thoughts, and had purſued my Letter as far as this laſt Period, I received Yours of the 11th, upon the late Treaty's having been produced before his Majeſty, at a Foreign Committee, with ſo many Faults laid to my Charge in this Tranſaction, that I have Reaſon to be as much mortified as You can wiſh me; though You are pleaſed to ſay, Some of the Faults You find are without preſent Order.

The Three chief Points You have Orders to except to, and to deſire a Change, or Elucidation, upon them, I will anſwer as well as I can.

As to that of Commerce; I was left by the large Period upon it in my Inſtructions, to more Liberty than I have taken; and the Prince, Penſioner, and Commiſſioners all aſſured me, it was not to be gained, by Convention, before-hand; but would certainly follow upon this Reſolution of the States, and laſt as long as the War: And the Prince took upon him to hinder the failing of it from the Emperor, or *Spain*; though that Clauſe was put in to keep them up to the Rigour of the ſaid Prohibition.

For that of the Concert of the Forces, I told You the Commiſſioners ſaid, It would be agreed to in very few Days here: And I charged my Secretary to let You know, That they had agreed upon it, by Proviſion, in that very Number of Land Forces I had before mentioned: And I reſolved, upon the Return of the Penſioner here to Town, to come to a Specification between us of them, both at Land and Sea; ſo that I could never have imagined this as an Omiſſion; ſince I was tied to nothing in my Inſtructions, farther than the Proportions of Three to Two.

For that of the Reſtriction to *Europe*; I muſt confeſs it a Fault, ſince You ſay it is found ſo: But I told You then, it was a Point I had no Light given me in at all, from You or any Body elſe in *England*: That all the Practices I had ever had there, confirmed me in it, as well as the Penſioner, who told me, This State had never made any Treaty that extended beyond *Europe*.

Thus, I confeſs, I thought I had followed my Inſtructions, upon all theſe Points, and did not act with ſo much punctilious Caution as I ought, it may be, to have done; for the Conjuncture was ſo critical, and to be concluded before the Prince's going, or elſe to be loſt, which was to decide whether this State ſhould fall into a Dependance upon *England* or *France*.

This is a Point the *French* value, and purſue at another Rate, of which there needs no other Teſtimony than this *Demarche* of *St. Quintin*.

But, ſince the greateſt Service I could ever hope to do his Majeſty, or the Crown of *England*, proves to be a Fault, I humbly aſk his Majeſty's Pardon; and ſhall learn hereafter to tie my ſelf as ſtrictly to my Orders, as a Clerk of the Office ought to do, ſince I find ſo ſevere a Laſh hang over me: Though I am, I confeſs, of Opinion, That no Prince, or State, can ever tie up ſo ſtrictly, either a General, or an Ambaſſador; or give them Reaſon to act in perpetual Fear, without loſing the greateſt Occaſions in the World, either in Treaties or in War. And ſo I end this unpleaſant Subject, and am, *&c.*

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, Auguſt 2, *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

LAST Night I acquainted the Penſioner with what had paſſed between me and the Commiſſioners, and the Reſolution we were come to;

which was, That it was not fit to ſend to *St. Quintin*, and they could not do it without the Participation of *England*.

He ſaid, It was very well; and that this Artifice of *France*, as it was the laſt, ſo it was the greateſt; and that we had but this Blow to ward: That if our Treaty had not been concluded, he ſhould have been in pain, but did not fear now; and ſaid, The States of *Holland* were to aſſemble upon it this Morning.

This Morning at Five I received a Letter from the Prince, expreſſing the greateſt Pain in the World upon this laſt Memorial at *Nimeguen*; deſiring me to do all that was poſſible to hinder any Deputation to *S. Quintin* or *Ghent*; and to ſpeak my ſelf to all Perſons here, that I thought would be inclined to it. At Five the Penſioner came to me, and gave me an Account of the Reſolution being taken both in the States of *Holland*, and after in the States General, upon the *French* Memorial: That they could not ſend to *St. Quintin*, or *Ghent*, having nothing at all to propoſe: That they deſired the *French* Anſwer, poſitive, upon the Point of evacuating the Places, and ſigning the Peace: That they ſhould not be many Days *en leur entier* to receive it: And this to be ſent to the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, with a private Letter to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, to let them know, That the 11th of this Month was the laſt Day they ſhould be able to attend their Anſwer.

He told me, All this was agreed unanimouſly at laſt; though ſome inſiſted long upon writing a Letter to the moſt Chriſtian King; but no: That it ſelf without firſt asking my Conſent to it; deferring as much as was poſſible to the Meaſures they had taken with *England*.

He was in ſo good Humour upon this Occaſion, that I thought I could never have a better, to put him upon giving his Majeſty the Satisfaction You deſire in thoſe Points of the Treaty: And ſo I preſſed him upon it in the Way You order me.

Upon the firſt of Commerce, his anſwer was, *Qu'il étoit impoſſible de le faire par convention, mais qu'il étoit auſſi impoſſible que cela pût manquer pendant la guerre, & qu'il m'en aſſûreroit, cette reſolution des Etats ne pouvant être changée ſans une nouvelle; & il pouvoit toûjours empêcher cette nouvelle reſolution.*

For the Concert of Forces, he ſaid, That by the 11th of this Month, when we ſhould ſee whether it were War or Peace, the States would enter with me into a Specification of Forces for Sea and Land; and that he thought Forty Ships would be the utmoſt that they ſhould furniſh at preſent: That according as Occaſion ſhould happen, there would be other Concerts hereafter.

For the Third, for the *Guarentée mutuelle* beyond *Europe*, he ſaid, That he would not ſay poſitively, that in the Treaty, according as You alledged, there was not ſuch a Clauſe, becauſe of the Extremity they were in when *Spain* engaged with them; but confeſſed he had told me, this State never engaged beyond *Europe*: That if it were ſo, he would uſe all the Endeavours he could to have it done: But conſidering the Strength and Populouſneſs of our Plantations, and the Weakneſs of the *French*, he could not believe but that we ſhould beat them wholly out of the *Weſt Indies*.

He then deſired me, with the greateſt Earneſtneſs in the World, that I would repreſent to his Majeſty the ſtopping, and thereby ſpoiling ſo great an Affair, by any Difficulties in ſuch Points as theſe. That he would write to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* to that Purpoſe, if it were not that I told him, how his Majeſty kept the whole as a Secret to all but him and the Prince. That, for their Part, their Ratifications would be ready on *Thurſday* next.

His Majeſty has the whole Matter before him; and I deſire my Inſtructions may be clear and poſitive; which I ſhall not fail of obeying.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

My Lord, *Hague, Auguſt* 2. *S. N.* 1678.

I Will not trouble Your Lordſhip with any thing that goes in my Diſpatch this Poſt to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, becauſe I know You have Your Share in it. I will only tell You, That after all the Applauſes have been given me here upon the Perfection of the laſt Treaty, and among all the Accounts given this laſt Poſt from *England*, of his Majeſty's and the general Satisfaction upon it there; I received a Letter from Secretary *Williamſon*, that found Twenty Faults with it, and allows nothing in it that was good. I was the more ſurprized, becauſe Your Lordſhip had let me know the Poſt before, that every thing ſtood upon the ſame Foot it did when I left *England*; and I had obſerved, that our Forces were ſince come over into *Flanders*; by which, and by the *French* Demarches here and at *Nimeguen*, where they take no notice of his Majeſty's Mediation in all that paſſes between them and the *Dutch*, I concluded all Confidence irreparably broke between Us and *France*; eſpecially the Uſage of our Troops there, ſucceeding their Inſtances about disbanding them at Home. All this conſidered, I could not imagine there could have been no Good in a Treaty that drew the Dependance of this State wholly from *France*, and caſt it upon *England*, in ſuch a Conjuncture, and about which his Majeſty was ſo ſollicitous when I left him. I concluded, this muſt be perſonal in Secretary *Williamſon*; and I have written to him accordingly, and juſtified my ſelf; as, I am ſure, if there was a Fault, it muſt have been in the Lameneſs of his Inſtructions, which no Ambaſſador can act by, and upon which I call Mr. *Hyde*, Mr. *Godolphin*, and Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* to witneſs; and Your Lordſhip too, upon this ſingle Period in his laſt Inſtructions the Poſt before laſt, upon the Time of our declaring the War, which I was much preſt about here, and was fain to fence off as I could. His Words are theſe, of *July* 16th. “ *As to the Time of his Majeſty's declaring the War, That, you know,* “ *is to be taken upon the Time of the Signing the Treaty; and not at all to depend* “ *on the Time ſet for the* French's *Refuſal of this farther Offer, otherwiſe than as* “ *that ſhall relate to the concluding of the propoſed Treaty between his Majeſty* “ *and* Holland.” My Secretary and I were both very long buſie, not to find out the Senſe, but his own Meaning of it, and were fain to give it abſolutely over, which happened to me ſo often, that 'tis nothing new from that Hand. Theſe Laſhes and Mortifications are as little ſo too, having very often befallen me from him; but never once from my Lord *Arlington*, Secretary *Trevor*, or Secretary *Coventry*, in Ten Years Service under their Correſpondence. I ſhould be very glad to know from Your Lordſhip, whether I am miſtaken or no, in believing this Uſage perſonal from him: For, if it be from his Majeſty, I ſhall take it for another Sign, and make another Uſe of it. In the mean Time, I beg Your Lordſhip to take Care, that my Inſtructions may be clear hereafter, or, at leaſt, intelligible; for I am reſolved to do nothing without them, let what will happen. One Thing more I beg Your Lordſhip to get altered by his Majeſty's Command; which is, That I may have conſtant Advice from one of the Secretary's Office, of all that paſſes in *England*; at leaſt, what can relate to Affairs here. I believe, no Ambaſſador before ever failed of at leaſt a Paper of Occurrences every Poſt; and in all the Time I have been here, I have not received one Line; ſo that I knew neither of my Lord *Sunderland*'s going, my Lord *Feverſham*'s, nor the Marquis *Burgomaine*'s, otherwiſe than by the Deputies or other Miniſters here; much leſs of *du Cros*'s Overture in *England*, that the Towns ſhould be reſtored by *France*, in caſe this State would give their Guaranty, that none of the Allies ſhould aſſiſt the Enemies of *Sweden*. I mention this, becauſe, though it be as impracticable as other Things of that kind, that have come from *France*, yet is has made a great Buz among half-witted People here, when it came to be conſidered upon this laſt Memorial of the *French*, whether any Expedient could be offered by *France* in the Point of evacuating the Towns.

The Wiſe conclude all to be Artifice, and never a greater, than this Offer of the moſt Chriſtian King, to come in Perſon to *St. Quintin*, to meet and treat with the Deputies of this State. They conſider the Conſequence of ſuch a King's cajoling, or his Miniſters corrupting any that ſhould go; but chiefly of amuſing theſe People ſo far as to break the Times, and thereby the Meaſures concluded with us. They believe the Bottom of all to be the amuſing either Us, or *Holland*, till upon the Approach of Winter, and the *German* Armies going into Quarters, they may draw all their Forces out of *Germany* and make one Puſh for the Conqueſt of *Flanders*. In the mean Time, that which is ſown by them here with ſuch Induſtry, is Firſt, That nothing can defend this State and Country from all its Neighbours, but *France*; nor, conſequently, give them perpetual Peace and Trade. Then, That *France* can never have any Deſign upon their Liberty, becauſe they can make more uſe of their Men and Ships, while they are Great and Flouriſhing, than they can do by their growing Weak and Poor; which muſt follow the conquering and ſuppreſſing their Liberties. Then, That they are no Rival to them in Trade, which *England* is, and muſt ever be; and that all the Danger to their Liberties, is, from his Majeſty and the Prince of *Orange*, upon Concert between them, in relation to *England* and this Country: And now, laſtly, upon this Incident at *Nimeguen*, they ſay, It all aroſe only upon a Viſit made by Count *Oxenſtern* to the *French* Ambaſſadors, when they were ready to ſign the Peace; deſiring them, it might not be done without a Proviſion for *Sweden*: And that no Surprize could be greater, than that of the King of *France*, when he heard the Peace was delayed by that Incident. In ſhort, They are extreme ſenſible of having made a horrible ill Pace, and would fain recover it, but find it very difficult, and, I believe, will not be able, unleſs we help them, which, whether we ſhall or no, Your Lordſhip beſt knows.

I ſend You the laſt *French* Memorial in Print; for the ſame Day they communicated it to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, they diſperſed numerous printed Copies among all theſe Provinces. I ſend Your Lordſhip likewiſe a peculiar printed ſort of *Gazette*, which comes out every Poſt, but only into few and particular Hands; but this is the ſhrewdeſt Pen, and the beſt informed that ever I met with.

I am ever, with the ſame Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

I am very well content his Majeſty may ſee this Letter, and judge upon it, how I am like to ſerve him in the Circumſtances I ſtand with the Secretary's Office.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, Auguſt 5. *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

THE Penſioner having been with me, I have diſcourſed him upon the Points which You ſaid his Majeſty would have inſiſted upon; and he promiſes all his beſt Offices to bring them about; but ſaid, That his Majeſty would not be much concerned for the Amendments in theſe Points, if it were a Peace;

a Peace; which, for his Part, he did not at all doubt of; and therefore deſired me to endeavour, that nothing might be ſtirred before the Ratification, upon which he took the Peace to depend. I asked him, What made him think ſo? He replied, He would tell me in Confidence, that Monſieur *Sylvercroon* had been with him the Day before, to let him know, That the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors had written to the *French* King, to deſire him not to hinder the Peace of *Chriſtendom* any longer, by inſiſting upon the Reſtitution of *Sweden* before the Evacuation of the Towns; and that they expected an Anſwer from *France* upon it within two or three Days. That hereupon, He, the Penſioner concluded, *France* was reſolved to make the Peace, and evacuate the Towns; for, he was very ſure, *France* and *Sweden* underſtood one another; that the laſt made no Pace without the Direction and Conſent of the other. He ſaid, Monſieur *Sylvercroon* had ſpoken to him of it, as a Thing done; and ſaid upon it, That he hoped now the Peace was made, and that this State would not *acroche* it upon the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. That He, the Penſioner had told him, That was a Point the State had come to no Reſolution in, but only to order their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, to uſe all the moſt preſſing Offices they could with the *French* Ambaſſadors upon it; but that there were Four of the Provinces reſolved not to have the Peace without it; and, for his Part, he would cry againſt it all he could. He deſired to know his Majeſty's Thoughts upon it, and that I would write and repreſent to his Majeſty the Importance of this Matter; and that, in the mean Time, the Peace muſt take its Courſe without it.

About Nine a Clock this Morning arrived Mr. *Meredith* with new Inſtructions from his Majeſty, grounded upon an Intimation of Monſieur *du Cros*, as is there expreſs'd. Soon after Monſieur *du Cros* himſelf came to me, and told me the whole Story of his Propoſition. He enlarged upon his Majeſty's great Bounty to the Crown of *Sweden*, by yielding to every one of the Points which he had propoſed to his Majeſty in his Memorial; and concluded with the Joy he ſhould have in ſeeing me ſo ſoon at *Nimeguen*, to ſecond the Aſſurances he was to give the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors upon this Occaſion.

I told him, That the Intentions of his Journey and mine, had already been prevented by the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors having of themſelves made that Pace towards the Peace, which he pretended to bring them to by his Majeſty's Conceſſions. Upon this, Monſieur *du Cros* looked extremely ſurprized; but recovering himſelf, ſaid, He did believe the Letters he writ to the *French* Ambaſſadors the Poſt before he came away, might have had that Effect, as to make them do the Thing before he came: But it was *dans la veûe de quelque choſe qu'ils eſperoient d'Angleterre*: But, by comparing Times, I found that could not be.

He ſeemed very unreſolved upon all theſe Diſcourſes, whether he ſhould go to *Nimeguen*, or not; and asked me, What I intended to do? I anſwered, I ſhould not reſolve to ſtir, without firſt giving an Account to Court of the Matter as it ſtood. So we parted, and he went about Five this Afternoon towards *Nimeguen*.

I cannot but take notice, That ſome of his Majeſty's Conceſſions in *du Cros*'s Memorial, are of as great Importance as can be to the Crown of *England*: As the Third and Fourth, concerning the Liberty not only of levying our Mariners and Soldiers, but of buying our Ships and Men of War.

What Effect Monſieur *du Cros*'s Diſcourſes may have here, I cannot tell, as to the Peace; but as to his Majeſty's Meaſures and Intentions to it, they have, I am ſure, had a very ill one. For my part, I neither underſtand the Councils upon which they were grounded, nor will pretend to judge of the Event.

About Seven in the Afternoon, I ſpoke with the Penſioner again, and communicated to him my new Inſtructions. He ſaid, There would be no Difficulty as to the Neutrality of the Enemies of *Sweden*, nor as to thoſe of the Allies, who accepted not the Peace with *France*. Then he ſaid, The State had ſent to *Nimeguen* their Anſwer, by which they could not ſend to *St. Quin-*

tin; and upon the Communication of it to the *French*, Monſieur *Colbert* had fallen into the greateſt *Emportement* in the World, and particularly againſt Monſieur *Beverning*.

Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* writes me Word, That the *French* take ſo little notice of his Majeſty's Mediation there, that he has not heard one Syllable from them ſince they gave him their Conditions of the 14th of *April*. I ſend Mr. *Aglionby* away with this Diſpatch, conſidering the Importance of it: Beſides, that this Gentleman having attended the whole Motion of this Affair ever ſince my coming over, will be able to give his Majeſty a very particular Account of all the Steps that have been made in it, and of all that can be known from this Scene.

I am ever, &c.

From Penſioner Fagel.

Hague, *Auguſt* 6. 1768.

S I R,

HAving well conſidered the Orders which Your Excellence communicated to me by Direction of the King Your Maſter, and knowing, That this State will never put the Iſſue of the Peace upon the Foot of the Neutrality of *Cleves*; and, That You have no Orders in this Point from the King Your Maſter: That this State will not carry on the War with Vigour, without the exceeding Unreaſonableneſs of *France* in refuſing to evacuate the Places, be made appear, as it will when *Sweden* has conſented to it: That the King Your Maſter alſo will not concur in carrying it on but on this Condition, as appears plainly by this Step, and by the Difficulties which Your Court have made to ratifie the Treaty, without ſuch Alterations as can never be conſented to here: That *du Cros* is well acquainted with Your Inſtructions: and, That *Sylvercroon* has already publiſhed what they are here, as the other is going to do at *Nimeguen*, and that, perhaps with ſome Circumſtances worſe than they really contain: That *Sweden* ſeeming willing already to bate ſomething of their Pretenſions, and *France* therefore appearing deſirous to make the Peace: It is for the Service of this State to owe the doing of it rather to *England*, which will ſerve to continue and ſtrengthen our mutual Obligations after the Peace; which is a Matter of the laſt Conſequence to the Intereſts of

De par le Penſionnaire *Fagel*.

A la Haye, le 6 Aouſt, 1768.

Monſieur,

A*Yant conſideré les ordres que Vôtre Excellence m' a communiquées de la part du Roy Vôtre Maître & voyant que cet Etat n' acrochera pas la paix ſur la neutralité de Cleves, & que Vous n' avez pas aucun ordre là deſſus de la part du Roy Vôtre Maître; que cet Etat ne ſoûtiendra pas la guerre avec vigueur, ſans que la France ſoit miſe dans ſon dernier tort par les refus d' evacuer les places, ce qu' arrivera quand la Suede y aura conſenti: Que le Roy Vôtre Maître ne le fera pas auſſi ſans cela, comme il paroît par cette demarche, & par les difficultez que Vôtre Cour a fait de ratifier le traité, ſans des changemens qu' on ne peut pas faire icy: Que du Cros a ſçû Vôtre depêche, & que Sylvercroon l' a deja debité icy comme l'autre va faire à Nimegue, & avec de circonſtances pût être plus mauvaiſes qu' il ne contient: Que la Suede ſemblant deja ſe deporter de leurs pretenſions, & par là, la France paroiſſant de vouloir faire la paix, il ſera bon que cet Etat aye encore cette obligation à l'Angleterre, ce qui ſervira à continuer les liaiſons entre nous apres la paix, qui eſt une choſe de la derniere importance pour les interêts de ſa Majeſté, cet Etat, & le Prince. Je croy pour toutes ces raiſons, qu' il eſt abſolument neceſſaire,*

of his Majeſty, of this State, and of the Prince. For all theſe Reaſons, I think it abſolutely neceſſary for the general Good of *Chriſtendom*, and for the common Intereſt of each Nation, that Your Excellence ſhould without Delay repair to *Nimeguen*, according to the Orders You have received.

I am

Your Excellence's moſt

Humble and moſt

Obedient Servant,

Gaſp. Fagel.

neceſſaire, tant pour le bien commun de la Chrêtienté, que pour leurs interêts, que Vôtre Excellence parte au plûtôt pour Nimegue, enſuite des ordres qu'elle a reçeu.

Je ſuis,

De V. E. le tres

Humble & tres

Obeïſſant Serviteur,

Gaſp. Fagel.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Nimeguen, Auguſt 9. *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

IN humble Obedience to his Majeſty's expreſs Commands, I Sir *William Temple* came hither at ſeven a Clock laſt Night: Immediately upon my Arrival Monſieur *de Balba* ſent to know, whether he might make me a Viſit, which I conſented to, and he came accordingly.

His Diſcourſe conſiſted of his Hopes, that I brought a good Peace along with me; his Deſires to hear, whether the Treaty at the *Hague* were ratified or no; and his Complaints, that the *French*, notwithſtanding the *Swedes* having deſiſted, yet ſtill refuſed to ſign the Peace. That, for his Part, he could not be ſorry for it; for tho' he ſhould have ſigned it, if they had conſented, yet, after having ſigned a Peace ſo deſtructive to *Chriſtendom*, he ſhould have retired himſelf from all publick Buſineſs for the reſt of his Life.

Upon the enquiring the Occaſion of my coming, I told him, as I have done every Body elſe, That having been aſſured at the *Hague*, that the *Swedes* here having deſiſted from their Pretenſions of being reſtored before the Evacuation of the Places; and the *French* having always profeſſed that Difficulty to have been raiſed wholly upon their Occaſion; I made no Queſtion but the Peace would be immediately ſigned; and thereupon came hither upon his Majeſty's Orders, that I ſhould be preſent at the Concluſion of it.

Upon the Marquis's going out, my Colleague Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* came in to me; and being ſurprized at the Unexpectedneſs of my Arrival, and I asking him, Whether he knew nothing of it? he ſaid, Nothing, but from the Talk of a confident Man lately arrived here; who had given out, he had brought the Peace in his Pocket, and Orders for Sir *William Temple* to come with him to *Nimeguen*.

Hereupon, I ſhewed my Colleague my Inſtructions, which You laſt ſent me, grounded upon Monſieur *du Cros*'s Propoſition: He told me the Thing was done before I came: That the *Swedes* had not only deſiſted from their Pretenſions; but that the *French* had owned it in their Memorial on *Sunday* laſt, and declared, That upon it, their Maſter deſiſted from detaining the Towns: But, however, that he, my Colleague, did not find the Peace was much the nearer, ſince the *French* Ambaſſadors did ſtill refuſe to ſign it; and perſiſted, that the *Dutch* ſhould ſend to treat and conclude it, either with the King their Maſter in Perſon, or with the Deputies at *Ghent*: Whereupon, conſulting with my Colleague, we concluded together, That we ſhould not ſay any thing to the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors of what Your laſt Inſtructions imported, unleſs they ſpoke to me of it, and ſeemed to expect it from me; in regard that whatever his Majeſty intended ſhould be done by the *Swedes*, towards the Evacuation of the Towns, had been already fully done by them: And that no Declaration of his Majeſty's Inſtructions to me was meant, or could tend to this new Difficulty raiſed by *France*, about the *Dutch* deputing to the moſt Chriſtian King, or to his Deputies at *Ghent*.

The next Viſit I received was at Nine this Morning, from the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador, whoſe Diſcourſe was chiefly upon the Occaſion of my Journey hither; upon the Ground it may give to the *Dutch*, of receiving otherwiſe this Propoſal from *France*, than they might poſſibly have done if I had been at the *Hague*; upon the Liberty Monſieur *du Cros* had taken here, of *proning* the Inſtructions he brought from his Majeſty, and the Credit he had at our Court; which he, the Ambaſſador, thought very ſtrange, conſidering what he paſſed for at theirs, where he was ſufficiently known. And thereupon he gave me a Character of the Man, which I will not trouble You with.

After the *Dane*'s leaving me, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors came in: Their Diſcourſe conſiſted in valuing the generous Pace they had made, of deſiſting from their Pretenſions, ſince thoſe alone ſeemed ſo much to retard the Peace.

They ſaid, That though they reckoned upon the good Offices of *Holland*, after the Peace, as well as upon the Aſſiſtances of *France* towards their Reſtitution; yet their chief Confidence was in the good Intentions of his Majeſty towards their Crown; of which they had received ſo good Teſtimonies upon all Occaſions.

Hereupon they began to diſcourſe of the laſt *French* Memorial; and made their particular Reflections upon Two Paſſages in it. The firſt, That *France* ſeemed to intend that they, the *Swedes*, ſhould owe their Reſtitution to the Meaſures that *France* ſhould take with *Holland* upon that Occaſion; whereas their chief Hopes were from his Majeſty; and they had very little from *Holland*, beſide their common Offices, after the Peace was made. The next was from the laſt Words of the Memorial; by which it appears, That *France* intended to treat and conclude the Peace with the Deputies of the States, in a Place where there was like to be no Miniſter from *Sweden*; which, they ſay, they did not very well underſtand; nor thought they had Reaſon to be ſatisfied with what the *French* Ambaſſadors told them upon it, That the King their Maſter's Intention was, the Peace ſhould be ſigned at *Nimeguen*, though it were concluded at *St. Quintin*.

All that I anſwered to theſe Diſcourſes, was my Compliments upon the Declaration they had made, of deſiſting from their Pretenſions, rather than hindring the Peace of *Chriſtendom*; and the Aſſurances that I had Orders to give them, of his Majeſty's good Intentions towards their Crown. And here our Diſcourſe was like to end; when I reſolved to make ſome mention of Monſieur *du Cros*, to find out what they would ſay upon it; and what the true Ground had been of his Journey and mine hither.

I told them, That I was in Hopes to have found the Peace ready to be ſigned here when I came. For, beſides the Aſſurances the Penſioner had given me and Monſieur *Sylvercroon*, at the *Hague*, of their Excellencies having deſiſted from their Pretenſions, which had difficulted the Peace; I heard, that Monſieur *du Cros* had ſaid upon the Way hither, That he carried the Peace in his Pocket, and that he brought expreſs Orders to them, the *Swedes* Ambaſſadors, which they had not before.

Monſieur *Oxenſtern* ſaid, very gravely, to this, *Aſſeurement nous n'avons pas agi par des ordres qui nous ont été portés par Mr. du Cros*: But Monſieur *Olivecrans*, ſmiling, ſaid, *Monſieur, pour ce qui eſt de la vanité, il faut pardonner à Monſieur du Cros, puiſque vous ſcavez qu'il eſt garçon.* I told them hereupon, That Monſieur *du Cros* had told both me and Monſieur *Sylvercroon*, That the Declaration made by the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors here, had been grounded upon the Aſſurances that his Majeſty had given particularly to Monſieur *du Cros*, in *England*. Monſieur *Olivecrans* replied, a little warmly, *Monſieur, vous me pardonneras, cela a eté fondé ſur les aſſûrances que le Roy m'a donné devant que de partir de Londres.*

By theſe Lights, I ſuppoſe, You will be able to unriddle better than I can do here, what hath been the true Bottom of all this Intrigue.

After the *Swedes* left me, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors came in; and preſently after them, as we had concerted together, came I Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*. They fell preſently into Diſcourſe of the laſt *French* Memorial; in which, they ſaid, They could find little more than in the former, but that it was a Tranſpoſition of Words. For, whereas they had ſaid before, They would not evacuate the Towns, without Reſtitution to *Sweden*: They now ſay, They will evacuate the Towns; but they will firſt treat and agree with the *Dutch* about the Satisfaction of *Sweden*.

They ſaid the firſt Period was clear, and that upon it they offered to ſign the Peace: But the *French* refuſed, ſaying, That though their Memorial conſiſted of Three Periods, yet they were to be taken, *pour une choſe, toute d'une ſuite.*

The next Remark they made, was upon the Words *toutes les places*, in the firſt Period. Which Word *toutes*, they found, upon ſearch, never to have been in any of their Memorials, or Letters, before. And they obſerved the Meaning of it might be, That though they deſiſted from the Deſign of retaining *all* the Places, yet they did not from that of retaining *ſome* of them: And the Words, if You pleaſe to obſerve them, ſeem to bear it.

Monſieur *Beverning* ſaid farther that when he offered to ſign the Peace, and ſaid that they ſhould not be many Days longer at Liberty, *à cauſe de leurs engagemens:* The *French* replied, *Vous, vous fiez à vos engagemens, Meſſieurs, & le Roy à deux cent mille hommes qu'il a bien payé.* They told them farther, That his Majeſty hath ſuch Treaties with *France*, that would keep him from performing *ce que Monſieur Temple a ſtipulé à la Haye.* Whereto Monſieur *Colbert* added, *Et pourquoy Monſieur Temple ne vient il pas? il a les ordres du Roy ſon Maître de revenir icy, auſſi ne fait il à la Haye que du mal.*

After they concluded that the Deſign of *France* was to draw this Buſineſs into a particular Negotiation, between them and the States; without either the *Swede* of the one Side, or their Allies of the other; and without *England* too; and by that means to hinder them from the Aſſiſtance either of their Allies or of Us. That by theſe Memorials about Deputations to *France*, and by their Artifices in ſcattering Copies of them as ſoon as they were delivered, they hoped to prevent the Meaſures between Us and *Holland*; and to draw out Time while they purſued the Siege of *Mons*, and while *England* ſhould grow weary of keeping up their Forces; which they knew a Parliament would not be willing to pay for a Peace, though they would for a War. Mr. *Haren* added, *il n'y a perſonne ſi aveugle qui ne voit tous ces Artifices.* They both wiſhed very much that I Sir *William Temple* were now at the *Hague*, becauſe they doubted what Effect this Memorial of *France* might have upon them there; when they ſhould ſee in the firſt Period of it, a Declaration of the *French* to evacuate the Towns, but not conſider that which follows.

The firſt Viſit I Sir *William Temple* received this Afternoon was from Count *Kinski*; whoſe chief Diſcourſe was in extolling the Force of *England*, which had appeared ſo much in his Majeſty's late arming ſo powerfully, in ſo ſhort a Time; ſaying, That if the King pleaſed he was Arbiter of the World; and might be ſo of this Peace here, if he thought fit.

That for their Part (meaning the *Imperial* Ambaſſadors) in it, all that he would ſay, was, That they were ſent thither *pour traiter, & non pas pour recevoir des loix*; but that the *French* underſtood it otherwiſe; and that nothing had paſſed between them, ſince the *French* publiſhed the Conditions upon which they would make the Peace, in the Beginning of *April* laſt: Since which Time they had often offered to treat upon them, but the *French* excuſed themſelves; and, for their Parts, they were reſolved not to receive thoſe Conditions without treating upon them.

Next to Count *Kinski* came to me the *Brandenburgh* Ambaſſadors, whoſe Diſcourſes were either Compliment, or Politick upon the Affairs of *Holland*: How near the Prince was being abſolutely loſt there about Three Months ago; and how much he was recovered ſince this laſt Incident from *France*, about the evacuating of the Towns.

The next Hours of Five, Six, and Seven, this Afternoon, were given to the Three *French* Ambaſſadors, who had been the laſt to demand it of me; having been Yeſterday out of Town at my Arrival. All paſſed with a great Compliment and Kindneſs; beſides which Monſieur *d'Eſtrades* endeavoured to ſhew, That all the Sincerity in the World had been of his Maſter's Side, but that all had been Artificial on the Part of the States; but eſpecially on Monſieur *Beverning*'s, who, he ſaid, was *trop habile homme*, and always found ſome ſpecious Thing or other to hinder the Peace; by which the *French* found that the States, abſolutely, had no Mind to it, how much ſoever his Maſter deſires it.

Monſieur *Colbert*'s whole Diſcourſe was, How the Incident touching the Towns proceeded wholly from Monſieur *Oxenſtern*: How the moſt Chriſtian King could not, in Honour, refuſe it to an Ally; though he (Monſieur *Colbert*) thought it much againſt his Maſter's Intereſt, and more againſt that of *Sweden*: That his Maſter had deſiſted immediately upon the *Swedes* deſiſting by their Declaration, which was made to them here, *July* 26th, S. N.

This made me reflect upon what Monſieur *du Cros* would have ſold ſo dear to his Majeſty, after that the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors had given the Point here: And, as Monſieur *Olivetrans* ſaid, upon the Aſſurances his Majeſty had given him before he came laſt from *London*: But, as others interpret it here, from the Fears, that in caſe the War went on this Summer, the *Dutch* would lend their Fleet to the Allies, to beat the *Swedes* clearly out of *Pomerania*.

I remember nothing in Monſieur *d'Avaux*'s Viſit, beſide the ordinary Things that paſſed in thoſe of his Colleagues.

About Eight a-Clock, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors came to us both a ſecond Time, and ſaid, They had Orders from their Maſters to communicate to us the Anſwer they had newly received from them, to the *French* Memorial of *Sunday* laſt: which was in ſhort, That they were ready to ſign the Peace, and ſhould be ſo till to Morrow was paſt: After which they ſhould be at Liberty no longer, in Regard of their Engagements with his Majeſty: But that if they (the *French* Ambaſſadors) would ſign the Peace, their Maſters the States, after it was ſigned (to ſhew their Reſpects to the moſt Chriſtian King) would ſend their Ambaſſadors not only to *St. Quintin*, but to *Paris*.

The Time being thus ſhort, and expiring to Morrow at Twelve at Night, they told us, They would go ſtrait from us to acquaint the *French* Ambaſſadors, by Word of Mouth, with this Anſwer of the States; intending to give it them, to Morrow, more extenſively in Writing.

We are always,

SIR,

Your moſt Faithful

Humble Servants,

W. Temple.
L. Jenkins.

To Mr. Secretary Williamſon.

Hague, Auguſt 16. *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

ON *Saturday* laſt, in the Evening, I received Yours of the 30th paſt, at *Nimeguen*, with his Majeſty's Orders to exchange the Ratifications of the late Treaty here; upon which, You are pleaſed to ſay, his Majeſty put ſo much Weight. I found, upon Computation, that Yeſterday, being *Monday*, was the laſt Day allowed for the Exchange of the ſaid Ratifications; and reſolved to part by Three a-Clock next Morning, that I might not fail of arriving here in Time; which I did about Seven a-Clock Yeſterday Morning, after having been all Night upon the Way. I immediately ſpoke with the Penſioner, and acquainted him with my Orders to exchange the Ratifications, and of what You command me to let him know here, of his Majeſty's Intention upon it; which was, That I ſhould ſtill endeavour to procure an Amendment of thoſe Points in the Treaty, againſt which his Majeſty has made Exception; though he had not thought fit to delay the Ratification upon it, both for the infinite Conſequence of the Buſineſs, and his great Zeal to ſupport the Intereſts in Queſtion; upon which Grounds he had choſen rather to rely upon the States, for obtaining thoſe Points after the Ratification, than to delay it upon them.

The Penſioner ſeemed extremely pleaſed that the Ratifications are come, and that I had Orders to exchange them; which he deſired might be done in Form, at Ten a-Clock. As to the Points ſtill inſiſted on, he ſaid, He would not fail of acquainting the States with them at ſuch Times, and in ſuch Manner, as he thought would conduce moſt to the Succeſs of them, and thereby to his Majeſty's Satiſfaction; though he conceived, ſince a Peace was like to follow, his Majeſty would find no Neceſſity of inſiſting upon them for the preſent; and his Majeſty's Ratification would have much more Force and Credit here, if it came barely to the States without thoſe Circumſtances, after the Fears they had been in of his Majeſty's not ratifying the Treaty.

After this he fell immediately to ſpeak of the Peace that had been lately ſigned at *Nimeguen*; and with great Trouble in his Face, and, I believe, at Heart, when I ſaid, *Il faut avouer qu'elle eſt belle, principalement ayant eté ſignée ſans l'Eſpagne.* He replied, It was true; but that this laſt would never have been done without Monſieur *du Cros*'s Journey, and his *debiting* both here and at *Nimeguen*, That his Majeſty was reſolved not to come to a Rupture with *France*; but had taken his Meaſures abſolutely with them upon the Peace; and that Orders were ſent over to my Lord *Sunderland* to that Purpoſe. I told him, I diſcovered, by my going to *Nimeguen*, that all the Buſineſs of Monſieur *du Cros* had been only an Intrigue of his own; and, I believe, a Surprize upon his Majeſty. That I had, thereupon, never ſaid one Word to the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors there, of his Majeſty's warranting the Neutrality of *Spain*; or any Thing elſe contained in the Diſpatches received from *England*, with Monſieur *du Cros*; but had made that Advantage of my Journey, as, in great Meaſure, to take away the ill Impreſſions which had been given them of his Majeſty's Conduct, by *du Cros*'s Diſcourſes, and the *French* Ambaſſadors upon them. He ſeemed to be extreme glad of both theſe Points, and ſaid, He would immediately give the Prince Notice of them. That Monſieur *du Cros*'s Journey was a Thing done, and ſo without Remedy; and therefore they muſt make the beſt of what was paſt, and provide, as well as they could, againſt what was coming upon them; in which they ſhould have infinite Need of his Majeſty's Reſolution and Conſtancy, *pour ſupporter la foibleſſe de quelques gens de cet Etat, qui ne tendoient qu'à la ruine du païs auſſi bien que du Prince.* That for his Part, he ſaw very well the Artifices of *France* in all that had paſſed at *Nimeguen*. That they knew the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors had Orders to ſign the Peace, in caſe the Evacuation of the Places were yielded before the 11th of this Month, according to our late Treaty; but that they could not ſign after that Day was expired. That they were reſolved to prevent the Force of this Conjunction between his Majeſty and this State, by ſigning the Peace that Night, upon yielding to evacuate the Places; but that they had not diſcovered this Intention till Ten a-Clock that Morning, in a Conference which laſted till Three in the Afternoon; after which they knew there would neither be Time for the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors to adjuſt their Treaty that Night, nor for the *Dutch* to ſend for Orders to the States, whether to ſign without the *Spaniards*, or no: That the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors had *extremement precipité l' Affaire*; and that he knew very well, the *French* were perſuaded by ſome of their Correſpondents here, That the States having once ſigned, though *Spain* ſhould not agree, would yet be concluded by it: And that the *French* Ambaſſadors had thereupon raiſed new Points in their Treaty with *Spain*, which had never been mentioned in the *French* Propoſitions at *Nimeguen*. That they would, indeed, have a very fine Game to play, if in only giving up *Maſtricht* to the *Dutch*, they might retain the other Places in *Flanders*; and have the Liberty thereby of invading *Cleves* and *Juliers*, while this State ſhould have their Hands tied up: But that they would be deceived in all this Meaſure. That the States would never ratify the Treaty, unleſs that of *Spain* were firſt concluded; and the Places in *Flanders*, as well as *Maſtricht*, ſhould thereupon be actually evacuated. That, till *Spain* had ſigned, they would neither ſend their Deputies to *France* (tho' they might, poſſibly, name them) nor ſo much as conſent to the ceaſing of Hoſtility. That, God be thanked, there was an Expreſſion in the late Treaty, by which his Majeſty and the States were engaged one to another; not only in caſe *France* ſhould refuſe to promiſe the Evacuation of the Places, but alſo in caſe they ſhould delay to do it, either upon the Account of the Satisfaction of *Sweden*, or any other Cauſe; or in caſe, after they had agreed to it, they ſhould *detrectare*. That the Ratifications being once exchanged, he did not doubt, his Majeſty would be firm to them in all theſe Points, as they ſhould be both to him and to themſelves.

After this he told me, He ſhould ſee me again when the Commiſſioners came to exchange the Ratifications; which they accordingly did between Ten and Eleven, and the Exchange was made, in Form, between us. Monſieur *Van Lewen* took Occaſion to ſay upon it, That, as nothing but our ſigning the Treaty could have made the *French* yield to the Point of evacuating the Places; ſo, nothing but our Ratification could keep them up to it. That they had diſcovered their Artifices more than ever, by the long *Chicane* they had made with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, about retaining *Maſtricht*, *Charleroy*, or *Ghent*, even the very Day they ſigned the Treaty: By which they ſhewed plainly, That nothing had brought them to it, but the Fear of a firm Conjunction between *England* and *Holland*; and that he ſtill feared what might be the Conſequence of the Treaty ſigned without the *Spaniards*.

I told the Commiſſioners, His Majeſty had ever reckoned upon *Spain*'s concluding at the ſame Time with them; and upon Evacuation of the *Spaniſh* Places, as the very fundamental Point of the States agreeing to the *French* Conditions. That I found before I came from *Nimeguen*, that the Difficulties were like to be great between *France* and *Spain*; and that the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors thereupon had a Mind to put that Buſineſs upon us, the King's Ambaſſadors there; but that we had excuſed our ſelves from it, and told them, We had always looked upon it as a Part of the States Agreement with *France*, and with which they ought to charge themſelves, as the moſt eſſential Part of their own Treaty. I asked the Commiſſioners, Whether they were not of this Mind? The Penſioner ſaid, They were; and that the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors ſhould be charged with it, as a Point without which the Peace could not be ratified. Monſieur *Van Lewen* ſeconded them, and ſaid, It was the Foundation of all the reſt; and that, he did believe, there was not one Man in the States would conſent to the Ratification without it.

I remember nothing elſe that paſſed upon this Occaſion: And ſhall, upon the whole, in ſhort, give You my own Opinion of the preſent Diſpoſitions here, in this great Conjuncture. There is a Party here, that would certainly drive this State into ſuch Meaſures with *France*, as might bring the Provinces not only into a Dependance, but even under the Subjection of *France*. And this Party conſiſts, chiefly, of rich Men, of the old *Loveſtein* Faction, in Five of Six of the great trading Towns of this Province. They are induced to it by the Hatred and Fear of the Houſe of *Orange*; and by the Belief, That if they live under the Protection of *France*, the Liberty and Trade of the Country ſhall be ſtill preſerved; and the Hands of the Government only changed from the Prince of *Orange's* Friends to thoſe of this Party. The *French* have had all along, but eſpecially for theſe Seven or Eight Months paſt, a cloſe Intelligence with the beſt Heads of this Party, and by them infuſed it into many well-meaning Men, That nothing but the Protection of *France* can preſerve theſe Countries in conſtant Peace, and thereby in Trade and Riches. That *France* can never have any Deſign upon their Liberties; becauſe it would be againſt their own Intereſt, in regard they could make better Uſe of this State by their continuing to be great and rich, than if they ſhould be weak and poor; which would follow the Suppreſſion of their Liberties: With many other plauſible Things of this Nature, reflecting upon the great Danger here, to be from the Prince of *Orange*, in Conjunction with *England*.

On the other Side, Five of the Provinces here, and about Eleven or Twelve of Eighteen of the Towns in this Province, are generally in the Opinions and Intereſts of the Prince of *Orange*; and whenever his Majeſty falleth in, heartily, to back them by his Alliances, and any artificial Dealing in the *French* Negotiations come to be diſcover'd, they grow to be ſo much Maſters of all Reſolutions here, that all the well-meaning Men, even in the great Trading Towns, fall in with them, and thoſe which are abſolutely in the *French* Intereſt, dare not ſo much as ſpeak in their Aſſemblies. But whenever it happens that any Paces of his Majeſty give them a Suſpicion of his Uncertainty in the Meaſures with them, the other Party then immediately gets Ground; and the Generality in the great Towns begin to conclude, That they had better accept any Terms of Peace from *France*, than rely upon a Support from *England*, which they cannot be ſure of.

All ſeem at preſent abſolutely reſolved not to ratify the Peace with *France*, unleſs *Spain* be likewiſe concluded by it, and the Towns evacuated: But yet, what this it ſelf may come to, I cannot tell, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould give them Occaſion of doubting his Reſolutions to ſupport them in it. Which is all I ſhall trouble You with upon this Subject, or any other, at this Time, beſides the Aſſurances of my being always,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, Auguſt 16. *S. N.* 1678.

My Lord,

ON *Saturday* laſt in the Evening, I received at *Nimeguen*, by Expreſs, Your Lordſhip's in the new Secretary's Hand, with one from Secretary *Williamſon*, giving me Order to exchange the Ratifications with this State, which were ſent over laſt Poſt; and upon the Exchange whereof, Mr. Secretary tells me, his Majeſty put ſo much Weight. If it were ſo, ſure he muſt have forgot that I was ordered the Poſt before, to go away to *Nimeguen*; and that it is Twenty ſix Leagues between this Place and that; ſo that if by contrary Winds, or any other Accident, the Expreſs had been a Day longer coming to me; or if after receiving it, I had not travelled all Night, as well as Day, I could not have been here Time enough to have ratified it; the Term fix'd for it by the Treaty expiring Yeſterday, and that, perhaps, the State of *Chriſtendom* may, in great Meaſure, depend upon this Ratification; for though the Peace between *France* and this State be ſigned, yet it muſt be the Force of this Ratification that muſt prevail with *France* to ſign the Treaty with *Spain* too, and thereupon to evacuate really the Towns; and it muſt be the ſame Force that muſt keep this Sate from ratifying their Peace with *France*, unleſs *Spain* be likewiſe included, and the Towns really evacuated.

For my own Part, I was never ſo amazed as to receive this Ratification of the Treaty, and Orders to exchange it. For, upon Monſieur *du Cros*'s Journey, and all he ſaid at the *Hague* and *Nimeguen* upon it, as if it were on purpoſe to ſpread it both here and there, I did believe the King had taken his abſolute Meaſures with *France*; that he was reſolved not to ratify the Treaty here, and ſent me away to *Nimeguen*, only to have me gone from hence, for the Reaſons Monſieur *Colbert* gave for my Orders to go, *A cauſe que je ne faiſois que du mal icy*. Beſides, Monſieur *du Cros* told them, and others here, That all the Meaſures concerning the Peace were agreed by his Majeſty, Your Lordſhip, Monſieur *Barillon*, and him. That You were to enter into Alliance preſently with *France* and *Sweden*; that Orders were gone to my Lord *Sunderland* to that Purpoſe, and that his Lordſhip would make them publick by the next Poſt. How all this was to agree with my Treaty here, and Powers to negotiate with the Confederates, made, I confeſs, my Head turn round, and ſeemed to hang together like Ropes of Sand. In the mean Time, I had found out by the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, that the whole Buſineſs of *du Cros* was a Myſtery to them; that they knew nothing in the World of it till he came to *Nimeguen*; only the Poſt before he had writ them Word he was coming: That they had given the *French* Ambaſſadors their Declaration of deſiſting from their Pretenſions, the 26th of laſt Month, S. N. and that the very Hour Monſieur *du Cros* arrived, and was with them, the *French* Ambaſſadors came in, to let them, the *Swedes*, know, they had Orders to deſiſt likewiſe from their Pretenſions of detaining the Towns.

Both the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors told me, That when they delivered this Meſſage to *du Cros*, who was all the while in the Houſe, he was, *Si étonné qu'il étoit prêt de tomber de ſon haut*; and yet, that he had the Impudence to write to his Maſter, the Duke of *Holſtein*, That he had made the Peace. This they told me both together; and next Day Monſieur *Olivecrans*, alone, told me, *du Cros* had ſo much Addreſs as to get them both to ſign a Letter to his Majeſty, of his own drawing up, which ſeemed to give him (*du Cros*) ſome Share in the Buſineſs; and that he (Monſieur *Olivecrans*) was extremely aſhamed of it, becauſe the contrary would appear by the Date of their Declaration to *France*; but that this whole Intrigue of *du Cros* was an arrant Comedy. For my own part, I wiſh it were ſo; but the Effects are more than ridiculous, and, I doubt, have ſhaken his Majeſty's Credit more than was to be wiſhed at this Time. And, for my part, I have, upon what the *Swedes* told me, very plainly ſaid to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, and others, That it was a downright *fourberie* of *du Cros*; and that I had no other Buſineſs at *Nimeguen*, but to obſerve the Motions of the Peace at the Critical Term. In ſhort, 'tis ſigned; and I have writ to Mr. Secretary, with what Diſpoſitions on the *French*, and what on this Side; and what all may come to upon it I know not, but am ſure it will extremely depend upon his Majeſty. But what the Diſpoſitions will be there, I can never pretend more to tell, ſince You could not ſo much as keep Your Countenance Three Weeks together; and have now ratified a Treaty, which Mr. Secretary found Fault with every Line of; and ſince You could ſuffer ſuch a Man as *du Cros*, of whom the Penſioner ſaid, at my but naming of him, *C'eſt un fourbe des fourbes*, to give ſo unhappy a *Branle* to the Affairs of the World. But, after all, I muſt beg Your Lordſhip to let me know, when You did reſolve to ſend him and thoſe Inſtructions, why not to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, that was upon the Place; but to me that was engaged here in an Affair of another Nature? Well, I can ſay no more, but that it has ſo broke my Head, that, I think it will not be right again: And I muſt beg of Your Lordſhip, that You will pleaſe to let his Majeſty know, that I grow old and infirm, and am not fit for theſe ſudden Commands: That if he thinks I can be of Uſe to him till the End of this Conjuncture, I am content to ſtay that Period; but for returning to *Nimeguen*, I ſhall not be able to do it; nor do I think there can be Need of more than one; if there be, Mr. *Hyde* is in Commiſſion: But let who will be there, inſtructed as I find Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* is, there had as good be none at all. Whatever becomes of my Health, or Heart, or Honour, Your Lordſhip will ever be aſſured of my being,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord,

SINCE the writing of this I have received Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*'s of the 2d Inſtant, and a long one from Mr. *Aglionby*, of the ſame Date; with an Account of all his Majeſty's, the Duke's, and Your Lordſhip's Diſcourſes to him, upon the preſent Conjuncture: by which I find You will have Reaſon to think of the Man, and his late Intrigue, as I have done ever ſince I ſpoke with the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors; but what You will think after he has been with You, I know not, conſidering his Addreſs; one Part whereof has been, to make the *Leyden French Gazette* publiſh Yeſterday, That upon Monſieur *du Cros*'s Arrival at *Nimeguen*, the Peace was immediately ſigned; ſo that it muſt have been done upon ſomething he brought with him from *England*. I cannot but add one Thing the Penſioner told me ſince my Return, which was, That among many other Things *du Cros* had ſpread, both here and at *Nimeguen*, of which You have Account enough already, he told the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors as well as the *French*, That the King was abſolutely for a Peace, and would not come into the War; but that the Duke was wholly for the War, and with Intention, by it to bring the Prince to be Sovereign of this Country; being wholly in that Intereſt ſince the Marriage of his Highneſs.

Upon the whole, You will be beſt able to judge there, from what Springs this whole Thing has moved, finding how early *Sweden* has made their Declaration of deſiſting, which was the 16th of *July, O. S.* How *France* had reſolved to ſign the Peace with the *Dutch*, upon the Evacuation of the Places, if they could not prevail for the Deputation to *St. Quintin*; and how all this has paſs'd, it ſeems, without any Communication with his Majeſty: For in the Letters of the 2d Inſtant, You knew nothing of any ſuch Reſolution in *France*, for ought I ſee; and the *French* Ambaſſadors received their Orders to ſign upon *Munday* the 29th of *July, O. S.* though they kept them private till *Wedneſday*, which was the laſt Day the *Dutch* were at Liberty; and thereby put them upon doing it ſo precipitately, that they might neither be able to take *Spain* along with them; nor to conſult with the States, whether to ſign or no.

This is enough upon ſo unpleaſant a Subject. Now, for my going to *Nimeguen*, after I had reſolved to ſtay, when I received my Inſtructions; I will tell Your Lordſhip juſt upon what Point that Reſolution turned. The Day after I diſpatch'd my Secretary with my firſt Reſolution, Mr. *Meredith* told me, The King had been extreme earneſt upon my going to *Nimeguen*, without any more Circumſtance than bare Communication to the States. Monſieur *Sylvercroon* came and told me, The *Swedes* had not abſolutely deſiſted from their Pretenſions, though they had declared they would; and the Penſioner writ me this Letter, all in his own Hand, whereof I ſend You the Copy; by which he made my going abſolutely neceſſary for his Majeſty's Intereſt, and that of the Prince, as well as other Conſiderations; ſince *du Cros* had made the Subject of it ſo publick, that ſeveral of the States of *Holland* had told the Penſioner of it, the Day after *du Cros* had paſſed by this Place. All that I can ſay farther to Your Lordſhip is, That if the King be really upon no better Terms with *France*, than he ſeems to be by all the laſt Diſpatches, and that they play their Game here whenever they can, and with us only when they cannot compaſs their Ends here; And if his Majeſty will, on the other Side, endeavour to hinder that Game, and keep the Dependance of this State upon the Crown of *England*, he muſt, I doubt, come to theſe Two Reſolutions: Firſt, To aſſure the Prince of *Orange* that he will take no farther Meaſures, either upon the Peace or War, till he has firſt concerted them with him: And next, To come to a Reſolution to join, abſolutely, with this State, in any Meaſures they ſhall think neceſſary for their Safety, upon the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; without which, the Prince and Penſioner think the State loſt: But they know not whether they will come up to it themſelves, till they find whether they ſhall be back'd by his Majeſty; but in that caſe, they are confident, the States will be poſitive, either before the Peace or after.

I humbly beg Your Lordſhip's Pardon for this long and haſty Scribble, which I am aſhamed of; and yet, now it is done, it will be neceſſary to ſhew it his Majeſty, being all the Lights I can give from hence, beſides what I have given to Mr. Secretary; and all the Account I can give of my own Conduct.

I am, &c.

Your Lordſhip will underſtand by my Diſpatch to Mr. Secretary, That I having ſaid not a Word to the *Swedes* at *Nimeguen*, but only general Profeſſions of his Majeſty's Kindneſs to that Crown; the King is at Liberty wholly on that Side, unleſs Monſieur *du Cros* had Power to bind him.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, Auguſt 19. *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

BY Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*'s Expreſs I gave You Yeſterday the Trouble of one of mine, with a Copy of the Treaty ſigned the 10th, between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*. I am apt to believe, That what was ſigned at firſt was rather a *brouillon*, than any fair and formal Draught; both the *French* and Monſieur *Van Beverning* having run the Affair out of all Forms, to prevent the fatal Minute, as they thought it, of Twelve a-Clock that Night; after which the *Dutch* had declared they could not ſign: And Monſieur *Beverning* ſuffers, as I find, in every Body's Opinion here; having, as they aſſure me, never had any Orders to ſign, but only to paſs an Act upon the *French* conſenting to evacuate the Places, that the States would thereupon ſign the Peace, ſo ſoon as the Treaty with *Spain* ſhould be agreed. Let the Spring have been where it will, the Precipitation of the Affair appears in many Points that reflect much upon Monſieur *Beverning*'s Conduct; who confeſſes they had not Time to read it over. For, beſides a Contradiction in Two Articles, which give one Six Months, and another Nine Months time for the ſame Thing, there were Three eſſential Faults. The Firſt, Not drawing ſo much as an Act from the *French* Ambaſſadors for the Evacuation of the *Spaniſh* Towns; though the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors had given them one, before the ſigning, whereby they conſented to the Terms offered them by the *French* Propoſition. The next was (which I hear in private) That whereas it was agreed upon between them, that the Differences between the States and

Sweden ſhould be endeavoured to be adjuſted in Three Months Time, and that, in the mean while, there ſhould be a Neutrality: When the Article was drawn up, the Term of Three Months was omitted, ſo that the Article runs in general. The Third concerns his Majeſty more particularly, and his Defenſive Alliance with this State: For in the 13th Article of the Treaty of Peace, where the States promiſe a Neutrality, and not directly, nor indirectly, to aſſiſt the Enemies of *France*, it runs generally; which deſtroys the Force of any defenſive League they have made. But when I ſpoke to the Penſioner, and Monſieur *Van Lewen* about it, they both told me, That the States had immediately taken Notice of it, as ſoon as the Tranſcript of the Articles came to them; and had then ſent to Monſieur *Beverning* to reproach him upon it, with Order to have it immediately redreſſed: Without which they ordered him to declare to the *French* Ambaſſadors, That it ſhould not be ratified; and it is to be mended by the Addition of theſe Words, after *les ennemis de France, & des Alliés, durant le cours de cette guerre, & à l'egard de ceux qui y ſont maintenant engagés.* They interpret the dreſſing of this Article in *French*, to have been induſtrious on their Part, as well as negligent on the *Dutch* Side.

To Morrow Monſieur *Beverning* will make his Report to the States, how this whole Buſineſs has paſſed; and particularly, of the State wherein I left the Differences between the *French* and the *Spaniards*. Accordingly, though I have no Letters from You this Poſt, yet having ſeen one from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, which confirms me in the Opinion I was, That his Majeſty would deſire the *Spaniards* might come to ſign too; without which the Towns in *Flanders* would not be evacuated; I have ſpoken at large with Monſieur *de Lyra* upon this Point, whom I take to be the Spring of the *Spaniards* Motions in all theſe Parts.

I find his Reſolutions are, To try if he can make the States diſown their Ambaſſadors: But in caſe he cannot obtain that, and be preſſed to diſpatch the Treaty now on Foot, he will give into it even with the Point of Neutrality; laying this for his Maxim, To hold this State up to the beſt Terms he can for his Maſter, but, however, not to break with them; and to purſue the cloſeſt Meaſures he can with them after the Peace, and, by their Means, endeavour the ſame with his Majeſty; upon the Belief that all Three are equally concerned in Preſervation of whatever is left in *Flanders*.

While I was in this Diſpatch, the Penſioner and Monſieur *Van Lewen* came to me from the States, to let me know, That having received Letters from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, by which they found that Monſieur *du Cros* had informed his Majeſty, That the States had made Paces in this Treaty, diſagreeing with the Meaſures taken between his Majeſty and them, and of private Concert between them and *France*; particularly, that they deſiſted from preſſing the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and had granted the *French* a Paſſage at *Viſet*, for invading thoſe Countries: The States had ordered them both to write to Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, and to deſire me to aſſure his Majeſty, That it was all a falſe Information. And whereas they found Endeavours had been uſed thereupon, to poſſeſs his Majeſty, That the Peace being made, there would be no farther Uſe of his Forces in *Flanders*; they deſired not only the Continuation of thoſe that were there, but likewiſe that he would be pleaſed to ſend over more; ſince the Peace was yet upon very ticklish Terms.

They ſaid hereupon, That they every Day diſcovered ſome new Artifices in the Dealings of *France*; for now they propoſed Two Months to be the Term of the Ratification between them and the *Spaniards*, though *Spain* deſired but a Month; which was done out of Deſign to retard the Evacuation of the Places, till his Majeſty and the States ſhould retire their Forces out of *Flanders*: But that they were confident the States would not ratify their Treaty, till *Spain* ſhould ratify theirs, and the Evacuation of the Places immediately follow.

The Penſioner ſtaying ſome time with me alone, told me, Both the States of *Holland*, and States General had approved the Prince's late Action near *Mons*, and ſent him Thanks for it, as well as for his Conduct the next Day, in acquainting Monſieur *de Luxemburgh* with the Peace, and agreeing a Ceſſation of Arms for Two Days.

I took notice of the 30th Article of the Treaty of Commerce, about the Liberty of building Ships, as one that had been introduced in the Time of their beſt Intelligence, upon the Treaty of 1662: and which I thought too much for a bare Treaty of Peace and Amity. But he ſaid, This Article was in their Treaties of Commerce with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as *France*: That *France* had made one Tryal of it, by building Four or Five Ships here; but had been ſo ſerved in it, that they never returned any more, and he did believe, never would, or, if they did, ſhould fare no better.

That they, the States, were ready to come to any new Treaty of the ſtricteſt Alliance that his Majeſty ſhould think fit after the Peace; ſince nothing but a firm Conjunction between them could ſtop the Career of *France*. He ſaid, That their Ambaſſadors had ſtrict Orders to inſiſt upon the Neutrality of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, even after the Peace; but it having been omitted in the firſt haſty Acceptation of the Peace, ſome Towns would not be brought to *acroche* it abſolutely upon That. What they might do, when it came nearer to them, he could not tell; but was apt to believe, that the *Spaniards* once agreeing, it might run to a General Peace, and that the Affairs of the *North* it ſelf would not hinder it.

I am

Your, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamſon.

Hague, Auguſt 23. *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

ON *Saturday* laſt Monſieur *Beverning* made his Report to the States, and in particular, of the Difficulties remaining between the *French* and *Spaniards*; which conſiſted chiefly in the *French* Demands of the County of *Beaumont*, of *Bovines*, of Security for the Ceſſion of *Dinant*, and of an Article of Neutrality from the *Spaniards*. The Report was received ſo coldly, and followed with ſuch Imputations of ill Conduct, upon thoſe Points which I mentioned in my laſt, eſpecially the Omiſſion in the 13th Article, and not procuring an Act from the *French* Ambaſſadors for the Evacuation of the Places, that Monſieur *Beverning*, when he came out of the Aſſembly, ſwore to his Friends, That he would give up his Commiſſion, and that nothing ſhould engage him to return to *Nimeguen* any more; laying the Fault of all Omiſſions upon his Precipitation; and That, upon the Advices and Orders from hence, which he had followed to the beſt of his Underſtanding. He went immediately to his Houſe in the Country, where he continues ever ſince; tho' ſome of the States have engaged ſeveral of his beſt Friends to go down and endeavour to reclaim him.

Yeſterday, about Noon, the Prince arrived at *Hounſlardyke*, after having agreed with the Duke of *Luxemburgh* about a Ceſſation of Hoſtility, till the Ratification of the Treaty, and about withdrawiug the Forces on each ſide; and thereby left *Mons* open. I attended his Highneſs in the Afternoon, and found him much unſatisfied about the Signing of the Peace without *Spain*; which he ſaid abſolutely, The Ambaſſadors had no farther Orders for, than only to threaten the *Spaniards*, that in caſe they would not conſent to the Article of Neutrality, they would ſign without them. But, that it was done, and ſince his Majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with it, as it ſeemed by Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Letter, they muſt make their beſt of it, and drive it on to a Peace, in caſe *France* would be ſincere in it with the *Spaniards*. But that he much doubted it, unleſs the ſame Reſolutions and Paces of his Majeſty, which had engaged him to promiſe the Evacuation of the Places, ſhould bring it to a Concluſion. He was very melancholy upon what Condition this Peace would leave all the Affairs of the Allies in, and the juſt Reproaches this State was to expect from them; which he was to bear his Share in, how little ſoever he had deſerved it. He ſaid a great deal of Monſieur *du Cros*'s Journey, and what Effects it had here; but that he had not yet ſpoken with the States, and could not tell what it was they would be at: But that he would ſee me to Day, after he had been in the Aſſembly. I found him unſatisfied with Monſieur *Beverning*, but yet of Opinion, that he muſt return to *Nimeguen*, and end this Buſineſs of *Spain*, without which it could not be a Peace.

The ſame Day I ſpoke with Monſieur *Van Lewen*, who told me, the *French* Ambaſſadors had conſented to the redreſſing the Tenth Article, in the manner I writ in my laſt; and that the States *aureient crevé plûtôt que de faire la paix ſans cela*. That no State could have greater Obligation than this had to his Majeſty; and that every Body in it was ſenſible, that they owed the Peace wholly to him, in caſe they had it, which would yet depend upon that between *France* and *Spain*; and this upon his Majeſty's Reſolutions to ſupport them in ſtanding firmly upon it, as the Point upon which their own Treaty was grounded.

This Afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me, He found a general Diſpoſition in the States, not to ratifie the Peace, till *Spain* ſhould be ready to do it at the ſame Time. But yet, he deſired very much, That his Majeſty would give me Orders to preſs them upon this Point, if there ſhould be Occaſion; and that nothing new ſhould be impoſed upon the *Spaniards*, beyond the Conditions given in by the *French* at *Nimeguen*. He deſired likewiſe, That his Majeſty would give Order to his Ambaſſador at *Nimeguen*, to propoſe, as from his Majeſty, a General Suſpenſion of Arms for ſix Months, in order to the Treating of a general Peace; and deſired me, that I would not fail to repreſent both theſe Points to his Majeſty from his Highneſs by this Poſt. He ſaith, by Advices from *Nimeguen*, he finds the *French* Ambaſſadors there ſeem well enough diſpoſed to it, upon the Nuntio's having already propoſed it; but, that nothing will give it ſo much Force, as coming from his Majeſty, and therefore is very earneſt in it.

Mr. *Meredith* ſends You the Treaty printed, as likewiſe, that for Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, ſo that I ſhall not increaſe Your preſent Trouble beyond the Aſſurance of my being always,

SIR,

Your, &c.

P. S. The Prince has ingaged Monſieur *Beverning* to come to Town to morrow; ſo as the States of *Holland* will then fall into Conſultation upon the Points in Difference between *France* and *Spain*.

To

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, Auguſt 26. 1678. *S. N.*

My Lord,

I Had the Honour of one from Your Lordſhip of the 12th, by my Secretary, who came over with Mr. *Hyde*. I will not enter into the Reaſons of this warm and ſudden Motion in *England*, nor can I into the Effects of it Abroad. A little Time will tell us the laſt: And for the firſt, it is my part rather to look towards the Events, than enquire into the Cauſes of it. All I ſhall ſay, is, That it has extremely ſurprized every Body here, and none more than the Prince, unleſs it be my ſelf. For, Your Lordſhip knows, when I came away, his Majeſty's Reſolution was, To have the Peace, if he could, upon the Evacuation of the Places; and in the Courſe of this whole Matter, to follow and ſupport *Holland* in the Paces they ſhould make, and not to lead them: And You may remember, I told his Majeſty at the Foreign Committee, That I knew very well, the Diſpoſitions of *Holland* towards the Peace, were ſuch, that if he ſhould have had a Deſign to engage them farther in the War, his Endeavours towards it, muſt be like thoſe of Rowers, that look one way and go another. I ſhould have been glad his Majeſty would have begun upon this Occaſion, what, Your Lordſhip tells me, he has reſolved, of concerting firſt with the Prince any Meaſures he ſhould take, eſpecially in what relates to theſe Countries, where he can certainly give his Majeſty the beſt Lights, and ſuch as it is not poſſible for his Majeſty to have, in taking ſudden Reſolutions upon Affairs that are in motion, and have ſuch ſudden Turns. As in this it ſelf, His Majeſty could not know, that the Prince had himſelf concluded a Ceſſation of Hoſtility with *France*, till the Ratification of the Treaty: And yet, that very Circumſtance made a great Change in the Event like to attend Mr. *Hyde*'s Commiſſion. The Particular of his Inſtruction; to ſay, His Majeſty would recall his Forces out of *Flanders*, in caſe the States fell not into his Opinion of the late Treaty's having place; was, I ſuppoſe, intended to draw them into his Majeſty's preſent Mind, and thereby to ſave *Flanders*, as well as *Holland*, from falling into the Hand or Dependance of *France*: But the Prince and Penſioner ſeverally, at the very firſt mention of it, concluded, it would have a quite contrary Effect, and muſt certainly occaſion the Loſs both of this Country and *Flanders*; as You will find by Mr. *Hyde*'s Diſpatch; which is ſo exact, that I can add nothing to it towards his Majeſty's Information: Only, I will tell Your Lordſhip what the Prince ſaid to me laſt Night upon it; which was, That he was very glad to ſee his Majeſty in this Mind; and that he knew very well what Effects it would have had, if they had been aſſured of it here Three Weeks ago: But what it would have now, he could not tell; for they were all ſo ſurprized, eſpecially after Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Letter, which ſaid ſo much of his Majeſty's being pleaſed with the Peace, that no body had ſaid a Word upon it. That, for his part, if he had been firſt conſulted in it, he ſhould have been for his Majeſty's ſending to the States, not to ratifie the Treaty without *Spain*'s ratifying theirs at the ſame Time, and being thereby aſſured of the Evacuation to follow immediately: That if his Majeſty had only preſſed this, and aſſured the States at the ſame Time of his Reſolution to ſupport them, by a vigorous Execution of their Treaty, in caſe of any Refuſal or Difficulty from *France*, he was confident the Thing would have been done, and thereby either *Spain* been included, or the States gone on with the War. But that he did not know what Effect This now come from his Majeſty would produce in the great Towns of *Holland*, where they were ſo apt to be jealous of his Highneſs's Deſigns to continue the War: That we ſhould ſee in a few Days, and that he chiefly apprehended the Town of *Amſterdam* upon it.

What Your Lordſhip ſays, of Your forbearing to ſay thoſe Things I deſired You to tell his Majeſty about my ſelf, is too obliging in You, not to be acknowledged: But yet, I muſt beg your Lordſhip to believe, that none can judge ſo well of a Man, as himſelf; who feels what is Within, whilſt others only ſee what is Without; and finds the Decays of Age or Indiſpoſition in his Body and his Mind, while he may diſguiſe them to other People. Whenever I thought my ſelf able to do his Majeſty Service, though I never ſought it, yet I never refuſed it: But whenever I ſhall find my ſelf incapable of doing it any longer, and let his Majeſty know it, I hope he will believe it: And, in the mean Time, I beg Your Lordſhip, not to think any thing I ſay of that kind, is Humour, but a true Judgment I make of my ſelf by what I feel, and what I told both His Majeſty and Your Lordſhip, before I came over, would happen to me by any long Stay in theſe Countries, which have ever been ſo contrary to my Health.

I cannot tell Your Lordſhip how ſenſible a Part I bear in the Indiſpoſition of the Family, as well as Your own, but comfort my ſelf with the Hopes Mr. *Aglionby* gives me, of their being well over; and will not engage Your Lordſhip at preſent, in any farther Trouble, than the Aſſurance of my being ever, with equal Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

Hague, Auguſt 30. *S. N.* 1678.

My Lord,

I Could not receive a greater Honour or Satiſfaction, than by Your Grace's Letter of the 12th paſt; which I ſhould ſooner have acknowledged, but that ſince my laſt, I have been engaged in ſuch ſudden and unexpected Motions, as well as the Buſineſs here in ſuch Turns, as have left me neither Time nor Patience, nor Concernment enough ſometimes, to think of many Things I ought to have done: Among which, I reckoned all Duties I owed to Your Grace, and this in that Number.

I ſhall, as ſuccinctly as I can, purſue the Thread of thoſe Two Accounts I gave Your Grace at my leaving *England*, and ſince my Arrival here to this Time: After which, I do not expect to meet with any thing worth Your Grace's Trouble or my own; having my Head turned wholly another Way, and cured of thoſe impertinent Solicitudes, which have ſo often buſied it about publick Affairs, and to ſo little purpoſe.

After my laſt to Your Grace, and till the 4th of this Month and this Stile, I took my ſelf to have maſtered the Buſineſs his Majeſty had ſent me upon here. The Treaty was ſigned, and by it the Day fix'd, being the 11th Inſtant, for *France* to yield the Evacuation of the Places, or his Majeſty to come into the War with the States. *France* had failed of all their Endeavours to break theſe Meaſures: The States had reſolved not to ſend their Deputies to treat with the *French* King in Perſon at *St. Quintin*, and not to ſign their Treaty, even upon the Evacuation being yielded; unleſs in Conjunction with *Spain*. The Time of Deciſion drew near, and the moſt Chriſtian King ſeemed ſo far engaged by his peremptory Anſwers to his Majeſty, as well as by his Ambaſſadors Declarations at *Nimeguen*, not to evacuate the Places, till the Satiſfaction of *Sweden*, that every Body was at a Gaze, which would prove of moſt Weight, This Point of Honour, or That of Intereſt, not to ſee *England* engaged in ſuch a Confederacy againſt *France*: And, in the mean Time, whether it ſhould prove a Peace or a War. The Meaſures were ſo cloſed between Us and *Holland*, that nothing, in Appearance, was like to ſhake them. For though, upon my ſigning the Treaty, Mr. Secretary *Willamſon* had found great Faults with many Particulars of it, and ſent me Orders to get them amended, or elſe the King could not ratifie; yet they being ſuch Points as had been impoſſible to be obtained here, and wherein I was left at Liberty by my Inſtructions; this Difficulty had only been communicated to the Prince and the Penſioner here, who had Confidence of ſatisfying his Majeſty in thoſe Particulars, without making them publick; which they thought would have ill Effects upon the States at ſo critical a Time in the Meaſures between us.

Upon the 4th Current, Mr. *Meredith*, the King's Secretary of the Embaſſy, who had gone over with the Treaty, arrived here, and in his Company one Monſieur *du Cros*, ſtiled at *London*, Envoy of the Duke of *Holſtein*. Mr. *Meredith* brought me an Inſtruction to let the States know, That the King had reſolved to give a Guaranty upon the Peace, to the Neutrality which *Spain* ſhould enter upon towards the Enemies of *Sweden*; and that I had Command to go immediately to *Nimeguen*; to acquaint the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors there with this Reſolution of his Majeſty, and endeavour thereby to induce them to quit their Pretenſion of being reſtored before the Evacuation of the Towns, that ſo *France* might be at Liberty to make that Pace towards the Peace. My Inſtructions told me likewiſe, That this was done upon Inſinuations made his Majeſty by *du Cros*, who was ſent at the ſame Time to the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors upon this Occaſion.

Du Cros came to me, and told me, The King had taken this Meaſure with Monſieur *Barillon*, and ſent an Expreſs over with it into *France*: That he was reſolved upon the Peace, and, to that purpoſe, had haſten'd me away to *Nimeguen*; whither he *(du Cros)* hoped to attend me. I told him, He knew his own Times and Motions; and that I ſhould govern my ſelf in mine, by my Orders and his Majeſty's Intentions, as far as I underſtood them. And ſo we parted.

I was in the greateſt Trouble in the World, whether to obey my Inſtructions, or firſt acquaint the King with the Conſequence of them here. I ſtay'd Three Days after *du Cros*, before I went to *Nimeguen*; but at laſt was reſolved in the Point, by finding that *du Cros* had made all publick here; was gone to do the ſame at *Nimeguen*, and had perſuaded the *Swediſh* Commiſſary to come and tell me, That their Ambaſſadors had not abſolutely deſiſted, but only declared, that they would do ſo, and expected my coming to determine them. Upon all which, the Penſioner as well as I, were both of Opinion, That it was neceſſary for me to acquaint the States with what his Majeſty had ordered me, and to go away to *Nimeguen*; and not give the States of *Holland* Occaſion to believe, that I endeavoured to hinder his Majeſty's Paces towards the Peace, in favour of what they here ſuſpect, of the Prince's Inclination to carry on the War.

On the 6th Inſtant, I acquainted the States with his Majeſty's Reſolution, and my Journey; and on the 7th, I ſet out to *Nimeguen*, where I arrived the 8th; and immediately found, that on the 6th, the *French* Ambaſſadors had declared my Memorial to the *Dutch*, That they deſiſted from their Pretenſion to detain the Towns till the Satisfaction of *Sweden*, in purſuit of a Declaration the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors had made to them about Ten Days before. But the *French* ſtill inſiſted upon the *Dutch* ſending to *St. Quintin*, to adjuſt other Points of the Peace. On the 9th, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors gave their Anſwer to the *French*: That the State could not ſend to *St. Quintin*, till the Peace was ſigned; but that they were ready to ſign upon the Evacuation of the Places, and ſhould be ſo all the next Day; but after that ended, they could make no farther Pace without his Majeſty, whoſe Meaſures taken with them by Treaty, would take place on the 11th of this Month.

On the 11th in the Morning, the *French* Ambaſſadors came to the *Dutch*; and in a Conference of Five Hours, wherein they preſs'd very much to keep ſome of the Towns, but found the *Dutch* obſtinate in all; they yielded at laſt, and agreed to ſign the Treaty, and both came to Us, the Mediators, to deſire us to ſign with them. We asked, Whether *Spain* ſigned at the ſame Time, and were included? and finding they did not, we refuſed to ſign with them, or at all to intervene in the Treaty without new Orders; ſince ours directed us to all Paces neceſſary for a general Peace, but not to any for a particular one. We expoſtulated with the *Dutch* for going about to ſign without *Spain*, contrary to what had always been his Majeſty's and the States Intention; but Monſieur *Beverning* ſaid, He muſt ſign that Night, though he loſt his Head; and ſo they did, between Eleven and Twelve a-Clock; the Inſtrument having been hardly finiſhed by that Hour; when our laſt Treaty with *Holland*, for carrying on the War, would have begun to take place.

Next Day they fell into the Buſineſs between *France* and *Spain*, wherein they met with ſo many Difficulties, by new Demands of the *French*, that they confeſſed, they found plainly the *French* Deſigns in this Precipitation; which was, That the *Spaniards* might not have Leiſure to adjuſt their Treaty, ſo as to ſign at the ſame time, nor the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors have Leiſure to ſend a Courier to the States for particular Orders, whether to ſign or no without *Spain*, and thereby to divide the States from *Spain*, and concluding their Peace ſeparately with the firſt, be obliged only to reſtore *Maſtricht*, but keep the Places in *Flanders* ſtill in their Hands.

Upon this Monſieur *Beverning* told us, That they had made a Pace that had ruined both the States and all their Neighbours; and when he ſaid the ſame to his Allies, laid the Fault upon his Majeſty, who had (as he ſaid from *Van Beuninghen's* Letter out of *England*) firſt refuſed to ratifie the late Treaty without Conditions that were not poſſible for this State to admit; and by *du Cros's* Journey, had ſatisfied the States what Meaſures the King had taken with *France* for the Peace, and how little was expected from *England* as to any Rupture with that Crown. Of all which we gave Account to Court.

On the 13th at Night I received by Expreſs the Notice of the Ratification of his Majeſty's Treaty with this State being arrived at the *Hague*, and Commands to exchange them without thoſe Difficulties that had before been made by Secretary *Williamſon*. The laſt Day allowed for this Exchange was the 5th, ſo that if the Expreſs had, by Winds or other Accident, been kept Four and Twenty Hours longer upon the Way, or I had not gone all Night as well as all Day, I could not have come Time enough from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, to make the Exchange; and the whole Treaty, upon which his Majeſty began to put ſo much Weight, had been out of Doors.

The Ratifications being exchanged in Time and Form, the Penſioner, with the greateſt Chagrin in the World, complained of *du Cros's* Journey, as that which had ruined the whole Affair, by giving ſuch Impreſſions here and at *Nimeguen*, as had precipitated the Signing of the Peace without *Spain*; and told me, The Prince had never been ſo troubled at any thing in his Life; and that he doubted it would engage him in ſome deſperate Action. The ſame Night, being the 15th, I received Letters from *England*, telling me, they had diſcovered the Artifice of *du Cros* in that whole Buſineſs, and how miſchievous it might prove; and that they hoped I had not purſued my Inſtructions, as I had certainly not done, if they had been ſent privately to me, and the whole Buſineſs not been communicated to him: But the Thing was done, and all I could ſay of it, was, That having found at my Arrival at *Nimeguen*, the *Swedes* had actually made the Pace towards which his Majeſty ſeemed wholly to aim by my Inſtruction; I had never ſaid any thing of it to the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, and thereby left *du Cros* wholly diſcredited with Them and the *French*, and all others there: And told them, That I found plainly, his whole Buſineſs was a *Fourberie*; which ſent him home railing at me, that I would not obey my Orders, and that I was reſolved to engage the King in a War, when his Majeſty was reſolved not to enter into any with *France*.

On the 16th at Night, we received News of the Prince's bold Action near *Mons*: For the Honour whereof, I will only tell Your Grace, That the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* had aſſured me, That their Army was ſo poſted, that if they had but Ten thouſand Men, and the Prince Fifty thouſand, he would find it impoſſible to attack them.

The Succeſs of it You will have heard from many Hands; and found, that after the Prince, no Man had a greater Share in the Danger and Honour of it than my Lord *Oſſory*, who charged upon the moſt deſperate Paſs, and left a great many Men and Officers behind him. For the Prince, all agree there was not a common Soldier in the Army ſo much expoſed, leading up every Squadron himſelf in the Wing he charged; and being the whole Time of the Engagement, in the very hotteſt of the Fire.

The Day after the Battle the Prince received the States Letters, giving him an Account of the Peace being ſigned; upon which he ſent to the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, to know if he would upon it raiſe the Siege of *Mons*; for which he took Two Days time to ſend for Orders, and then conſented to do it; and ſo the Affair ended, and the Armies retired to their Quarters. If ſome Miſcarriages had not happened in this Action from ſome of the Confederates, the *French* Army had certainly been broken that Day. And if the News of the Peace being made publick, with ſome other Circumſtances, had not prevented it the next, the Buſineſs would have come to a great Deciſion between the Armies; and with much Appearance of Advantage to the *Dutch*, upon the Conjunction with a Body of freſh *Engliſh* Foot, which would have had great Influence upon all Sides. But it was otherwiſe decreed.

On the 19th Letters came from *England*, but none to me from Court; upon the Belief I might be at *Nimeguen*, as Mr. Secretary pretended. But the Letters from Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* to the States ſaid, Though the King and Court had, at firſt Report of the Peace being ſigned, ſeemed a great deal ſurprized; yet he had next Day talked with them, and found them very well pleaſed with it, and with the Conduct of the States: And a private Letter to the Foreign Miniſters here ſaid, It went ſo far, that they were upon the Point of diſowning me and Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, for refuſing to ſign the Peace as Mediators.

On the 22d the Prince arrived here, and having been in the States the 23d, where he was received with great Applauſe, he came to me that Evening; and after Complaints of their Ambaſſadors having ſigned the Peace without *Spain*, and the ill Conſequences it was like to have upon the Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, he ſaid, However ſince his Majeſty was pleaſed with it, there was nothing to be done but to endeavour to include *Spain* in it, and afterwards to drive it on to a general Peace; without which *France* having all their Forces at Liberty on this Side, would in very little Time be Maſters of the *Rhine*, and all the great Cities upon it, from *Strasburg* to *Cologn*, if not to *Weſel*; and after that would ſoon be Maſters of theſe Countries and *Flanders*. And, therefore, he deſired, his Majeſty would propoſe a general Suſpenſion of Arms, by his Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*: Which I writ the ſame Night to Court, upon the Prince's Deſire, and with the Reaſons of it.

The next Day, being the 24th, Mr. *Hyde* arrived here, having made his Paſſage in Twenty four Hours from *London*; and brought poſitive Inſtructions with him to let the States know, how much the King had been ſurprized with their Ambaſſadors ſigning the Treaty without *Spain*; and with the Difficulties that ſtill remained upon the *Spaniſh* Treaty, and the Evacuation of the Places. That his Majeſty was thereupon of Opinion, That the States could not ratify that Treaty, by what they were engaged to by the laſt Treaty I had made here, to go on with the War: And that if they were of the ſame Mind, and would ſignify it to him, he would, within Three Days after ſuch Signification, declare War againſt *France*; and in all Points purſue the laſt Treaty he had made with the States.

We acquainted the Prince that Night, with this Commiſſion; and the firſt Word he ſaid upon it was, That he knew very well what Effect this would have had, if it had come Three Weeks before, and inſtead of Monſieur *du Cros*: But what Effect it would have now, he could not tell, farther than that it would ſurprize every Body. What he ſaid to me in private was, That we were too cold, and too hot; and that he wondred we had not obſerved what they were always calling out to the Steerſmen at Sea, *Steddy, Steddy*. That all we could hope to make out of this, was but to keep up the States in the Reſolution they were in already, of not ratifying the Treaty without *Spain*. But it had another Effect, at the firſt Noiſe, upon the Towns here; and ſo far encreaſed the Jealouſy of ſome Concert between the King and Prince of *Orange*, for carrying on the War, though *France* ſhould perform the Conditions this State had accepted, that the very next Day after Mr. *Hyde*'s Propoſition, thoſe of *Holland* paſſed a Reſolution to ſend an Amballador immediately into *France*; though under Pretence of knowing that King's Mind, upon the Differences remaining with *Spain*: And the next Day thoſe of *Amſterdam* propoſed to ratify the Treaty with *France*, even without the Incluſion of *Spain*. But the Prince's great Temper and Conduct hindred both one and t'other: The firſt, by the Voices of Five other Provinces againſt that of *Holland*; and the other, by the reſt of the Towns in *Holland* againſt that of *Amſterdam*; and brought it to a Reſolution, both in the States of *Holland* and States General, not to ratify the Peace without *Spain*; and to order their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* to go as far as poſſibly they can, in accommodating the Points ſtill in Difference, which are ſmall and few; and upon which I ſee no Likelihood that either *Spain* or this State will continue the War. So that if *France* will have a Peace, and not raiſe new Difficulties, beyond their own Propoſitions, I look upon it as unavoidable: And there has not been one Time theſe Four Years paſt, when we might not have entered into the War with Advantage, beſides this alone, when we have made an Offer at it; and thereby, I ſuppoſe, broke our Meaſures with *France*, though we have not taken them with the Confederates.

By laſt Poſt the King ſent Orders to Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, at *Nimeguen*, to propoſe a general Suſpenſion of Arms for Six Months; in Concurrence, as Mr. Secretary *Williamſon* writes, with the Prince's Deſire. But the Prince asks, How this agrees now with Mr. *Hyde*'s Propoſition? And obſerves, That when he deſired it, 'twas before he knew any Thing of this laſt Reſolution of his Majeſty's; and, on the contrary, thought him pleaſed with the Peace. In ſhort, whoever ſhould take the Pains to lay together the Paces we have made for theſe Three Months paſt, in this great Affair, would conclude, our Secretaries of State never remembred one Day, what had been done the Day before; or never cared what would be done the next. I am ſo far from ſpeaking this with Deſign, that I am, for my own part, reſolved to lay at his Majeſty's Feet the Promiſe he made me a Year ago of that Employment, as well as the Embaſſy I am charged with: And ſhould certainly have done it already, but the Prince has engaged me to defer it till this preſent Criſis be over; and till he ſhall have talked with me to the End of this Reſolution.

I have nothing more worth increaſing Your Grace's Trouble, and ought to ask Pardon for the Length of this. But I was reſolved to give You once this Light, by which the farther Paces of this Affair may be better diſcerned, even at the Diſtance Your Grace is at.

I ſhall only add, that in whatever Condition,

I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, Auguſt 30. *S. N.* 1678.

My Lord,

I Have this Morning received the Honour of Your Lordſhip's, in my Son's Hands; the Contents whereof chiefly concerning the Prince, I thought fit to ſend it him immediately, though it found his Highneſs in the States of *Holland*, where the great Conſultation, or rather Debate, was to begin, upon the Commiſſion Mr. *Hyde* brought over. Becauſe Your Lordſhip pleaſes to ſay, You are impatient to know what my Opinion is upon the whole, after my Diſcourſe with the Prince and Penſioner; I will add what I can think of, that may give You any farther Light than I did in my laſt, upon this Occaſion; and, in ſuch a Conjuncture, may poſſibly be done by ſmall Circumſtances, ſometimes better than by great.

The firſt Word the Prince ſaid upon it, to Mr. *Hyde* and me together, after he acquainted his Highneſs with his whole Inſtruction, was, That he knew very well what Effect this would have had, if it had come over Three Weeks ago, inſtead of Monſieur *du Cros*; but that he could not tell what Effect it would have now, more than that it would ſurprize every Body: But that, for his own part, he was very glad to find the King in that Mind; and thought it might do Good, and could do no Harm. And then ſaid all that paſſed farther, of which Mr. *Hyde* gave You ſo exact an Account laſt Poſt.

The next Day, the Prince ſpeaking to me, in private, upon it, at firſt lift up his Hands and Eyes Two or Three Times, and ſaid, Is it poſſible that this and *du Cros*'s Buſineſs could come from the ſame Hands? That he found, by Mr. *Hyde*'s Inſtructions, the King was troubled about what he had done in that Buſineſs; but it was a Pace that could not be diſcovered; and that his reſolving to warrant the Neutrality of *Spain* had undone us all; for without that, this State would never have done it; nor never have ſigned without *Spain*, if *du Cros* had not perſuaded them here, that the King had abſolutely taken his Meaſures with *France* about the Peace. That the Deſign of *du Cros*'s Journey was laid after Monſieur *Barillon* knew his Maſter had reſolved to ſign the Peace, upon yielding to evacuate the Towns. That the End of it was to ſhake his Majeſty's Meaſures here, by making them believe he had taken them abſolutely with *France* about the Peace; and to loſe his Majeſty's Credit wholly with all the Allies, by letting them know, he was reſolved to bring about the Reſtitution of *Sweden*, as ſoon as *Holland* was out of the War: And to have me ſent to *Nimeguen*, juſt at the ſame Time that I might have hindred the Signing a Peace without *Spain* by my being here. That the *French* Ambaſſadors had told Monſieur *Odyke*, immediately upon *du Cros*'s Arrival, That I had Orders to come away preſently, becauſe I was making the War here, while his Majeſty had taken his Meaſures with *France* for the Peace; and that it was a bold Thing of me to ſtay at the *Hague*, contrary to my poſitive Orders. The Prince added, That he knew, from a good Hand, by whom this whole Buſineſs had been brought about; and made very melancholy Reflections upon it. That for Mr. *Hyde*'s Commiſſion, it would ſurprize the more here, becauſe after this very Buſineſs, and the Signing of the Peace being known in *England*, Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* had written to the States, That the King approved of what they had done, and was glad of it: That it was too cold and too hot; and that, for his part, he always thought of the Boatſwain in the Yachts which brought him over, who was all Night crying out ſtill to the Steerſman, *Steddy*, *Steddy*; which he thought was as neceſſary in all Council, as at Sea. After this, he told me what Uſe he hoped might be made of it (which I writ Your Lordſhip laſt Poſt) but that it could not bring the State again into War, unleſs *France* ſhould refuſe to ſign with *Spain* upon ſuch Conditions as the State ſhould think *Spain* had Reaſon in; or elſe refuſe actually to evacuate the Towns, or to change the Thirteenth Article of the Treaty.

These were the Prince's true Thoughts upon it. Monſieur *de Lyra* the *Spaniſh* Miniſter, ſaid upon it, at firſt, That this Reſolution of his Majeſty was a Miracle wrought for *Spain* and this State, if they could be ſo wiſe as to make Uſe of it; but that he foreſaw the States would not: That the Thing was gone too far ſince the Signing of the Peace by the States Ambaſſadors, and of the Ceſſation of Hoſtility by the Prince; and that *Spain*, could not hope to better their Terms by it; becauſe this State would not fall in with his Majeſty, unleſs *France* ſhould refuſe to evacuate the Towns, which he was ſure they would not do. So that what they could hope was, That the States ſeeing his Majeſty ſo firm in it, would, at leaſt, ſecure the Evacuation of the Towns to *Spain*, as well as that of *Maſtricht* to themſelves: But that he was afraid of this generous Pace in his Majeſty having an Effect upon the Jealouſy *Amſterdam*, and ſome of the other great Towns, had of the Prince, and his Deſign to continue the War, in Concert with *England*.

The Marquis *de Grana* (who is the Emperor's chief Miniſter in all theſe Parts; and one of the beſt, in all Kinds, that I have met with) told me Yeſterday in private Conference, *Que la doſe eſt trop forte*; and that it had already encreaſed the Jealouſy at *Amſterdam* ſo much, that they had given their Opinion (the very next Day after Mr. *Hyde's* Propoſition) to ratify the Treaty with *France*. That the King had Reaſon, in his Opinion, to ſay, the Caſe of our Treaty was fallen; and that if the States were as deſirous to continue the War, as his Majeſty ſeemed now to go into it, they might make the *French* Proceedings in this Matter a very juſt Occaſion, as not having performed the Intentions of our Treaty. But that there was no Thought of bringing them into the War upon a Chicane about Words, whether the *French* Declaration were in Form, or their Promiſe in Writing. That beſides, there were many who wiſhed well to the Thing, but did not know what to make of this *Boutade* in *England*, and had no Confidence in it, ſince what *Van Beuninghen* and others had written the Poſt before, about his Majeſty's being pleaſed with the Treaty; and ſo far, that he, the Marquis, ſaw a Letter out of *England*, by that very Poſt, which ſaid, The King was ſo much ſatisfied with it, that he was upon the Point of diſowning Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* and me, for having refuſed to ſign the Treaty. That, for his part, he looked upon all as deſperate: That *France* would *faire quelque grand coup en Allemagne* theſe Two Months; and after the *Germans* ſhould retire into Winter Quarters, would come back with all their Forces in *Flanders*, and maſter it, in caſe the Towns ſhould not be evacuated before that Time; which they would endeavour by all the Delays towards *Spain*; and all the Artifices poſſible towards this State. That whatever came of it, he found his Maſter the Emperor was abſolutely reſolved never to ſeparate himſelf from the Princes of the Empire in the Courſe of the Treaty, but leave the Event to God Almighty.

Laſt Night late the Prince told me, That he hoped to have the Majority of Voices, very conſiderably, in this Province; and the other Provinces entirely, for not ratifying their Treaty till *Spain* had ſigned. That for his part, he would endeavour all he could, that they might not do it till *Spain* ſhould be ready to ratify at the ſame Time: But that he could have no Hopes of carrying it any farther, unleſs *France* ſhould refuſe to conclude with *Spain*, upon the Propoſitions they had offered at *Nimeguen*, and which *Spain* had accepted: That if they could, by his Majeſty's Firmneſs, ſecure the Towns in the *Spaniards* Hands, and thereby for the preſent ſave *Flanders*: All that he ſaw to be done, was to preſs the whole Buſineſs on towards a general Peace; ſince without it, after this State and *Spain* were out of the War, he did not ſee what could hinder *France* from taking *Treves*, *Cologn*, *Mentz*, and *Straſburgh*, though they ſhould not invade *Cleves* and *Juliers* preſently: And that after they had maſter'd the *Rhine*, they would ſoon do the ſame by this Country and *Flanders*.

This Morning I heard that Five of the greateſt Towns in *Holland*, next *Amſterdam*, and Three of the chief of *North-Holland*, as well as the Nobles, were certainly fixed in not ratifying their Treaty without *Spain*: And that ſome of them were reſolved to fall perſonally upon Monſieur *Valkener*, who had abſolutely governed *Amſterdam* in the Opinion they had taken, and with whom Monſieur *Van Lewen* had a ſharp and perſonal Bruſh, the laſt Day the States of *Holland* were aſſembled. How late they may ſit to Day I know not, but hope I may, before the Cloſure of this Pacquet, give Your Lordſhip ſome Account how the Debate runs; though I do not expect this Sitting ſhould end it.

Having given Your Lordſhip ſuch a particular Account of thoſe Perſons Thoughts upon it, which I eſteem moſt conſiderable here, and who are leaſt likely to be deceived, I ſhall not add any Judgment of my own, which ends but in one Point I mentioned in my laſt to your Lordſhip, That all Inſtructions his Majeſty can give to any Man here, ought to be executed (and directed to be ſo) in Concert with the Prince, in caſe his Judgment upon them were not had before: And Mr. *Hyde* is moſt abſolutely of this Opinion; and wiſhes often, That ſuch a Clauſe had been in his, in caſe he ſhould find the Prince here: For Want of it he has been engaged to purſue his Inſtructions already, farther than he thought the Thing would well bear; and is in great Pain what to do upon the laſt Point of them, about his Majeſty's Reſolution to recall his Troops, in caſe the States fall not into his Majeſty's preſent Mind upon the Treaty; which the Prince and Penſioner hitherto are of Opinion, would be a moſt deſtructive Pace to the whole Buſineſs.

I am ever, with equal Paſſion and Truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Prince Elector Palatine.

Hague, September 8. *S. N.* 1678.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

I Received ſome Time ſince the Honour of a Letter from Your Highneſs, of *July* 29, by the Conveyance of my Lord Ambaſſador *Jenkins*, and ſhould not have failed immmediately to make that Return which became me, in the Acknowledgments of it, if it had found me in my Station at *Nimeguen*, as Your Highneſs intended. But being divided between theſe Two Embaſſies, and finding the Duties of them ſometimes different, I cannot pretend to charge my ſelf with any Parts of my Function, as a Mediator there, while I find my ſelf engaged in another Sort of Figure, during my Abode here. Beſides, I was willing to ſee what Paces his Majeſty might think fit to make or decline in the Buſineſs of a general Peace, before I gave my ſelf the Honour of entertaining Your Highneſs upon the Share You are like to have in it. But ſince the King has thought fit to propoſe a Ceſſation of ſix Months in Order towards it, I ſhall preſume to tell Your Highneſs my Opinion, freely, upon thoſe two Points, wherein Monſieur *Spanheim* told me, You were pleaſed chiefly to concern Your ſelf.

For the Firſt, about *Philipsburg*, I do not ſee how a Peace between *France* and the Empire can be purſued upon any other Foot, than what Your Highneſs propoſes to Your ſelf in that Matter; ſo that I believe a General Neceſſity will therein ſerve to advance and to effect a particular Intereſt which Your Highneſs lays ſo much to Heart, and with ſo much Reaſon.

For the other Pretenſion, Of Relief and Reparation of the great Damages Your Highneſs has ſuffered by the War; ſince Your Highneſs intends (and, I think, prudently) to inſiſt no farther upon it, than by ingaging his Majeſty's Offices and Inſtances towards *France*; I think, Your Highneſs will do better to procure them immediately by Your Miniſter at *London*, to be tranſmitted from Court to the King's Ambaſſador at *Paris*, with Orders to purſue and value them there, as a particular and domeſtick Concernment which his Majeſty takes in Your Highneſs's Intereſts, rather than truſt to their being handed over to the King's Ambaſſadors Mediators at *Nimeguen*, perhaps, in a Croud of many other Princes Pretenſions, which may all be recommended in his Majeſty's Name, and by his Miniſters there, but not with that Earneſtneſs and Diſtinction, which I ſhould be glad the Crown of *England* would expreſs, upon all Occaſions, in what concerns Your Highneſs or Your Family.

I beg Your Highneſs's Pardon for ſo long an Interruption, and Your Belief, of my being ever, with great Devotion and Truth,

S I R,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, September 20. *S. N.* 1678.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip will have found by my laſt to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, what the great Affair here was like to end in; and by Mr. *Hyde*'s this Ordinary, That it has abſolutely taken that Ply which was then deſigned by the Prince and Penſioner, and approved by Monſieur *de Lyra* as all that could be wiſh'd; or, at leaſt, that they could propoſe to themſelves, after the Courſe it has run for theſe Two or Three Months paſt. The Circumſtances with which it was concluded Yeſterday, may be worth his Majeſty's Knowledge; and therefore, I thought fit to trouble Your Lordſhip with them.

When it was propoſed in the Form I mentioned in my laſt, the Town of *Amſterdam* oppoſed it, and ſaid abſolutely, They had no Orders from their Principals, farther than barely to ratifie the Treaty, without other Circumſtances or Conditions; That for any Security could be propoſed to the *Spaniards* in their Treaty, or, afterwards, for *Flanders*, it was provided for ſufficiently, in the Article between his Majeſty and this State, concerning a Guarantee to be given by them jointly for the Peace between *France* and *Spain*.

In this Propoſition the Town of *Amſterdam* (which uſed ever to have One or Two of the great Towns in cloſe Intelligence with them, and Two or Three of the ſmall ones in a ſervile Dependance) had now the Ill-luck not to be ſeconded by any One Town of the whole Province of *Holland*; but all of them run down the Deputies of that Town with ſuch Violence, and particular Reſentment againſt their Conduct in the whole Courſe of this Negotiation, that they ſuffered the Thing to paſs without any farther Debate or Oppoſition, and to be drawn up with all the Strength that the Prince could deſire, both as to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors declaring to the *French* at *Nimeguen*, upon delivering the Ratifications, that it was done upon this Condition, That the Treaty likewiſe with *Spain* ſhould be ratified by the Time limited, and afterwards duly executed; or elſe, that the Treaty ſhould be wholly void: And alſo to the States declaring to his Majeſty, That in Default of ſuch Performance, the late Treaty between his Majeſty and this State ſhould take Effect; and, *le cas du traité ſeroit tenu pour écheu*.

In the whole Courſe of this Affair, which held in the States of *Holland* from Three Yeſterday Afternoon, till Six, and afterwards paſſed in the States General, all the Towns of *Holland*, except *Amſterdam*, as well as all the other Provinces, declared in all their whole Diſcourſes upon this whole Subject, That they owed the Peace and Reſtitution of the Towns, and the Saving of *Flanders*, wholly to his Majeſty: That, without the laſt Treaty, they ſaw plainly, *France* would have yielded to no Terms with *Spain*, nor have made good their own Offers, in ſeveral Points, to this State: That nothing but a firm Union of this State with *England*, could make any Stop againſt the Ambition and Greatneſs of *France*; and, therefore, That they muſt ever ſtick firm to the Alliance with the Crown of *England*, and look upon it as their *Salvator*: which was the Word that run among them. And the Prince himſelf told me, That he never ſaw ſuch a Firmneſs generally among them, as was upon this Point; nor ſuch a Confuſion and Silence, as that of the Deputies of *Amſterdam* upon it.

After this was done, the Nobles of *Holland*, being the firſt Member of the Province, taking Occaſion from a Proteſt which the Town of *Amſterdam* had put in ſome Days ſince, againſt thoſe which intended to difficult or delay the Ratification with *France*, brought in formally a Counter-proteſt againſt the Town of *Amſterdam*, ripping up their whole Conduct in the Courſe of this Affair, laying this Peace at their Doors, and the ruinous Conſequence of it to the preſent Trade of theſe Countries, as well as to the Intereſt of this State, and the Princes their Neighbours and Allies; eſpecially upon the Points of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; and proteſting the Town of *Amſterdam* to be anſwerable for all the Miſchiefs that could any way come upon this State, by reaſon of ſuch an unſafe and infamous Peace.

Upon the reading of it, Monſieur *Valkener* turned pale as a Clout, ſo as every Body took notice of it; and after it was read, the Deputies of that Town all confeſs'd, that the Nobles had Reaſon in all they alledged, and that they had only one Thing to ſay for themſelves, which was, the Plea of Neceſſity; having been of Opinion, it was impoſſible for the State to ſupport the War any longer.

Thus Your Lordſhip will find how true a Meaſure I gave his Majeſty of this Country, upon my laſt Return from *Nimeguen* after *du Cros*'s Errand, both as to what Effect his Majeſty's Steddineſs and Firmneſs would have in advancing the Prince's Credit and Intereſt, and devolving the whole Dependance of this State upon his Majeſty; and likewiſe as to what Effect every looſe Pace we made with them, would certainly have, in throwing them wholly upon *France*, even in ſpight of all the Prince ſhould be able to do in reſtraining them. I will only add now my own Opinion as to what will follow the Peace; which is, That whereas it has been the General Thought, that the Prince's Authority was kept up by the War, and would decline upon the Peace; I believe quite the contrary, and that it will very much increaſe upon the Peace it ſelf, becauſe every body will ſee by the Courſe of Affairs afterwards, that the Prince was all this while in the True Intereſts of the Country; and that thoſe who advanced ſuch a Peace as this, were certainly out of it, either upon Faction, or Corruption, or want of good Senſe: And by what I hear of the Town of *Amſterdam* themſelves, I believe theſe two or three Men that have led them in this Courſe, will certainly come, in a little Time, to loſe their Credit: And I have ſome Reaſon to think, Monſieur *Valkener* would already be glad to compound for that.

I cannot but add one Word which paſſed laſt Night between the Prince and me upon this Occaſion; which was, That I had not known a bolder Action, of one that was counted a timorous Man, than this of *Valkener*, to ſet himſelf up at the Head of a Party here in Oppoſition to his Highneſs; not only in regard of his Authority in the State, or his *Appuy* from *England*; but chiefly in regard of his Highneſs being ſo abſolute in the Intereſts of the Country: For otherwiſe, I ſhould not think it a bold Thing, if *Valkener* were in it, and his Highneſs out of it. Upon which the Prince replied, No; but on the contrary, it would be a bold Thing for me to be out of it; and thoſe that have been ſo, You will ſee ruined, even by the Peace they have promoted.

In ſhort, his Majeſty's Firmneſs, and the Prince's ſaving of *Mons*, have brought the Thing to this Head, and left his Highneſs in the Poſture he ſtands. It will, I doubt not, continue, while his Majeſty is firm and ſteddy in his preſent Meaſures; and *France* is ſo ſenſible of the ill Pace they have made in the firſt Difficulty about evacuating the Towns, that the ſeveral Miniſters of that Crown make it their Buſineſs to clear themſelves of it; ſince they find it will not paſs here to throw it upon the *Swedes*; but I do not ſee how they can ever recover the Truſt they have loſt by it in this Country, nor the Credit of their Party here.

Your Lordſhip will find in Mr. *Hyde*'s Letter, Two Points upon which the Prince deſired us to write this Ordinary; one about the Satisfaction of his Debts from *Spain*, by the Ceſſion of *Maſtricht*: The other about the Princeſs's Portion. The Introduction he gave them was, That now he ſaw all publick Buſineſs draw to an end here, he would begin to think of his own.

Upon the Firſt, I having ſeen his Highneſs ſince Mr. *Hyde*, I adviſed a Turn in it which he approved of; that was, Not to pretend abſolutely a Ceſſion of *Maſtricht* and *Limburgh* at preſent, but only that *Spain* ſhould leave them in the Hands of the Prince, till they found out a Way of acquitting his Debts; the Difficulties whereof will, in all Appearance, put them upon this Expedient themſelves: This I offered, becauſe I knew Monſieur *de Lyra* had ſeemed much ſurprized and ſhock'd at this Propoſition this Morning from the Penſioner; tho' I have Reaſon to believe, they are not unprepared for it at *Madrid*. The Prince deſires the Orders his Majeſty ſends to his ſeveral Ambaſſadors upon this Subject may run in that Form.

For the other, about the Portion, He deſires his Majeſty will either pay it by the Proportions of Times agreed on, or elſe by ſetting apart ſuch a Sum of the Monthly Tax given by the Parliament, and including this Portion as will make the Payment within the Time agreed on, which is, I think, about 4000 *l.* *per* Month, there being one of the Two Years already paſt.

Your Lordſhip will have obſerved in my laſt Letter to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, the Mention of one I had received from the King to the States and myſelf, about Two Ships taken Three Years ſince by a *Zealand* Caper.

The Letters came through Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*'s Office; but in ſuch a Stile, as Mr. *Hyde* and I were equally amazed, conſidering the Game that was playing here, whether this State ſhould take their Meaſures with *England* or with *France*: ſo we both reſolved it ſhould firſt be ſhewed the Prince. The Matter was, of it ſelf, in a Way of being diſpatch'd, and not in all above the Value of Two or Three Thouſand Pounds; and coming without any Line from the Secretary himſelf, we took them to be Things of Form, and procured only by the Sollicitation of the Parties, and without any Reflections of his Majeſty's. When I ſhewed it the Prince, he ſaid, That he hoped I conſider'd the King's Service here, more than to deliver ſuch a Letter: That he was ſure the King never ſaw it: That it was a Letter to have been writ in 1671, when the King was reſolved to quarrel with this State; and not now, when he was fallen into Meaſures with them. Nay, He was confident, Mr. Secretary had taken the Draught of the Letters that were written then, and had only chang'd the Names: That the States would certainly interpret it, That his Majeſty had reſolved ſtill to quarrel with them, and had taken his Meaſures again with *France*, which would make them try to do ſo too: That in all the Diſpoſitions of that King here, *Zealand* had ſtill been moſt inclined to *England*, with whom this Breach is threatned to begin: For, entring into it with the Admiralty there, was, in effect, with the whole Province. In ſhort, he ſaid, It would be abſolutely neceſſary to ſuppreſs the Letter, till I had farther Orders; but that he would undertake this Buſineſs ſhould certainly be done.

I ſend Your Lordſhip a Copy of the Letter, which was directed to me, or the Secretary of the Embaſſy here in my Abſence; ſo that if I had not been upon the Place, he had certainly delivered it the next Morning. And, which the Prince thought very hard too, a Copy of the Letter was given to the Perſons that ſolicite it here; ſo that I was fain to deſire them to keep it up to themſelves, till they found whether I could do their Buſineſs or no without it. This puts me in mind of repeating again what I writ to Your Lordſhip upon my laſt Return from *Nimeguen*, of the Neceſſity there would be, while his Majeſty continues his Meaſures here as they are, for his Miniſters to act upon Concert with his Highneſs; at leaſt, till they had made a Repreſentation to his Majeſty upon their Orders, of ſuch Conſequences as could not be, or were not foreſeen in *England* when they were iſſued. I told the Prince, at his Return from the Campaign, the firſt Time Mr. *Hyde* and I attended him, That I had written to Your Lordſhip upon this Subject, and what You had returned of the Commiſſion the King had given You, to aſſure his Highneſs of his Majeſty's Reſolution in it. The Prince ſaid to us both upon it, That, the Truth was, if his Majeſty conſidered him as perfectly in his own Intereſts, it ought to be ſo; and that the Prince ought to be the King's Ambaſſador here; and, in that Caſe, he ſhould be able to ſerve his Majeſty: Which were juſt his Words; and I thought fit to let Your Lordſhip know them; becauſe, notwithſtanding what You were pleaſed to ſay, I neither obſerve any ſuch Directions to me ſince, either in General, or in this Particular; nor any to Mr. *Hyde*, at his coming away; though he brought an Inſtruction with him, which would abſolutely have ſpoiled the King's Buſineſs here, if, at the Prince's Deſire, he had not ſuppreſs'd it. And 'tis a very hard Caſe for an Ambaſſador either to hinder his Maſter's Service (perhaps ruin it) or elſe, by ſuppreſſing an Order, to lie under the Laſh of a Secretary, who, perhaps, would be pleaſed with making others ſmart for his own Faults.

There is a Paper lately ſent over to be preſented his Majeſty from the *Lunenburgh* Miniſters at *Nimeguen*, about a Difficulty they have met with in ſeeing Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, though they pretend to have ſatisfied the Forms his Majeſty requires, as to the Competition with the Emperor. All I ſhall ſay upon it, is, That Sir *Lyonell Jenkins* is bound up by ſuch ſtrict Orders in theſe Points, that I do not ſee how he can poſſibly, with them, perform the Part of a Mediator; being abſolutely bound up already from ſeeing one of the *Spaniſh*, *Daniſh*, and *Dutch* Embaſſies, and now theſe of *Lunenburgh*, ſo much as in Third Places, or ordinary Converſation or Buſineſs. To either of which I never underſtood how ſuch Orders ſhould be tied, or why That ſhould go any farther than the Buſineſs or Viſits of Ceremony.

I ask Your Lordſhip's Pardon for the Length of this Trouble, which was intended only to give You ſuch Lights as I thought might be neceſſary, and You would not, perhaps, receive from any other Hand.

I am ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Duke of Ormond.

Hague, September 23. *S. N.* 1678.

My Lord,

SINCE my laſt to Your Grace, nothing hath paſſed here, but what You will have foreſeen, which ended with Mr. *Hyde's* Propoſition from his Majeſty. The States excuſed themſelves from any formal Anſwer to it for ſome time, not knowing how the Difficulties between *France* and *Spain* were like to determine. The *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* ſeemed peremptory in their Demands, eſpecially of *Beaumont*, and the Chatelenye of *Aeth*; but at length ſubmitted themſelves to the Arbitrage of this State, as the *Spaniards* had done to his Majeſty and them. Monſieur *d' Avaux* came Poſt hither from *Nimeguen* to ſupport his Maſters's Right upon this Arbitrage, which was to be diſpatch'd in Five Days, ſo as to make way for ſigning the Peace with *Spain*, before the laſt Day left for the Ratifications with this State, which was the 21ſt current. But before he had been Two Days here, a Courier came to him with News, That the King of *France* had generouſly remitted both Points to the *Spaniards*, without any Arbitrage, ſo as the Peace was to be ſigned on *Saturday* laſt the 17th. This was done, and the States on *Monday* reſolved to exchange their Ratifications with *France*; but, at the ſame time, to declare, That it was upon Condition of their performing the Treaty with *Spain*; if not, this between them and *France* to be void. Before this, they reſolved likewiſe to give Mr. *Hyde* and me their formal Anſwer to his Majeſty's laſt Propoſition, That though *France* had ſigned the Treaty with *Spain*, and theirs with *France* would thereupon be ratified, yet they had declared to his Majeſty, it was with this Reſolution, That if *France* either refuſed to ratifie their Treaty with *Spain*, or to perform afterwards the Conditions of it; this State ſhould hold, *le cas du dernier Traité avec ſa Majeſté pour échû*; and ſhould be ready to perform the Condition of it.

This was all the Prince himſelf propoſed to bring it to here, ſince the Game had gone too far to be recovered in any other manner, and the Town of *Amſterdam* was againſt this it ſelf.

Upon the Exchange of Ratifications made at *Nimeguen* between *France* and this State, on *Wedneſday*, in purſuance of this Anſwer from the States, Mr. *Hyde* embark'd Yeſterday Morning for *England*, and with him my Lord *Oſſory*, reſolved to ſee Your Grace in *Ireland*, before any Thoughts of returning hither. All that is now left to be done, is, to enter into Guarentees with this State for what remains of *Flanders*; and to try if the Progreſs of *France* upon the *Rhine* may be prevented by any Steps towards a general Peace: The firſt whereof, and which the Prince is much concerned in, has been made already, by his Majeſty's Propoſition at *Nimeguen*, for a General Suſpenſion of Arms; which *France* yet refuſes to come to upon the Score of *Sweden*, as they give out; but, as others believe, upon their own.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, October 7. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

BY my Letter this Ordinary to Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, Your Lordſhip will find an Account of my late Journey to *Amſterdam*, and to the Prince at *Hoogſboore*, about 24 Leagues from this Place, with one part of the Errand that occaſioned it, and the Succeſs of it. There were Two other Occaſions which led me to it, that I thought not fit to mention in a Letter which muſt paſs ſo many Eyes; reſerving them for Your ſelf, and, by Your means, for His Majeſty and Royal Highneſs; ſince one of them had its Riſe in private Confidence from the Prince; and the other from Your Lordſhip's laſt Letter; wherein You ſeemed ſo deſirous of knowing his Opinion upon two Points of great Conſequence, which I thought it neceſſary You ſhould be ſatisfied in by the Firſt, without attending the Prince's Return, which was like to draw out into ſome Length.

Upon his Highneſs leaving the Town laſt, he very earneſtly recommended to me the making a Journey to *Amſterdam*; not only for diſcovering their Minds there as to the Point of the Guarantee, of which I have given Mr. Secretary an Account; but likewiſe as to the manner they are like to live with the Prince hereafter, now the Peace is made; ſince their Carriage in the late Debate here about *Maſtricht*, gave the Prince a Suſpicion, that they were reſolved to do it declaredly, upon all Occaſions, againſt his Opinion and Intereſts, however united with the Senſe of the other Provinces, and even the reſt of the Towns in this. At leaſt, he believed, Monſieur *Valkener* would act that Part. But, that his Highneſs might the better take his Meaſures, he deſired to have ſome certain Light, both as to his particular Reſolutions, and how he was likely to be ſeconded in them by Monſieur *Hoeſt*; that is, how far ſupported, or where deſerted in them. For the Town of *Amſterdam* is abſolutely governed by theſe Two Men, without any other Perſon ſo much as pretending, at preſent, any Share in it. I have had long Diſcourſes with them both, and not only together, but ſeparately; and, as the Prince thinks, very much to the Advantage of his Affairs and Service here. Monſieur *Valkener*, who is a very thoughtful, deſigning, and covered Man, yet went ſo far with me, as to ſay plainly at laſt, That, for his part, he ſhould ever ſhew as much Reſpect to his Highneſs's Perſon and Intereſts, as any Man in the Country, while he kept within the eſtabliſh'd Conſtitutions of the State; but if, upon any Occaſion, he ſhould offer to go beyond them, he muſt oppoſe it as far as he could; and believed, not only that his Town would do ſo too, but that they would be applauded in it by the other Towns of this Province; who might yet in the States, upon other Reſpects, give Opinions different from them: That there were two different ſorts of People for the Prince to make uſe of here; One that were fit to follow him at Court, in his Hunting and Entertainments; Another that were fit for the Magiſtracy of this Country, and had generally a Reputation not only of good Patriots, but of Men of Ability and Honeſty, and ſuch as the People generally were content to truſt: That he needed not name any ſuch Men; the Prince could not fail of knowing them; for if he did not by his own obſerving, common Fame would tell him who they were in every Town: And that, if the Prince would have all go eaſy and unanimous here, he muſt, when he had any thing to propoſe in the States, firſt ſend for ſome of theſe Men from the ſeveral Towns, and diſcourſe it with them apart: If he found They agreed in Opinion about it, he might reckon the Thing would certainly and eaſily paſs in the States: If they differed, he ſhould then ſend for them to talk it over with them together, and tell them, He found they were of ſeveral Minds, and therefore, he deſired they would reaſon it with one another before him; which would produce an

Agreement, one Way or other, among them, as well as the Debates here in the States had in a manner ever done; and accordingly his Highneſs might take his certain Meaſures.

Monſieur *Hoeft*, who is a much franker Man, and of greater Credit, tho' leſs Opinion than the other, went farther with me: For after ſome Things of the ſame Kind, about the Prince's conſulting with Perſons truſted and eſteemed in their Towns, taking his Meaſures previouſly with thoſe of *Amſterdam* as well as other Towns, which were publickly known to be at his Devotion; not confining his Converſation to very few Perſons, and of another ſort, nor the Conſultations of Buſineſs to any One or Two Men alone: He ended with me, at laſt, in this Concluſion, That nothing was ſo neceſſary here, as a perfect Union between the Prince and States, and the taking away all Appearance of the leaſt Difference between them; which would but let *France* into the State, by ſiding with one Party or other, and with either of them juſt as would ſerve their preſent Turn. That for his Part, he was ſo ſenſible of this, and had ſuch an Opinion of the Prince, both as to his Moderation, and his underſtanding his own Intereſt aright, to be perfectly joined with thoſe of the Country; that notwithſtanding all Jealouſies which had unhappily been raiſed here, or might be ſo hereafter, perhaps, induſtriouſly, he was abſolutely reſolved he would truſt the Prince, till he ſhould ſee him engaged in Courſes againſt the Intereſts and Liberties of the State. That, in ſuch a Caſe, he ſhould enter into the *bonne partie*, and oppoſe it according to his Duty: But that, in the mean Time, he would not go about to hurt both his Country and the Prince too, by encreaſing any Difference between them, upon Suſpicions, or Jealouſies, that he did not ſee a plain Ground for.

As to particular Occaſions of Difference between the Prince and States, now after the Peace, he would not ſee any; unleſs it ſhould happen about a ſecond Reduction of the Army, and to ſuch a Proportion as might be maintained by the ordinary Revenue of the Country. But when I told him, the Time of propoſing this was chiefly conſiderable; whether before they ſhould ſee the general Peace made, or *France* likewiſe begin to diſarm: And upon this it ſelf, they ought to debate the whole thing, privately, with the Prince of *Orange*, before they brought it into the States: He told me, He thought I had Reaſon, and he ſhould be of that Mind: And ended with ſaying many Things of the greateſt Eſteem that could be of the Prince, and very much Kindneſs to his Perſon and Intereſts; deſiring me to give his Highneſs the Aſſurance of it.

Upon my Report of all this to the Prince, he ſeemed to be extremely pleaſed with it, and ſaid, I had made a Journey to mighty good Purpoſe: And he ſhould make ſo good Uſe of it, that he doubted not to be able to give a good Account of this Country, as to what ſhould be their Part in the general Concerns of *Chriſtendom*, provided his Majeſty would be but *Steddy* in the Purſuit of his Meaſures here.

After this I ſhewed him Your Lordſhip's Letter, deſiring to know his Opinion about his Majeſty's reconciling with *France*, in ſomething about *Sweden*; and entring into Meaſures with them, in Behalf of that Crown; and likewiſe about a Match with that King to Lady *Anne*, in caſe it ſhould be purſued: The Prince read it twice over, and very thoughtfully; and after ſome Pauſe, ſaid, That he could not tell on the ſudden, what to think of this Letter. That upon his firſt reading of thoſe Lines about reconciling with *France* in ſomething of *Sweden*, he was as much amazed as the Stag was that Day, at the firſt Blow that was given him. That he had no Reaſon to believe, by the laſt Letters he received from the Duke, or from Your Lordſhip, that there was any Change in our Councils in *England*, from the late Meaſures we had taken, of preſerving *Europe* from the Deſign of *France* upon it. That yet he could not imagine how any Body ſhould think we could reconcile with *France* for reſtoring *Sweden*, without breaking all the Meaſures we had lately taken, and returning abſolutely into our former ones with *France*. That this was certainly an Artifice of the *French*, who ſaw they could not cloſe with us directly, upon any Thing between our ſelves, and ſo they would ground it upon the Buſineſs of *Sweden*; which would be in Effect the ſame Thing, and bring the Buſineſs of *Europe* juſt where it was four or Five Years ago. That *Sweden* made no Pace, nor uſed no Language, but as they were directed by *France*; and ſo he was ſure they were in this. That the Effect of any ſuch Agreement between Us and *France*, would be the King's wholly loſing all his Credit, not only with the Empire and *Spain*, as returning into the *French* Intereſts, by embracing thoſe of *Sweden*, which were wholly joined with them, but it would likewiſe ſhake it here too, and make them return to the Opinion they have ſo long had in this Country, that the King would never heartily break from *France*: And that the Effect of this would be, to make the States run into the Intereſts of that Crown, as a Thing which muſt befal them, and without Remedy. And that nothing could be more ruinous than this, to the Affairs of his Majeſty here, nor to thoſe particularly of his Highneſs. That upon any Meaſures which could be taken between his Majeſty and *France*, for the reſtoring *Sweden*, the firſt Action on the *French* Side muſt be the invading *Cleve* and *Weſel*, and the reſt of the Duke of *Brandenburgh*'s Territories adjoining; which will not only let in the *French* into the Empire on that Side, but make them in as great a Meaſure Maſters of this Country, (of which *Cleves* and *Juliers* have ever been eſteemed the very Key) as they could have been by their Conqueſts in *Flanders*. And that his Highneſs does not apprehend how his Majeſty can take part in ſuch an Action; and which muſt have Conſequences ſo directly oppoſite to all the Meaſures he has lately taken, and to the Offers he has made this State about the Security of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. That as far as his Highneſs underſtands, his Majeſty's Intereſts, and that of the Crown of *England*, are, after the Peace to enter into ſuch Meaſures with this State, the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, as may preſerve *Flanders*, and keep *France* from overturning the World any farther: To live fairly with *France*, but to enter into no new Meaſures with them; ſo that upon any ill Talent of *France*, about what his Majeſty has already done in the ſaving *Flanders*, he may have the Empire ready to fall into his Intereſts, as he has this State already engaged, by a defenſive League, in caſe of *France*'s attacking us. And for *Sweden*, he does not ſee how his Majeſty can go farther than to induce them firſt to a Suſpenſion of Arms, and afterwards to ſome reaſonable Terms in a Peace.

That, for the Match between that King and Lady *Anne*; his Highneſs knows nothing againſt it, if the King and Duke think it fit, unleſs it be the Time of either doing or treating it; which he believes cannot be before the general Peace is made; becauſe it will otherwiſe have thoſe Effects beforementioned, eſpecially if accompanied by Engagements with *France*; unleſs it ſhould be treated upon the Foot of *Sweden*'s conſenting to ſuch Terms of a Peace, as the Confederates ſhould be likely to fall in with.

This was the Subſtance of the ſeveral and large Diſcourſes which his Highneſs made me upon this Occaſion, and with much Concernment; deſiring me to repreſent them to Your Lordſhip, at large, as he would write, in ſhort, his Thoughts to You upon them by this Poſt.

After this he took Notice of the Paſſage in Your Lorſhip's Letter, about the King intending to command my Return in a ſhort Time; and ſaid upon it, That it could not be fit at the preſent; but that he would talk with me about the Time of it, after the Evacuation of the Places in *Flanders*, and the Treaty of Guarantee here ſhould be finiſhed: Which being the firſt Steps after the Peace, would be of the greateſt Importance, and declare the Intention of this State, as to their Meaſures hereafter with *England* and with *France*. That whenever I left this Poſt, it would be abſolutely neceſſary for his Majeſty to have an Ambaſſador here, and not a leſs Character, ſince the *French* were reſolved ever to have one; and that it would extremely import his Highneſs what ſort of Perſon he ſent over: For unleſs it ſhould be one that might live in Confidence with him, and have Credit in the Country here, 'twere better have none at all. *I am*, &c.

To

To the Duke of YORK.

Hague, October 11. *S. N.* 1678.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

I Received Yeſterday Morning, by Mr. *White*, the Honour of a Letter from Your Highneſs, with a Command which it will be very difficult to perform here; I mean, that of helping her Highneſs to be *incognito* in this Place. The Prince being yet abſent, and the Penſioner too, I ſpoke of it to Monſieur *Van Lewen*, who was hard to be perſwaded, that the Honours due to her Highneſs by the States, upon ſuch Occaſion, ſhould not be performed, ſolemnly, at her landing. But having acquainted him with the Abſoluteneſs of Your Highneſs's Commands, both by Your Letter, and, particularly, by Mr. *White*, I prevailed with him to make no mention of it in the States, till the Prince's Return: And this, I hope, may be to night, or to morrow at fartheſt.

For a Houſe to receive her Highneſs and Lady *Anne*, with their Attendants, there was no Choice at all in it; and ſo the Princeſs Dowager's Houſe is making ready for this Purpoſe; and will, I doubt not, be in Order by to morrow. I could not perſwade Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* and Mr. *White* to allow me any other Part in this Care, beſides leaving the whole Houſe empty; which I did early this Morning, and them, with the Prince's Servants, in all the Diligence that could be, of preparing it for her Highneſs's Reception; who beſides the Honour of ſuch a Piece of Gallantry, will have certainly a very great Satisfaction in ſeeing here ſuch a Princeſs, as, in all Kinds, I do believe, is very hard to be ſeen any where elſe. I wiſh the Weather but as fair as the Wind, and then, I hope, this Adventure will be very ſoon and very happily atchieved.

I beg Your Highneſs's Leave upon this Occaſion, to give You an Account of another Command I received from Your Highneſs at my coming away; which was, to ſpeak at large to the Prince about ſome Particulars in his Way of living, and converſing here, that Your Highneſs thought of great Conſequence to his Affairs in this Country. I did not find an Opportunity that made Way for it, till now of late, ſince Matters here ſeemed to fix a little, upon the Concluſion of the Peace with *Spain*, which gave his Highneſs Occaſion of diſcourſing with me ſeveral Times, upon this new Scene of Affairs; and employing my Offices to diſcover how the Town of *Amſterdam* was like to live with him, after the Peace. I gave my Lord Treaſurer, by laſt Poſt, a large Account of what had paſſed between me and the Two ruling *Burgomaſters* there, upon this Subject; and ſhall now only add to it, That having repreſented all that Matter to the Prince at *Hoog ſhoore*, and, upon that Occaſion, the full Scope of Your Highneſs's Thoughts, he ſeemed extremely ſatisfied with both: And aſſured me, That as there were many Applications which might be made in a Time of Peace, and could not, while his Thoughts were wholly taken up with the War; ſo he ſhould not now neglect them, though he might hitherto have done it. That he ſhould fall into a new Ply; and that he doubted not to give a good Account of this State, in all the publick Concernments of *Chriſtendom*, if his Majeſty could reſolve to be *Steddy* in the Meaſures he had fallen into of late.

I ſhould not have given Your Highneſs ſo long a Trouble, but that I thought You would not be diſpleaſed with the Knowledge of this Particular; and in it my Obedience to that Command of Your Highneſs, of writing without Ceremony. I am very confident You will believe it to be without any at all; when I aſſure Your Highneſs of my being ever with the greateſt Paſſion and Truth that can be,

SIR,

Your Highneſs's, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, October 11. *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

SInce my laſt of the 7th, wherein I gave You a large Account of my late Journey to *Amſterdam*, and to the Prince in the *Veloue*; and what Thoughts and Intentions I had met with in both Places, about the Buſineſs of the Guarantee: I have likewiſe given part to the Penſioner of all that paſſed there, with which he was very much ſatisfied. But thinking it of the laſt Importance that the Thing ſhould meet with no Difficulty, after it came once to be propoſed here; he was divided in the Opinion, Whether to let it alone till the next Seſſion of the State of *Holland*, which begins next Month; becauſe then it might be paſſed in Two Days Time, without ſending it to the Towns, the Deputies being here? Or, Whether the Prince, the Penſioner, and Monſieur *Van Lewen* to digeſt the Matter with me here, into the Form and Articles of a Treaty; and then for me to go with it, and engage the Conſent of *Amſterdam* to it, even before the next Aſſembly of the State? He concluded, That we muſt expect the Prince's Advice upon it; and was, I believe, the more fixed in it, by being himſelf reſolved to go again out of Town, after One Day's Stay here, with Intention of not coming back till the Prince's Return; which we now expect will be this Evening or to Morrow, ſo as by next Poſt I may poſſibly give You a farther Account of this Matter; and I hope I may, in the mean Time, receive his Majeſty's Thoughts upon that Project in general, which I gave of it from the Prince and Penſioner's Diſcourſes, about a Fortnight ſince.

I told You in my laſt, of the States Deputation, on *Friday* laſt, to Monſieur *d'Avaux*, about the Evacuation of *Maſtricht*, the General Peace, and the Quiet of the Neighbourhood, eſpecially *Juliers* and *Cleves*: I find by Monſieur *Van Lewen*, who was one of the Deputies, that his Anſwer was, As to the firſt, that he had yet no Orders; but would that Night diſpatch away an Expreſs, and hopes to give them ſome Account of it within Four Days. For the Second, That his Maſter was well diſpoſed to the General Peace, and a Suſpenſion of Arms in Order towards it, if his Allies could be induced to it. For the Third, That it was a Thing the King his Maſter reſerved to treat with the Ambaſſadors of this State in *France*, where he had expected them any Time theſe Two Months, though they were not yet gone. That, in the mean Time, the Proceedings of the Duke of *Brandenburgh* were ſuch in *Pomerania*, as would of neceſſity oblige the King his Maſter to invade his Territories upon the *Rhine*; having no other Way to make a Diverſion. Though what Towns he ſhould take there, would be without any Intention of keeping them.

Monſieur *Van Lewen* added to me, That he wondered to hear Monſieur *d'Avaux* ſpeak ſo frankly in this Matter, as well as in what concerned his Majeſty's Mediation; That there was now no Need of it in any Thing between *France* and this State; and that in all Things which concern their Neighbours, or Allies, the King his Maſter would rather have the States to interpoſe their Mediation, than his Majeſty. And he ſaid, Though it paſſed in Diſcourſe, and not at the Conference, yet being a Man of Reſerve, he believed it would not have been ſaid without Order, and being firſt weighed.

Yeſterday Monſieur *d'Avaux* let the States know, that the King his Maſter, not to retard the Evacuation of the *Spaniſh* Towns, would draw off his Forces now in *Flanders*, to *Huy* (a Town between *Namur* and *Liege*) which he intended to fortify; and finding there were Seven or Eight Hundred Men of this State at preſent in it, he deſired they would order them to march out, this being a Town of the Empire; and the States being obliged by their Treaty to aſſiſt none of the Enemies of *France*. I find them here a little ſurprized with this, and ſome Delays that are yet made in the Delivery of *Maſtricht*; but no Return, I believe, will be made, till the Prince be conſulted after his, to this Place. I am ever,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, December 6. S. N. 1678.

My Lord,

I Was ſo infinitely obliged, by the Kindneſs and Confidence of a Letter I had this Day the Honour of receiving from Your Lordſhip, by Mr. *Hales*, that I could not delay the acknowledging of it by this Poſt; though to do that as I ought, will, I doubt, be as hard as to deſerve it. And, I fear, to interrupt Your Lordſhip, at a Time ſo buſy as this, will be a greater Fault than any Omiſſion would have been. I had not before any true Proſpect of the preſent Scene; and though Your Lordſhip has given me ſo much Light, yet it ſerves rather to repreſent the Sadneſs of it, than to diſcover any Remedy to ſuch fatal Diſtempers as have been long breeding, and are now ſo violently broken out in our poor unfortunate Nation. God alone can be the Phyſician, who governs the Hearts of Princes, and the Humours of People: For to think of Advice from any other, in ſo many croſs Accidents, both at home and abroad, as meet to make up this violent *Criſis*, is too great a Compliment to put upon any Man; and if your Lordſhip could hope for it, in my Opinion, it ought to be from Your ſelf, who have beſt been able to obſerve the Spring and Growth of this Diſtemper, with the Diſpoſitions of the Body; and by that, as well as by Your own natural Prudence, muſt be fitter than any other Perſon to make a Judgment upon it. For my own part, it would be more Preſumption in me than in any Man to offer at it, upon many Regards; beſides that of the Diſtance I am at, and have been ſo long, and ſo often, for a great Part of my Life. Nor do I know one Quality to make me fit for it, unleſs it be not only as near and as ſenſible, but as unpaſſioned, and as unintereſſed Concernment in the true Good and Service of my Maſter and my Country, as any Man can have. And for this Reaſon, and becauſe Your Lordſhip hath uſed many Times to ask me ſo kindly, and hear me ſo favourably, upon ſmaller Occaſions; and becauſe I take You to be equally concerned with the Publick in this, it ſhall go hard but I will find a Way of telling Your Lordſhip, by ſome Hand or other, and in very few Words, all that I have been able to think upon it: Which can do no Hurt, becauſe You may forget it as ſoon as 'tis done.

For any Accounts of Foreign Affairs, which Your Lordſhip might have expected if I had come over; the whole Courſe of my Diſpatches, ſince I left *England* laſt, will better inform any Body than I my ſelf could do; as having been conſtant and particular, and thereby containing many Things I have forgot. For the Queſtion You are pleaſed to ask about the Peace, I cannot add one Word to that ſhort Account Your Lordſhip will meet with, in my Letter this Poſt to Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*; unleſs it be, That nothing ſeems to me, at preſent, ſo neceſſary in the Foreign Affairs, as for his Majeſty to diſpatch away ſome Miniſter to *Spain*, whoſe chief Inſtruction ſhould be, To watch any Motion of Councils, or Negotiations there, for the Exchange of *Flanders*: To divert them from any ſuch Thoughts, by the greateſt Aſſurance of his Majeſty's reſolving to take it into his conſtant Care and Protection: And ſo to repreſent the State of our preſent Diſorders themſelves,

ſelves, as not to diſhearten that Court in the Hopes that his Majeſty may yet be able to perform effectually, what he intends, and promiſes, in that Matter. I think the Diſpatch of this ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe, I doubt, the preſent Miniſter there may, in this Conjuncture, be a very ill Inſtrument in ſuch an Affair; and be poſſibly inclined to promote other Ends, in what concerneth that very Buſineſs of *Flanders*, and any Exchange of it.

For Mr. *Mountague*, I have neither deſerved ſuch Offices Your Lordſhip ſpeaks of, nor ſhall trouble my ſelf about making ſuch Returns. I am infinitely obliged to Your Lordſhip, for the Enquiries You ſay You will make; and ſhall be very glad to know my Faults, from my Enemies as well as my Friends; becauſe which way ſoever I find them, I ſhall make the ſame Uſe, that is, to mend them. I ſtand always upon the Ground of having never done either an unjuſt, or ungentlemanly Action in my Life; or an unfaithful one to the Service of my Maſter, or my Country. And whoever may be perſwaded otherwiſe of me, by Whiſperers, or Malice, I ſhall leave to their own Opinions, till they pleaſe to make fair Enquiries; and concern my ſelf no farther in them nor the Conſequences. Having, I thank God, at Heart, neither Hopes to ſerve, nor Faults to anſwer for.

As to Sir *Henry Capel*, I ſhould be very ſorry to think he meant ill to the Crown or Kingdom, becauſe I always thought otherwiſe of him; and cannot reproach my ſelf to have often been deceived by my Friends; and whenever I am, believe I have not more Reaſon to quarrel with them, than with my ſelf for chuſing them. For his Unkindneſs to me, I will, at leaſt, be as juſt, as I deſire others to be to me; which is, To hear firſt what he ſaith of it, before I judge. For any to Your Lordſhip, I ſhall not eaſily forgive; becauſe I do not think You have deſerved it, upon any publick Conſiderations; which are all that ſhould lead him in his preſent Figure. For if Your Lordſhip had not ſerved his Majeſty, and the true Intereſts of his Crowns, with perfect good Intention to both, and the beſt of Your Power, You have, I am ſure, deceived me; which few of my Friends, I confeſs, have done: And, I am confident, Your Lordſhip will never be of that Number.

I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Joſeph Williamſon.

Hague, December 30. *S. N.* 1678.

SIR,

Since my laſt of the 27th, I have none from You, the contrary Winds having now left Three Pacquets due from *England*. All the Towns of *Holland* have agreed to the Advice of the States General, about deferring the Reform, as I mentioned in my laſt, except *Amſterdam* alone. What their Anſwer will prove at laſt, I cannot yet tell; nor whether one Man alone, as the Head of a ſingle Town, will ſet up directly againſt all the other Towns of this Province, as well as againſt all the other Provinces; and in a Matter appearing to them of ſo great Importance to the State. For though the Peace be made both by this State and *Spain*, and though the *French* have yet raiſed no Difficulties upon reſtoring the Towns to the *Spaniards*, yet they have declared, They intended to keep their Forces in *Flanders*, till they are ſatisfied in what they demand, as remaining due of their Contributions, which amounts to near Two hundred thouſand Piſtoles. And for this Country, though they have delivered up *Maſtricht*, yet they have demanded *Haſſelt* and *Maſeyck*, by which it would be cut off from the reſt of theſe Territories, and have this Week poſted themſelves between *Maſtricht* and *Haſſelt* on one ſide, and *Maſtricht* and *Maſeyck* on the other; ſo as neither Boat nor Waggon can go from theſe Provinces to *Maſtricht*, but muſt paſs through their Quarters; and that Town is not yet provided, in any proportion, of Cannon or Magazines neceſſary for their Defence. Beſides, it is known here, That the *French* Miniſters and Officers lie ready to take into their Service immediately all the Troops which this State ſhall disband; and the laſt Letters from their Ambaſſadors at *Paris*, gave them yet farther Apprehenſions of the Conduct they are to expect from the *French*. For Monſieur *Boreel*, who is of *Amſterdam*, and was deep in the Cabal of promoting the Peace, writes plainly, That he expects nothing from that Court, upon any of their Pretenſions: That they were grown ſo inſolent with their Proſperity, and the ill Poſture of all their Neighbours, as not to trouble themſelves with giving Reaſons, or receiving them upon any thing they treated. To this in General, he writes Two Particulars, that were ſomething more ſurprizing; the Firſt was, That Monſieur *Pompone* had told him, That the King his Maſter had ordered him to take notice of the Prince having turned out the Catholick Magiſtrates at *Maſtricht*, and put in Proteſtants in their Room, as a Thing contrary to his Treaty with this State. The Second, That Monſieur *de Louvoy* had told him, upon Diſcourſe of the remaining Contributions of *Breda*, That the King his Maſter had heard what the Prince of *Orange* had ſaid to the States in the Deliberations upon that Matter: *Et le trouvoit mauvais, & que le Prince avoit parlé trop fierement.* Upon the firſt Point, the States Deputies thought fit to diſcharge the Prince, by taking upon themſelves what he had only acted by their Orders, and to defend their having acted nothing contrary to the Treaty, or innovated any thing in Matter of Religion at *Maſtricht*; but that, on the other ſide, the *French* had no Right to concern themſelves in what the States did in the Government of a Town, which was now become again their own. Upon the ſecond Point, which touched only the Prince, his Highneſs ſaid, That though the States knew he had never ſpoke any thing upon that Occaſion, which might deſerve that Term, yet he was of Opinion, no Anſwer ſhould be made upon it: That he was born in a Free Republick, and that it had ſo continued hitherto; He could not tell how long it might do ſo, at the rate they were now treated; but that, while he lived in it, he would, according to his Duty, give his Advice, and ſpeak his Opinion freely in it, without giving Account to any of what he ſaid, but to God alone.

These Particulars have yet gone no farther, than the Deputies of Foreign Affairs, and ſo You will pleaſe may not yet be publick: But they have occaſioned very melancholick Reflections among them, conſidering what a Condition this Peace has already brought them into, and what farther Conſequences they may expect of it, upon the unhappy Poſture of Affairs in *England*, from whence alone they were to hope for Support. You will gueſs by Your Diſpatches this Poſt from *Nimeguen*, at leaſt, as well as we can hear, what Iſſue may be expected from the Parties beginning to enter into Conference there. For my part, I am able to make no Conjecture, nor, whether a Peace with the Emperor, will contribute to the Safety, or increaſe the Danger of theſe Countries, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, if the *French* Army continue poſſeſſed of *Liege*, and the other Parts neceſſary for their making War upon the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, as they pretend, in Favour of the *Swedes*.

I am ever, &c.

To Sir Lyonell Jenkins.

Hague, January 20. *S. N.* 1678-9.

My Lord,

I Have this Morning Your Letters of Yeſterday's Date, with the incloſed Papers, by which I am apt to conjecture, that the Peace between the Emperor and *France* is drawing towards a Period; and, very probably, by the laſt of this Month, being the Term laſt limited by *France* upon the preſent Conditions: I ſhall therefore prepare my ſelf for my Journey towards You, and begin it when You find it neceſſary for me, *to aſſiſt at the Signing of the Peace, and what other Acts ſhall neceſſarily require a Quorum of our Commiſſion.* Which are the Words of the Order I received upon this Occaſion, in a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, dated the 29th of *October* paſt.

Your Lordſhip, I find, apprehends whether You ſhall have Notice given You by the Parties, of their concluding the Affair Time enough to give me Warning of my Journey; which, with the other Complaints You make, of the little Confidence You are in with them, makes me doubt, whether their Intentions be, that we ſhould ſign or no: For, by their own firſt Draught of the Preface, it was plain, they did not intend it: And though Your Lordſhip received Orders upon that Point, *To make no Difficulty to ſign as Mediators*, in Mr. Secretary's Letter to You of *October* 29th, and farther Orders about the Part his Majeſty expected in the Stile of the Preface, by his Letter of *December* 3d, yet I do not find by any of Your Letters, that the Parties have either expreſſed their Deſire or Intention, that we ſhould ſign as Mediators, or their Aſſent to what Your Lordſhip propoſed as to his Majeſty's Part in the Preface. I have other Reaſons to be a little doubtful how this Matter may paſs, and one particularly this very Morning from Monſieur *d'Avaux*, having ſaid, in a Conference with the Deputies of this State, upon Diſcourſe of the Treaty, That the Parties now treating being of the ſame Religion, the whole Buſineſs was in the Nuncio's Hands. I have likewiſe the Opinions of others here beſide my own, That it would be to expoſe the King's Honour too much, for me to go expreſly upon the Place to ſign the Treaty, and when I came there, not to be admitted to it. Therefore, to clear all this Matter, I humbly offer to Your Lordſhip, Whether, ſeeing the preſent Approaches between the Parties, You will not take Occaſion to let them know, That having formerly acquainted them with the Orders You had received, to be ready to ſign the Treaty, and with the Part his Majeſty pretended, in that Caſe, to have in the Preface; and finding it neceſſary by our Commiſſion, that Two of us ſhould be preſent at the Act, You deſire to know both their Intention upon it, and the Time they are like to be ready, to the end You may give me notice early enough not to fail attending that Service, according to the Order You know I have received. They cannot, I ſuppoſe, make any Scruple to give You a clear and plain Anſwer to ſuch a reaſonable Queſtion; and thereupon Your Lordſhip's Meaſures and mine will be eaſily taken: For, Your Lordſhip, I know, will not fail of giving me Advice by the firſt, and I ſhall not, God willing, fail of beginning my Journey accordingly. In caſe any thing ſhould happen to make them ſign of the ſudden, without Warning to either of us, I ſuppoſe, if they deſire we ſhould have our Parts in it, Room may be left for the Mediators to ſign afterwards; ſince it is not a Thing material, as to the Force of the Treaty between the Parties. If they will underſtand it otherwiſe, I ſuppoſe, it will be to avoid our Signing, in the civileſt manner they can. For, upon the whole, the Judgment which is here made of this Treaty, is, That neither of them like it: And though it is Neceſſity alone which could have brought the Emperor to theſe Terms; yet *France* is perfectly taken at their Word, and is ſenſible enough of the Advantages they are like to loſe, in not purſuing the War with the Emperor, now *Spain* and this Country are out of it.

I am ever, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I deſire, what I ſay of Monſieur *d'Avaux* having told the Deputies this Morning, may not be taken notice of, becauſe it was given me by one of them in Confidence.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hagüe, January 24. *S. N.* 1678-9.

My Lord,

I Had the Honour of one from Your Lordſhip of the 7th, and deferred not upon Receipt thereof, to make that Uſe of it here, which you intended; and was, indeed, in a manner, neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service and Juſtification, as well as Your Lordſhip's. I communicated the firſt part of it to ſome of the States who are in chief Credit here, and to the Imperial and *Spaniſh* Miniſters, who all took notice of thoſe Clauſes in it, which ſhewed how great Advantages might have been made by bargaining for any Towns; How no Conditions were propoſed, but ſuch as were approved by *Spain* and *Holland*; and how the Thoughts of making any Advantages of that it ſelf, were entertained only at the Perſuaſion of Mr. *M——e*. And in the ſeveral Converſations I have had upon this Subject here, I may aſſure Your Lordſhip, all was done with the Succeſs You deſired. For the Prince, who was gone from *Utrecht* to *Arnheim*, about the Time I received Your Lordſhip's Diſpatch, I thought there could be no way ſo good of performing Your Commands towards his Highneſs, as by ſending him the Letter it ſelf, by which he would beſt ſee how much You were concerned both in his good Opinion, and in his particular Affair of the Money due to him; which, I am ſure, could not have been by me ſo well expreſſed, as in Your Words. You will, before this Time, have been fully ſatisfied, by the Letter I ſent You incloſed, how much the Prince was concerned in Your Part of what lately happened in *England*; and how little Reaſon You had to apprehend any Change of his Highneſs's Opinion in what concerned Your Lordſhip upon that Occaſion; And, I know very well, he writ that Letter with kinder Intentions, than only of making You a Compliment at that Time. For the Money, he never ſaid one Word of it to me in ſeveral Converſations about theſe Matters, farther than complaining of his own ill Luck, ſince he was ſure to have received it within four or five Days, at the Time when that Trouble was given Your Lordſhip there; which he reckoned upon as what muſt certainly delay it, till ſome better Settlement in his Majeſty's Affairs, and eſpecially that of the Revenue.

Having acquitted my ſelf of the Duty I owed Your Lordſhip upon that firſt part of Your Letter; I find another I owe to his Majeſty upon the latter; of which I deſpair of being able to acquit my ſelf as I ought to do, or as the Senſe of ſo great a Favour juſtly obliges me to. The Diſtinction his Majeſty is pleaſed to make between me and other Men, both in eſteeming me fit for the Diſchage of ſo great a Truſt, and in offering to be himſelf at the Charge of Mr. Secretary *Coventry*'s retiring out of it; Is what, I am ſure, I ſhall never live to forget, though I can never hope to deſerve; and therefore muſt beg of Your Lordſhip to aſſiſt me in making the heartieſt and humbleſt Acknowledgments to his Majeſty, that any Servant can make to the beſt Maſter in the World. After this is done, I am very ſorry that I muſt make ſo true and plain a Confeſſion of my ſelf, as I am forced to do upon this Occaſion. If I found my ſelf capable of doing his Majeſty the Service that would become me in ſuch a Poſt, I ſhould eſteem it the greateſt, and, indeed, the only Happineſs that could befall me at this Time, and in the poor Remainders of my Life. But the ſenſible Decays I feel of late in my ſelf, and which muſt increaſe every Day with my Age and ill Health, make me abſolutely deſpair of acquitting my ſelf as I ought, and would be neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service, in a Poſt that requires not only great Abilities, but good Health, and all the Application that can be; neither of which I can either ways promiſe either his Majeſty or my ſelf. And I may pretend to be ſo honeſt a Man, as never to make ſo ill a Bargain for ſo good a Maſter; which would be like ſelling him a Horſe very dear, that I knew to be old and reſtiff, and not at all fit for the Service he deſigned him. I beg Your Lordſhip to repreſent this to his Majeſty, not as an affected Modeſty, nor as a Speaker's Form of diſabling himſelf when he is choſen. For Your Lordſhip may pleaſe to remember, I writ the ſame thing to You Six Months ago: and Mr. *Hyde* knows very well the Thoughts of this kind he both found and left me in at his laſt being here. The Seaſon I have ſince paſſed, in a Place ſo unkind to my Health, has given me a great deal of Reaſon to continue them, and to think my ſelf not at all fit to enter upon ſo great and laborious an Employment, or even to continue this longer than the Spring; beyond which Time I can foreſee little Uſe his Majeſty can have of me here. And whenever he ſhall pleaſe to end it, I doubt not but he will give me Leave to ſeek for a little better Health in ſome warmer Climate; and, I am ſure, he ſhall never find a better Subject, how uſeleſs a Servant ſoever I may have been; and that none ſhall ever make more paſſionate Wiſhes for his Happineſs and Safety, than I ſhall do all the Days of my Life.

I cannot end this, without making Your Lordſhip likewiſe my particular Acknowledgments for Your Favour and good Opinion, which I ſhall ever eſteem among my beſt Poſſeſſions. But having had the Honour of Your agreeing ſo often with me in what we have talked of, I cannot but be confident, that if You knew me as well as I do my ſelf, You would be perfectly of my mind in this Matter; as I ſhould be of Yours, if I found my ſelf indeed what Your Lordſhip is pleaſed to eſteem me. That which I hope we both agree in, is, The Belief that You can never meet with a greater and ſincerer Paſſion, than that wherewith I have been ſo long, and ſhall be,

Yours, &c.

To Sir Joseph Williamſon.

Rhenen, February 6. S. N. 1678-9.

SIR,

UPON this Day Se'nnight I received at the *Hague* an Expreſs from Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, preſſing me to come away immediately to *Nimeguen*, upon the Aſſurance he then had, the Treaty would be ſigned there the next Day, and that my Preſence would be neceſſary to make up a Commiſſion at that Time. Whereupon, finding my Orders expreſs in that Caſe, I parted the ſame Day from the *Hague*, and made a ſhift to get to *Nimeguen* the next, being *Tueſday* at Night. The *Thurſday* following I went to the Prince of *Orange* at *Arnheim*, upon a Letter from his Highneſs, and returned ſo late that Night, as to have no part in the Diſpatch by that Ordinary, which was the Second I have miſs'd ſince my laſt to You from the *Hague*. I communicated to his Highneſs the Orders I received by Yours of the 14th paſt, which came to me the Day after my Arrival at *Nimeguen*. He was very ready to perform the Part his Majeſty expected from him upon that Occaſion; but ſaid, I knew very well he had never been able to hinder Libels and Paſquils from being printed here againſt himſelf, and ſo could not aſſure me of hindring them againſt his Majeſty; but that he would endeavour it, and hoped he might be able to do it at *Utrecht*, but adviſed me to addreſs my ſelf to the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, where he could not undertake for it. He took Occaſion to tell me, That the Penſioner of *Amſterdam* had been with him the Day before, upon the Election of the Schepers for this Year: That falling into the Diſcourſe of the Affairs of *England*, he had told him, That the General Report and Belief at *Amſterdam*, was, That the great Preparations made by *France* in their Sea Ports, were to make the King Maſter of his Parliament; and that was the Reaſon we took no notice of them in *England*. I took this for a Libel ſpread here by the ſame Hands from which You expected they ſhould be ſent and printed to be ſpread in *England*; but the Prince ſaid, He had reaſon to believe it was given out by the *French*, to damp all Hopes that this State might have of any Support from *England*: And that he had received Two Letters upon the ſame Subject from *Amſterdam*, before the Penſioner of that Town had told him of it.

I ſhall not need tell You of the Peace having been ſign'd laſt Night about 10 of the Clock, between the Emperor and *France*, and agreed to be ſo this Day between the *Imperialiſts* and *Swedes*: You will know the whole Courſe of that Affair, with all Circumſtances, by an Expreſs this Day from my Colleague, and how unneceſſary a Journey I have made in the worſt Seaſon that I ever felt, and upon pure Obedience to the Orders You ſent me: For I had no Reaſon to think the *Imperialiſts* would yield a Point they had ever conteſted, and therefore, I had deſired my Colleague to inform himſelf of it before he ſent for me. 'Tis now paſt, and I have only Reaſon to be ſatisfied, that all was agreed to by the Parties which You ſeem'd to deſire for his Majeſty's Honour in the Preface, as well as for his Incluſion in the Treaty. This Morning I left *Nimeguen*, and thought to have reach'd *Utrecht* this Night; but the Ways are almoſt impaſſable for a Coach, by the great Drifts of Snow; ſo that all I can hope for, is, to be there to morrow Night. From thence, I reſolve to go to *Amſterdam*, and ſpeak with the Magiſtrates in both Places, about ſearching and preventing what You apprehend from thoſe Preſſes: And becauſe I am not like to be in *Holland* Time enough for next Ordinary, I diſpatch this away to *Utrecht* by Expreſs, in hopes it may get Time enough to the *Hague*, to go away with the Ordinary to morrow Night, that ſo You might know ſomething of my Motions, as well as of my late Omiſſions, which have been occaſioned by them.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, February 21. *S. N.* 1678-9.

My Lord,

HAving ſince my laſt had ſeveral Occaſions of diſcourſing with the Prince upon the Subject of Your Lordſhip's laſt Letter, and the Account You were pleaſed to give there both of his Majeſty's Conduct, and Your own, in thoſe Negotiations which were ſo much talked on of late; his Highneſs was very full in his Expreſſions of juſtifying Your Lordſhip upon having done nothing but with his Majeſty's Order, even in Writing; and could not talk of Mr. *M*——'s Part in it, without the greateſt Indignation in the World. For the Thing it ſelf, he would ſay little, but, That it was paſt, and ſo 'twas to no purpoſe to talk of it: That no body had any thing left to do ſince the Peace, but to play an ill Game the beſt they could, and ſo he reſolved to do here; but nothing he could now do would ſignifie much towards the common

Safety, unleſs *England* could grow into a Poſture of being more united at Home, and more conſidered Abroad, than they ſeemed likely to be by the preſent Courſe of our Affairs; which he ever talks of with great Concernment. Since the Commiſſion I received to go again to *Nimeguen*, to continue there the Figure of his Majeſty's Mediation, upon the recalling of Sir *Lyonell Jenkins*, he was very inquiſitive into the Reaſon of it; which I could not give him; having received barely a Commiſſion to act alone in that Function, and Three Lines only from Mr. Secretary *Williamſon*, to tell me, He had ſent it by his Majeſty's Order. All we could gueſs, was, The Deſign of ſparing ſo much Money, by ending Mr. *Hyde*'s and Sir *Lyonell*'s Embaſſy, now the Peace was ſo near concluded, and continuing mine only for the Decency of the Mediation, till the Aſſembly ſhould break up. And the Prince ſaid upon it, That he hoped, however, the King might make ſome good Uſe of it; and ſince the Peace of the North would certainly be made, now the Emperor's was ſo, he thought it would be very much better, that his Majeſty ſhould make it, than *France*, eſpecially that between *Brandenburgh* and *Sweden*; and thereby endeavour to draw ſome Dependance of thoſe Two Princes upon himſelf after the Peace, which, he doubted, would otherwiſe fall on *France*: He ſaid beſides, That he would think of this Matter within Two or Three Days, and tell me, if not write into *England*, what ſhould occur to him upon it, before I went to *Nimeguen*: And, That the ſooner the Peace of the North was now made, the better; that *France* might thereby have no longer a Pretext of keeping the Seven Towns in *Cologn*, *Juliers*, and *Liege*; whereby they are poſted ſo, as to awe this Country and *Flanders*, and to be ready for any new Deſign upon them.

In this Conference, and one before, his Highneſs deſired me to write to Your Lordſhip, and put You in mind of his Money; concerning which You had expreſſed ſo great Concernment in Your laſt to me. His Highneſs ſaid, He did not doubt but this Sum might be eaſily advanced upon that Act which provided for it, in caſe the whole Security were not engaged ſome other ways, which he hoped Your Lordſhip has had the Kindneſs and Juſtice to prevent.

In the midſt of Your Lordſhip's great Affairs, I know very well, I ought to give You as few and as ſhort Troubles as I can; and therefore ſhall not lengthen this beyond the Aſſurances of my being ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Earl of Sunderland.

Hague, *February* 28. *S. N.* 1678-9.

My Lord,

ON *Saturday* laſt, I received the Honour of one from Your Lordſhip of the 11th, and this Morning another of the 14th; both of them bringing me his Majeſty's Command for my immediate Return; and the laſt, a Letter of Revocation to the States General. I have this Afternoon communicated both to the Prince, who finding me preſs'd to make ſo much Diligence in my Journey, has made it formally his Deſire to me, That I will go away, without taking notice here of my abſolute Revocation, or, thereupon, any formal Leave of the States, which, he ſays, may be done as ſoon as I am there, if his Majeſty pleaſes; and about the Time my Lord Ambaſſador *Jenkins* ſhall arrive here. His Highneſs takes this to be a Point ſo important to his Majeſty's Service, and to his own Intereſts here at this Time, which, he ſays, are the ſame with his Majeſty's, that he is ſure (as he is pleaſed to ſay) The King will give him Leave to govern ſuch a Circumſtance as this is; and therefore ſays, He will take it upon himſelf; and his Majeſty will know the Reaſons when I have the Honour to attend him. I confeſs, I could ſee no Prejudice in this to his Majeſty, nor to any, unleſs my ſelf (on the Account of the uſual Preſents upon a Revocation); I therefore conſented to it; and ſhall thereupon be ready, I hope, to embark to morrow, or next Day, if Wind and Weather ſuffer me. Though the Prince had not deſired this Way of Parting, I have another Reaſon would, of Neceſſity, have engaged me to it; which is, My being ſo much indebted here, by not having received my Money ſince my coming over in *July* laſt, that it would have been impoſſible for me to have carried my Goods and Family away from hence, without attending the neceſſary Diſpatches from the Exchequer; which, I doubt, by the Stile of both Your Lordſhip's Letters, preſſing me to ſo much Haſte in my Journey, would not have paſſed with his Majeſty for a good Excuſe of my not coming away.

The common Occurrences will be tranſmitted to Your Lordſhip by Mr. *Meredith*, as has been uſual: So that, after having very heartily given Your Lordſhip Joy upon Your Entrance into an Employment of ſo great Weight and Conſequence to his Majeſty's Service, with my True Wiſhes of all the Satisfaction that can be from it, both to His Majeſty and Your Self, I ſhall end with the Profeſſions of,

My being ever, &c.

The Private Letter of the ſame Date, to the Earl of S———d.

I Muſt leave it to Time to tell You, whether Your Letter as Secretary of State, and acquainting me with his Majeſty's having ſent for me over to enter upon the ſame Poſt, were as welcome to me, as, I am ſure, it was ſurprizing, after my Preparations and Thoughts had been turned for a Week together to *Nimeguen*. But I cannot forbear aſſuring You, in the mean Time, That nothing could be welcomer, than a ſhort one I received with it from my Lord *Sunderland*; by which I found he was pleaſed with the new Employment, and not unſatisfied with the Proſpect of our Affairs. I take Your Lordſhip to be ſo good and univerſal a Judge, that I cannot eaſily believe You ſhould be deceived in what concerns either the Publick or Your Self; and therefore cannot chuſe but raiſe from it good Preſages to both: Otherwiſe, I confeſs, I ſee nothing to change my Opinion of publick Affairs, or my Reſolutions as to my own Part in them; though, I find, my Friends have ſo different Thoughts of both. I wiſh I may find any thing to undeceive me when I come over. In the mean Time, I ſhould be infinitely glad to contribute more than my Wiſhes towards the Ends You ſeem to propoſe Your Selves. And if I could think my ſelf capable of doing it, neither the King, nor Your Lordſhip, would find a truer Servant. In the mean Time, I will only ſay, That among all You have, there is none can take more Part in all that concerns Your Lordſhip, nor that can be more unfeignedly than I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Treaſurer.

Hague, February 28. *S. N.* 1678-9.

My Lord,

I Received laſt *Saturday* the Honour of one from Your Lordſhip of the 11th; which, I confeſs, ſurprized me more than any I ever had from You; coming not only after my Orders and Preparations for *Nimeguen*; but after my Wiſe had told me from Your Lordſhip, how all that Affair had paſſed; and after I had written to her, how infinitely ſenſible I was of the Obligations I had to Your Lordſhip in the whole Courſe of it, and how perfectly I was ſatisfied, as to my ſelf, with the Ply it had taken. Time alone muſt tell, if either His Majeſty or I have Reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Change he has ſince made in that Meaſure, which will depend upon the Succeſs of it, and of my being of the Uſe deſigned in ſo great a Poſt, towards thoſe publick Ends, that, I am confident, Your Lordſhip aims at in it, and which none can anſwer for. I wiſh to God I could deſerve half the Honour his Majeſty does me by his good Opinion; for I never can the Kindneſs of Your Intention (whatever may happen) though no Man can be more ſenſible than I am of it. For the reſt, I ſhall not trouble Your Lordſhip farther with any Diſcourſes upon that Subject, being like to have the Honour of waiting on You ſo ſoon: For, I hope, God willing, to go aboard the Yacht to Morrow or *Wedneſday*, if Wind and Weather ſuffer me; and, with Your Lordſhip's good Leave, ſhall make my firſt Step into the *Cockpit*; where You will then find, I am ſure,

A moſt Humble Servant.

FINIS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

By Sir W. TEMPLE, *Bart.*

Neſcio qua natale ſolum dulcedine tangit
Humanos animos----------

LONDON,
Printed in the YEAR MDCCXL.

THE
PREFACE.

I *Have often complained, That ſo Ancient and Noble a Nation as ours, ſo Renowned by the Fame of their Arms and Exploits Abroad, ſo Applauded and Envied for their Wiſe and Happy Inſtitutions at Home, ſo Flouriſhing in Arts and Learning, and ſo adorned by Excellent Writers in other kinds, ſhould not yet have produced one good or approved General Hiſtory of* England. *That of* France *has been compoſed with great Induſtry by* Des Serres; *with Judgment and Candor by* Mezeray. *That of* Spain, *with great Diligence and eloquent Stile, by* Mariana. *That of the* Empire, *with much Pains and good Order, as well as Learning, by* Pedro de Mexia: *But ours have been written by ſuch mean and vulgar Authors, ſo tedious in their Relations, or rather Collections, ſo injudicious in the Choice of what was fit to be told, or to be let alone, with ſo little Order, and in ſo wretched a Stile; that as it is a Shame to be ignorant in the Affairs of our own Country, ſo 'tis hardly worth the Time or Pains to be informed; ſince for that End, a Man muſt read over a Library, rather than a Book; and, after all, muſt be content to forget more than he remembers.*

'Tis true, ſome Parcels or ſhort Periods of our Hiſtory have been left us by Perſons of great Worth and Learning, much honoured or eſteemed in their Times; as, Part of Edward the Fourth, *and* Richard the Third, *by Sir* Thomas Moor; Henry the Seventh, *by Sir* Francis Bacon; Henry the Eighth, *by the Lord* Herbert; Edward the Sixth, *by Sir* John Haywood; *and Queen* Elizabeth, *by Mr.* Camden. *There are, beſides theſe, many voluminous Authors of Ancient Times in* Latin, *and of Modern in* Engliſh, *with*

ſome

ſome Foreigners, as Froiſſart *and* Polidore Virgil; *out of all which might be framed a full and juſt Body of our General Hiſtory, if collected with Pains and Care, and digeſted with good Order; for the Architect is only wanting, and not the Materials for ſuch a Building.*

I will confeſs, I had it in my Thoughts at one Time of my Life and the moſt proper for ſuch a Work, to make an Abridgment of our Engliſh Story, *having obſerv'd that* Mezeray's Abrege *of his own, was more eſteemed, and much more read than his larger Volume; but theſe Thoughts were ſoon diverted by other Imployments, wherein I had the Hopes, as well as the Intentions, of doing ſome greater Services to my Country. I have ſince endeavoured to engage ſome of my Friends in the ſame Deſign, whom I thought capable of atchieving it, but have not prevailed; ſome pretending Modeſty, and others too much valuing Eaſe.*

Therefore to invite and encourage ſome worthy Spirit, and true Lover of our Country, to purſue this Attempt, I have conſented to the publiſhing of this Introduction to the Hiſtory of England, *wherein I have traced a ſhort Account of this Iſland, the* Names, *the* Inhabitants, *and* Conſtitutions *thereof, from the* firſt Originals, *as far as I could find any Ground of probable Story, or of fair Conjecture; ſince* Philoſophers *tell us,* That none can be ſaid to know Things well, who does not know them in their Beginnings. *I have farther deduced it thro' the great and memorable Changes of Names, People, Cuſtoms, and Laws that paſſed here, until the End of the firſt* Norman *Reign, which made the laſt and great Period of this Kingdom, leaving the* Succeſſions *and* Conſtitutions *ſince that Time, ſo fix'd and eſtabliſh'd, as to have laſted for the Space of above* Six hundred Years, *without any conſiderable Alteration from ſo long a Courſe of Time, or ſuch Variety of Events, as have ſince arrived in the World.*

I have hereby beaten thro' all the rough and dark Ways of this Journey; the reſt lies fair and eaſie, thro' a plain and open Country; and I ſhould think my ſelf happy, to ſee it well purſued by ſome abler Hand, for the Honour of our Nation, and the Satisfaction of our own, as well as foreign Readers, who ſhall be curious to know our Story. I wiſh it may be performed with the ſame good Intentions, and with much better Succeſs, than this ſmall Endeavour of mine.

AN

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BRITAIN was by the Ancients accounted the greateſt Iſland of the known World, and for ought is yet certain, may be ſo ſtill, notwithſtanding the later Diſcoveries of *Madagaſcar* and *Japan*, which are by ſome brought into Competition. It extends from North to South about Ten Degrees, and about Two hundred Miles in the Breadth of its moſt extended Angles. It was anciently called *Albion*, which ſeems to have been ſoftned from *Alpion*, the Word *Alp* in ſome of the Original Weſtern Languages, ſignifying generally very high Lands or Hills, as this Iſle appears to thoſe who approach it from the Continent. But of thoſe Times there is no Certainty remains in Story, more than that it was ſo called, and very little known to the reſt of the World.

By the *Romans*, and ſome time before *Cæſar*, it was called *Britannia*; concerning which Name very much Debate, and no Agreement, has been among the modern Learned of our Country, or of others. After raking into all the Rubbiſh of thoſe Authors, that which ſeems to me moſt probable is, That the Strangers who came over into this Iſland upon the ſcore of Traffick, from the Coaſts of *Gaul* or *Germany*, called the Inhabitants by one common Name of *Briths*, given them from the Cuſtom among them of painting their naked Bodies and ſmall Shields with an Azure Blue, which by them was called *Brith*, and diſtinguiſhed them from Strangers who came among them: From this Name of the Inhabitants, the *Romans*, upon their Invaſions, Conqueſts, and Colonies eſtabliſh'd in *Gaul*, which brought them firſt acquainted with this Iſland, called it *Britannia*, by giving a *Latin* Termination to a barbarous Name, and the ſame which appears to have been uſual with them, by the Appellations of many other Countries, that fell under their Commerce or Conqueſts, as *Mauritania*, *Luſitania*, *Aquitania*, and ſeveral others commonly known. The Curious may obſerve this Care of the *Romans*, in giving their own Terminations to many barbarous Countries, and forming eaſie and pleaſant Sounds out of the harſheſt and moſt offenſive, to ſuch elegant Tongues and Ears as theirs: I ſhall inſtance only in Three, among many more, that are obvious to ſuch as pleaſe themſelves with theſe Speculations. The Province of *Britain* in *France* was called among the Natives *Al Mor*; which ſignified *Ad Mare*, or Near the Sea; from this the *Romans* called it *Armorica*. The Iſle between the Branches of the *Rhine*, which divide for ſome Diſtance before they fall into the Sea, was called by the Old *Germans Vat Awe*, which ſignifies Fat or Fruitful Earth; and from this was framed the *Latin* Word *Batavia*. The North-Eaſt Part of *Scotland* was by the Natives called *Cal Dun*, which ſignifies, A Hill of Hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the *Romans* gave it the Name of *Caledonia*: All which have laſted in their Language to this Day.

The *Britains* were little known Abroad, before the firſt Entrance of the *Romans* into their Iſle, or the Preparations and Enquiries they made in order to that Expedition: The Coaſts only oppoſite to *Gaul* and *Belgium*, were frequented by Merchants from thence, who came thereby acquainted with them, but little with the Inland Provinces: And theſe were the Men from whom *Cæſar* drew his beſt Intelligence concerning the Country he intended to invade.

All that we find related of them by any credible Witneſſes or Authority, before the *Romans* entred, is, That the whole Country was filled with infinite Numbers of People, mightily abounding in all ſorts of Cattle or Beaſts, both wild and tame; their Houſes poorly built, and ſcattered all over the Country, without Obſervance of Order or Diſtance, by which Villages are compoſed: But the *Britains* were placed as every Man liked, and at ſmaller or greater Diſtances, as they were invited by the Fertility of Soil, or the Convenience of Wood or of Water. They lived moſt upon Milk, or Fleſh which they got by Hunting; little upon Corn, which was not in much Eſteem or Plenty among them. What Cloaths they wore to cover any Parts of their Bodies, were uſually of the Skins of Beaſts; but much of their Body, as Arms, Legs, and Thighs, was left naked, and in many of them, All; what was naked, was painted with Blue. This was univerſal among them, whether eſteemed as Adornment, or of Terror to their Adverſaries, or to diſtinguiſh them from all their Neighbours that came among them, as Friends or as Enemies.

Their Towns were moſt upon their Coaſts, and founded for the Advantage of Havens, and the Recourſe of Strangers from the Continent, to buy and ſell, or exchange Wares with thoſe of the Iſland. Theſe Inhabitants were much more civilized than thoſe of the Inland Country, by the Commerce and Frequentation of other Nations, eſpecially the *Gauls*, who had long before been civilized by the *Roman* Colonies. The Commodities exported out of the Iſle, were chiefly Hides and Tin; which laſt was peculiar to this Country, and in much Uſe Abroad, both in nearer and remoter Regions, where this Iſland was chiefly known by the Product of this Commodity, convey'd among them at ſo great Diſtances, and ſo much in Requeſt. Some Silver they had, but not in common Uſe, as having few Mines, and little Knowledge how to improve them, either in the Digging or Refining: Pearls they had too, and frequently found among them, but neither clear, nor coloured like thoſe of the Orient, and therefore in low Eſteem among the *Romans*; but little Iron, and that uſed either for Arms, or for Rings, which was a ſort of Money current among them; the reſt was of Braſs, which was brought from Abroad, and employed only for this Uſe.

Their Language, Cuſtoms and Religion were generally the ſame with thoſe of the *Gauls*, before the *Roman* Conqueſts in that Province, which were much earlier than in *Britain*: This Affinity made them frequently aſſiſt the *Gauls* upon the Coaſts, in their Wars againſt the *Romans*, and gave the firſt Occaſion of *Cæſar*'s invading *Britain* for Revenge and Safety, as well as Conqueſt and Glory.

Their Government was like that of the ancient *Gauls*, of ſeveral ſmall Nations under ſeveral petty Princes; which ſeem the Original Governments of the World, and deduced from the natural Force and Right of Paternal Dominion: Such were the *Hords* among the *Goths*, the *Clans* in *Scotland*, and *Septs* in *Ireland*. Whether theſe ſmall *Britiſh* Principalities deſcended by Succeſſion, or were elected by the Advantages of Age, Wiſdom or Valour in the Families of the Prince, is not recorded. But upon great or common Dangers, the chief Commander of all their Forces, was choſen by common Conſent in general Aſſemblies; as *Cæſar* relates of *Caſſivelaunus* againſt his Invaſion. The ſame was done upon their Revolts againſt the *Roman* Colonies, under *Caractacus* and *Voadicea*; for among them, Women were admitted to their Principalities and general Commands, by the Right of Succeſſion, Nobility of Birth, or Eminence of other Qualities.

Their Forces conſiſted chiefly in their Foot, and yet they could draw great Numbers of Horſe into the Field upon great Occaſions; they likewiſe uſed Chariots in Fight, which with ſhort Scythes faſten'd to the Ends of the Axletrees, gave cruel Wounds, great Terror, made fierce Charges upon the Ranks of their Enemies, and were of much Force to break, or to diſorder them. Their common Arms were ſmall Shields, but very large Swords, which expreſſed more deſire of wounding their Enemies, than defending themſelves. They were eſteemed a very brave and fierce People, till their Bodies came to be ſoftned, and their Courages debaſed by the Luxury, as well as Servitude, which the *Romans* introduced among them.

In their Religion and their Laws, they were wholly governed by their *Druids*, as were the ancient *Gauls*, who are ſaid to have been furniſhed with the chiefeſt and moſt learned of theirs, out of *Britain*, eſteemed the Nurſery of the ancient *Druids*, ſo renowned in Story: Theſe were the only Perſons of any ſort of Learning in theſe Nations, which was derived by long Tradition among them, conſiſted in the Obſervation of the Heavens, Knowledge of the Stars and their Courſes, and thereby the Preſages of many Events, or at leaſt Seaſons, wherein the Vulgar is chiefly concern'd. The reſt was their Doctrines of Religion, Forms of Divine Worſhip, and Inſtructions in Morality, which conſiſted in Juſtice and Fortitude. Their Lives were ſimple and innocent, in Woods, Caves, and hollow Trees: their Food of Acorns, Berries, or other Maſt; their Drink, Water: which made them reſpected and admired, not only for knowing more than other Men, but for deſpiſing what all others valued and purſued, and by their great Virtue and Temperance, they were ſuffered patiently to reprove and correct the Vices and Crimes, from which themſelves were free. All this together gave them ſuch Authority and Veneration among the People, that they were not only the Prieſts, but the Judges too, throughout the Nation. No Laws were inſtituted by Princes or common Aſſemblies, without the Propoſal or Approbation of the *Druids*: No Perſon was puniſhed by Bonds, Strokes, or Death, without the Judgment and Sentence of the *Druids*: From a Belief, that Men would never ſubmit to the Loſs of their Liberties, or their Lives, unleſs they believed it was inflicted upon them by a Divine Authority.

One Cuſtom there was among the *Britains* which ſeems peculiar to themſelves, and not found in the Stories of any other Nations either Civil, or Barbarous, which was a Society of Wives among certain Numbers, and by common Conſent. Every Man married a ſingle Woman, who was always after and alone eſteemed his Wife: But it was uſual for Five or Six, Ten or Twelve, or more, either Brothers or Friends, as they could agree, to have all their Wives in common: Encounters happened among them as they were invited by Deſire, or favoured by Opportunity. Every Woman's Children were attributed to him that had married her; but all had a Share in the Care and Defence of the whole Society, ſince no Man knew which were his own. Tho' this Cuſtom be alledged as a Teſtimony how ſavage or barbarous a People the *Britains* were, yet I know not why it ſhould appear more extravagant than the Community of Women in ſome other Countries; the deflowering of Virgins by the Prieſt the firſt Night of their Marriage; the unlimited Number of Wives and Concubines; not to mention the Marriage of Siſters among the ancient *Egyptians* and *Athenians*, and the borrowing and lending of Wives among the *Romans*. On t'other ſide, it may be alledged for ſome Excuſe of theſe our Anceſtors, that by ſuch a Cuſtom they avoided the common Miſchiefs of Jealouſie, the Injuries of Adultery, the Confinement of ſingle Marriages, the Luxury and Expence of many Wives or Concubines, and the Partiality of Parents in the Education of all their own Children: All which are Conſiderations that have fallen under the Care of many famous Lawgivers. But the beſt Excuſe was made upon this Occaſion by a *Britiſh* Woman (in the Time of *Severus*) who being grown familiar with *Julia Auguſta*, and other chief Ladies of that Court, and having obſerved what paſſed there behind the Curtain, was one Day reproached for this Cuſtom of the *Britains*, as infamous in the Women, as well as barbarous in the Men. She anſwered coldly, *We do that openly with the beſt of our Men, which you do privately with the worſt of yours.* However it be, ſuch were the People and the Cuſtoms of *Britain*, when the *Romans* firſt invaded their Iſland under the Enſigns of *Julius Cæſar*. This famous *Roman* Leader, then Governor of *Gaul*, after having ſubdued all that Province, and the bordering Parts of *Germany*, was the firſt we read of with any Certainty, that enter'd *Britain* with foreign Arms. His Forces were compoſed of *Germans*, *Batavians*, and *Gauls*, beſides the beſt of his old *Roman* Legions: Yet in Two Expeditions he made into this Iſland, he rather increaſed the Glory, than the Dominion of *Rome*; and gave *Britain* the Honour of being the laſt Triumph of that mighty Republick, which had before ſubdued and reduced into Provinces ſo many Kingdoms and Commonwealths in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*.

The *Britains* with their naked Troops made a brave Oppoſition againſt this Veteran Army, in many fierce Encounters with mutual Loſſes, and various Succeſſes; till Diſſention entering among the ſeveral Princes, ſome of them jealous of *Caſſivelaunus*, or his Greatneſs, fled over to *Cæſar*, ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and deſired their Protection. Others followed their Example, till *Caſſivelaunus*, weakned by theſe Deſertions, reſolved likewiſe to make the beſt Terms he could for himſelf and the reſt; he ſends to *Cæſar*, acknowledges the *Roman* State, agrees upon a certain Tribute, and delivers Hoſtages. And here began the Fate of *Britain* to make way for foreign Conqueſts by their Diviſions at Home.

The *Romans* were pleaſed with the Name of a new Conqueſt, and glad to end an Adventure with ſome Honour, which they found was not further to be purſued without long Time, and much Danger; and having diſcovered, rather than ſubdued the Southern Parts only of the Iſland, returned into *Gaul* with their whole Forces, and left the *Britains* to their own Cuſtoms, Laws, and Governments.

Cæſar being eſteemed the beſt Writer, as well as the greateſt Captain of his Age, or, perhaps, of any other; has, with his own Pen, left us the beſt Account, not only of this Enterprize, but of this Iſland too, till then little known to the reſt of the World.

Thoſe Tales we have of what paſſed there before his Time, of *Brute* and his *Trojans*, of many Adventures and Succeſſions, are covered with the Ruſt of Time, or involved in the Vanity of Fables, or pretended Traditions; which ſeem to all Men obſcure or uncertain, but to me forged at Pleaſure, by the Wit or Folly of their firſt Authors, and not to be regarded.

From the firſt Entrance of *Cæſar*'s triumphant Arms, we have ſome conſtant Light in the Story of *Britain*, tho' often very weak and uncertain, from the

Obſcurity of thoſe barbarous Nations, who invaded the Northern Parts of the Iſland; and from the Ignorance of thoſe illiterate Ages, that paſſed from the Decay to the Reſtoration of the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages and Learning, in the Weſtern Parts of *Europe*.

As the *Roman* Conqueſts advanced in this Iſland during the Reigns of ſo many Emperors, the braveſt of the Natives, who could not endure that Subjection, retired into the mountainous and rocky Parts of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, where they preſerved their Liberty ſome time longer; but fell at laſt, with the reſt, into the common Servitude. But the greateſt Numbers, and of the hardeſt Bodies, as well as Courage, among the *Britains*, after many brave Attempts for Defence of their Country and Liberty, and many Defeats by the invincible *Romans*, ſtill retired Northward from the Encroachments of the Conqueror, till they were at laſt beaten out into the rough and ſavage Parts, beyond the Two Fryths, where the *Romans* afterwards built a Wall. Theſe native *Britains* were by them called *Picts*, from the Cuſtom they ſtill retained of painting their Bodies and their Shields. And this I take for the moſt probable Account of the Nation ſo termed by the *Romans* (for among themſelves they were called *Albins)*; though much Pains and Invention has been employed by many Authors, to make them a foreign Race of People, who, from they know not what Country, and at they know not what Time, invaded and poſſeſſed *Caledonia*, or the Northern Parts of *Scotland*.

'Tis more difficult to find out the Original of the *Scots*, or the Time of their Entrance upon thoſe North-Weſt Regions; but as far as can be gathered out of the Duſt or Rubbiſh of ſuch barbarous Times and Writings, and what remains ſtill of known Appellations and Events, it ſeems probable, That vaſt Numbers of a ſavage People, called *Scyths*, at ſome certain Time, began and atchieved the Conqueſt of the Northern Parts both of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and by an eaſie Change of the Words, were called *Scots*; and from them, thoſe Two Countries were called *Scotia Major*, and *Scotia Minor*. Whether the *Scots* landed firſt in *Ireland* or *Scotland*, I leave diſputed and undetermined among their Authors: But it ſeems agreed, that both thoſe Countries were, for ſome Courſe of Time, ſtiled *Scotiæ*, and that both the North-Weſt Parts of *Scotland*, as well as *Ireland*, were called *Ierne*. I am apt to conjecture, that when theſe *Scots* ſeated themſelves in thoſe Parts of *Scotland*, they divided themſelves into Two Races or Nations, whereof thoſe who inhabited the North-Eaſt Parts, called themſelves *Albin-Scots*, the Name of the Natives there, being then *Albins*; and the reſt who poſſeſſed the North-Weſt Parts, were called *Iren-Scots*, from a River of that Country, which gave it the Name of *Ierne*; and this Name was communicated to all the reſt of that Race, who conquered and poſſeſſed the North of *Ireland*, which from them was ſtiled by the *Saxons Iren-land*, and by Abbreviation, *Ireland*. And the Original Name ſeems to have belonged rather to thoſe Parts of *Scotland* than *Ireland*, ſince it is given us by the ancienteſt *Latin* Verſe that mentions it, with the Epithet of *Glacialis Ierne*, which agrees little with the Climate of *Ireland*.

That theſe fierce Invaders were *Scythians* or *Scyths* (which was their vulgar Termination) is probably conjectured, if not aſcertained, not only from their Name, but from the Seat of that Continent, which is neareſt to the North of *Scotland*: This is *Norway*, and is the utmoſt Weſtern Province of that vaſt Northern Region, which extends from thence to the fartheſt Bounds of *Tartary* upon the Eaſtern Ocean, and was by the Ancients comprehended in that general Appellation of *Scythia*, as well as divided into ſeveral other barbarous Names and Countries. Beſides, 'tis both uſual and rational, that ſuch great Tranſmigrations of People ſhould be made from a worſe to a better Climate or Soil, rather than to a worſe, which makes this probable, to have proceeded from *Norway*, than from the lower and more fertile Parts of *Germany*; and the Iſland which is the neareſt Part of Land to that Continent of *Norway*, retains ſtill the Name of *Schetland*, as the firſt Point which is reported to have been touched by the *Scots*, or *Scyths*, in this Navigation.

Another Argument may be drawn from ſeveral Cuſtoms ſtill remaining among the old Northern *Iriſh*, which are recorded to have been anciently among ſome of the *Scythian* Nations, removing their Houſes or Creats from one Place to another according to the Seaſon: Burning of their Corn, inſtead of Beating or Treading in other Countries: Eating Blood they drew from living Cattle: Feeding generally upon Milk, and uſing little other Husbandry, beſides the Paſture and Breed of Cattle. To this is added, That the Mantle or Plad, ſeems to have been the Garment in uſe among the Weſtern *Scythians*, as they continue ſtill among the Northern *Iriſh*, and the Highland *Scots*.

For their Language, it muſt be confeſs'd, there is not left the leaſt Trace by which we may ſeek out the Original of this Nation; for it is neither known, nor recorded to have been uſed any where elſe in the World, beſides *Ireland*, the Highlands of *Scotland*, and the Iſle of *Man*, and muſt be allow'd to be an Original Language, without any Affinity to the old *Britiſh*, or any other upon the Continent, and, perhaps, with leſs Mixture than any other of thoſe Original Languages yet remaining in any Parts of *Europe*. The Conjecture raiſed of its having come from *Spain*, becauſe ſome *Spaniſh* Words are obſerved in it, appears too light to be regarded, when thoſe very Words are of the modern *Spaniſh*, which is a Language not above Seven or Eight hundred Years old, and compounded chiefly out of old *Roman* and *Gothick*, with a later Intruſion of the *Saracen* among them: And yet I know no better Ground than this, for the other Tradition of *Ireland* having been anciently planted from *Spain*, and eſteem the few *Spaniſh* Words to have been introduced only by Traffick of the South-Weſt Parts of *Ireland* to *Spain*.

It ſeems probable, that from what Part ſoever of the Continent this Nation ſailed upon this Adventure, they were driven away by the Force or Fear of ſome other Invaders, and in ſo great Numbers, that the Natives remaining, neither preſerved any where their Name or Language, but were either deſtroy'd by the Conquerors, or blended into the Maſs of the new Nations, who ſeated themſelves in their Country, as we find the old *Britiſh* to have been in *England*, by the Conqueſts and Inundations of the *Saxons*.

The Time of this Expedition is yet leſs in View; nor does *Buchanan*, or any other Author, that I know of, pretend to tell, or ſo much as conjecture farther, than upon a Suppoſition of the *Scots* coming firſt out of *Ireland*, without alledging any Authority for that neither. I know no way of making any Gueſſes at a Matter ſo obſcure, without recourſe to the Runick Learning and Stories, by which we find, that the *Aſiatick Scythians*, under the Names of *Getes* or *Goths*, and the Conduct of *Odin* their Captain (their Lawgiver at firſt, and afterwards one of their Gods) are eſteemed to have begun their Expedition into the North-Weſt Parts of *Europe*, about the Time that the *Roman* Arms began firſt to make a great Noiſe, and give great Fears in *Aſia*, which was in the Reigns of *Antiochus* firſt, and then of *Mithridates*. How long the Arms of *Odin* and his Succeſſors were imployed in the Conqueſt and Settlement of that vaſt Kingdom, which contained all the Tracts of Country ſurrounding the *Baltick* Sea, is not agreed upon in theſe Runick Stories; but 'tis neceſſary, *Norway* muſt have been the laſt they poſſeſſed in their Weſtern Progreſs; and I am apt to think, the *Scyths* may have been driven by them to ſeek nearer Seats in our Iſlands, and that 'tis probable to have been ſome Time of the Firſt Century. Whenever it was, it ſeems more agred, That after the firſt Entrance of the *Scots* into *Caledonia*, they ſubdued much of the Country, mingled with the reſt of the Native *Picts*, continued long to infeſt the Frontier Parts of the *Roman* Colonies in *Britain*, with great Fierceneſs, and many various Events; and would poſſibly have made much greater Noiſe and Impreſſions upon the *Romans*, if their greater Numbers had not been drawn another way, by ſo great a Drain as that of *Ireland*; which they totally conquered, and long poſſeſſed.

This is the beſt Account I have been ever able to give my ſelf of theſe ancient Times and Events in the Northern Parts of our Iſlands, being a Matter that has imploy'd ſo many unſkilful Pens in ſo much idle Traſh, and worthleſs Stuff, as they have left upon it; but all involved in ſuch groundleſs Traditions and Vanity of Fables, ſo obſcured by the Length of Time, and Darkneſs of unlearned Ages, or covered over with ſuch groſs Forgeries, made at Pleaſure by their firſt Inventers, that I know few ancient Authors upon this Subject, worth the Pains of Peruſal, and of dividing or refining ſo little Gold, out of ſo much coarſe Ore, or from ſo much Droſs. And I have the rather made this Excurſion, becauſe I have met with nothing in Story more obſcure, and often obſerved with Wonder, that we ſhould know leſs of *Ireland*, than of any other Country in *Europe*: For, beſides its having been anciently planted by the *Scots*, and taken their Name, and then, after ſeveral Centuries, been ſubdued, and much of it planted by the *Danes*; we know nothing certain of the Affairs or Revolutions of that Iſland, till the *Engliſh* began their Conqueſts there, under the Enſigns of *Henry* the Second. For the *Daniſh* Eſtabliſhments there, we neither know the Time nor the Manner they either began or ended; tho' many Monuments ſtill remain of the Towns and Caſtles they built, and many Records among ſome Families in *Denmark*, of the Lands and Poſſeſſions they long held and enjoyed in *Ireland*.

I ſhall now return to that Part of our Iſland, which was more properly by the *Romans* termed *Britannia*, was conquer'd by the victorious Arms, and reduced into a Province by the wiſe Inſtitutions of that renowned Nation; and having once found the End of the Thread, it will be eaſie to wind off the Bottom; and being a Subject treated by ſo many Authors, and pretty well agreed, I ſhall trouble my ſelf no farther, than to continue the Thread as it leads through the ſeveral Revolutions that have happen'd in this noble Iſland, till the laſt *Norman* Period, by which the preſent Succeſſion and Government ſeem to have been eſtabliſh'd, and have ever ſince continued.

The *Roman* Arms entered *Britain* under the firſt and moſt renowned of their Emperors, which was *Julius Cæſar*: But it was not a Quarry worth ſuch an Eagle, and ſo left by him to be purſued by the Lieutenants of the ſucceeding Emperors.

The ſecond Expedition into *Britain* was made by *Claudius*, under the Conduct of *Plautius*, and purſued under *Oſtorius*, and other *Roman* Commanders, with great Succeſſes. The Southern Coaſts, with moſt of the Inland Parts thereunto adjacent, were wholly ſubdued and ſecured by fortifying Camps, building Caſtles, and planting many Colonies. The reſt ſeemed at a Gaze, and to promiſe Submiſſions at the firſt, rather than any Diſturbances, to the Progreſs of the *Roman* Arms. 'Till, provoked by the Oppreſſion of ſome of the Prætors, and their corrupt Officers, the *Britains* towards the North, made Head under *Caractacus*, and continued for Nine Years, not only a brave Defence, but threatned ſome fatal Dangers to the *Roman* Colonies, 'till, in a deciſive Battle, by the Advantage of armed and diſciplined Veteran Soldiers, againſt looſe Troops of naked Men, the *Britains* were totally vanquiſhed, *Caractacus* taken Priſoner, and ſent to make a Part of a famous *Britiſh* Triumph at *Rome*. Yet one ſtrong Endeavour more was made for their Liberty, in the Time of *Nero*; when *Paulinus* going with the beſt Part of his Army to ſubdue the Iſle of *Angleſey*, the *Britains* preſuming upon ſo great a Diſtance between the Governour and his Colonies, made a general Inſurrection under *Voadicea*, fell upon the *Romans* in all Places, took their Caſtles, deſtroyed the chief Seats of their Power at *London* and *Verulam*, and purſued their Advantages with ſuch Slaughter and Revenge, that above Seventy thouſand *Romans*, or their Auxiliaries, were killed by the Fury of this general Revolt: Yet *Paulinus* returning with his Army, encountred the *Britiſh* Forces in a ſet Battle, overthrew their whole Powers, purſued his Victory, with the Slaughter of Eighty thouſand; forceth *Voadicea* to poiſon herſelf in Deſpair: And here ended, not only the *Britiſh* Liberties, but their very Hopes too, or any conſiderable Attempts ever to recover them.

Under *Veſpatian* and *Domitian*, *Julius Agricola* firſt diſcovered it to be an Iſland, ſailing round it with his Fleets, and extended and pacified the Bounds of his Province to the Neck of Land between the Two Fryths about *Sterling* and *Glaſcow*; and returning, applied himſelf to the Arts of Peace and Civil Inſtitutions, brought in the Uſe of the *Roman* Laws and Cuſtoms, Habits and Arms, Language and Manners, Baths and Feaſts, Studies and Learning: By all which he pretended to ſoften the Minds, and change the very Natures of a barbarous People, very difficult to be ſubdued by other Means, how violent ſoever. This wiſe Council, purſued by his Succeſſors in the Government, ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Romans* had little Trouble afterwards in *Britain*, beſides the Defence of their Province upon the Northern Borders.

After theſe Eſtabliſhments, the *Romans* called all that Part of the Iſland lying Northward from the Two Fryths, *Caledonia*; leaving the Name of *Britannia* to the reſt which was reduced to their Obedience, and from that Time remained a *Roman* Province. To defend it from the Irruptions of theſe fierce and numerous People on the North ſide, *Agricola* began, and in ſome manner finiſhed a Wall or Vallum, upon that narrow Space of Land that lies between the two Fryths or Bays of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Seas, upon which *Glaſcow* and *Sterling* are ſeated. He fortified this Paſs between the two Points, with Towers and Ramparts, to make it defenſible againſt thoſe barbarous Nations who inhabited the Northern ſide of that Country, which the *Romans* eſteemed not worth the conquering, and provided only for Security of the reſt of the Iſland. Many Ruins of this Vallum were lately, and for ought I know, may be ſtill remaining; and among the reſt, a ſmall round Tower built of Stone, but ſo exactly cut, as every one to joint into another, with admirable Art and Firmneſs, though without any Uſe of Mortar or Iron. And this was eſteemed to have been a Temple of *Terminus*, and built there as the utmoſt Bounds of the *Roman* Province. This Wall was afterwards repaired and ſtronger fortified by *Adrian* and *Severus*: Nor is it indeed agreed by Authors which of them began or finiſhed it, and whether the laſt made not another Vallum between the two Seas more Southward, and of a much greater Length: But, I think, the firſt more probable. However, this was a Defence intended and atchieved by the *Romans*, againſt thoſe bold and brave Remainders of the Northern *Britains*, aſſiſted by the *Scots*, who yet frequently invaded and infeſted the Province, during the Time the *Romans* held this Iſland, which was till the Reign of *Honorius*, and for the Space of about Four hundred and ſixty Years.

Upon the Diviſions in the *Roman* Empire, which was grown a Prey to their Armies, and commonly diſpoſed by their inconſtant Humours, the Pretenders often fought their Battles, and decided their Quarrels in *Gallia*, as well ſeveral of the Commanders there who arrived at the Empire, as ſeveral others who fell in the Purſuit of that fatal Purple, and left only the Name of Tyrants behind them in the Stories of that Age. For the Aſſiſtance of theſe Factions, the *Britiſh* Legions were at ſeveral Times and Occaſions drawn away into *Gaul*, and with them great Numbers of the braveſt of the *Britiſh* Youth, who were affectionate to the *Roman* Government, and inſtructed in their Language, Manners and Diſcipline of their Arms. As the *Roman* Forces decreaſed in *Britain*, the *Picts* and *Scots* ſtill the more boldly infeſted the Northern Parts, croſſing the Fryths, and hovering about the Coaſts in little Boats of Wicker, covered with Leather, filled all where they came with Spoil and Slaughter, 'till repell'd by what remained of the *Roman* Forces, they retired ſtill into their Northern Neſt, watching for the next Occaſion of Invaſion, and Revenge upon the Neighbouring *Britains*, whenever the *Romans* were drawn away into remoter Parts of the Iſland. Theſe Enterprizes were often repeated, and as often repreſs'd, for ſome Time, 'till, in the Reign of the Second *Valentinian*, upon the mighty Inundations of thoſe barbarous Northern Nations, which under the Names of *Goths* and *Vandals*, invaded the *Roman* Empire with infinite Numbers, Fury, and Danger to *Rome* it ſelf, all the *Roman* Legions were at laſt drawn out of *Britain*, with moſt of the *Britains* that were fit for Military Service, to relieve the Emperor, who was purſued by the *Goths* into *Piedmont*, and there beſieged in a ſtrong Paſſage or Town he pretended to defend.

The *Romans* taking their laſt Leave of this Province here, left the *Britains* to their own Government, and Choice of their own Kings and Leaders, with the beſt Inſtructions for the Exerciſe of their Arms and Diſcipline, and the Repairs and Defence of the Wall, or Rampart, they had raiſed againſt their Northern Foes. But theſe, finding the whole Country deſerted by the *Roman* Bands, exhauſted of their own braveſt Youth, and weakned by their new Diviſions, began to pour in greater Numbers than ever into the Northern Parts, and ravaged all before them, with greater Rage and Fury. The poor *Britains* ſent over their miſerable Epiſtle for Relief (ſtill upon Record) to the renowned *Ætius*, who had by ſeveral famous Succeſſes, for a Time, repelled the Violence of the *Gothick* Arms; which was addreſſed in theſe Words; *To* Ætius *thrice Conſul*; *The Groans of the* Britains; and told him, after other lamentable Complaints, *That the barbarous People drave them to the Sea, and the Sea back to the barbarous People; between which, they had only left the Choice of theſe Two Deaths, either to be killed by the one, or drowned by the other.* But having no Hopes given them by the *Roman* General, of any Succours from that Side, they began to conſider what other Nation they might call over to their Relief.

The *Saxons* were one Branch of thoſe *Gothick* Nations, which ſwarming from the Northern Hive, had, under the Conduct of *Odin*, poſſeſſed themſelves anciently of all thoſe mighty Tracts of Land that ſurround the *Baltick* Sea. A Branch of theſe, under the Name of *Suevi* (from whom the *Baltick* was of old called *Mare Suevicum*) had ſome time before *Cæſar*'s Wars in *Gaul*, invaded and ſubdued very large extended Territories in *Germany*, from the Coaſt of the North-weſt Ocean to the South-eaſtern Parts, whereof *Suabia* ſtill retains the Memory and the Name. Theſe *Suevi*, or *Suabi*, were, for their Strength and Valour, grown ſo formidable to all the *German* Nations they had conquered, and forced to ſeek new Seats, that thoſe upon the *Rhine* ſending Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, told him, *They would neither ſeek War with the* Romans, *nor avoid it*; *That they eſteemed themſelves as valiant as any other Nation, excepting only the* Suevi, *for whom the very immortal Gods were not a Match.* Theſe *Suevi* became afterwards divided into Two ſeveral Nations, and by Limits agreed between them. Thoſe towards the South-eaſt of *Germany* were called *Francs*, from their great Love of Liberty, and their Valour in preſerving it, and never ſubmitting to the *Roman* Subjection, as many other *German* Nations had done: Theſe, upon the fatal Decline of that Empire, invaded *Gaul*, under the leading of *Pharamond*; and under the ſucceeding Kings of his Race, conquered the whole Province, and eſtabliſhed that noble and ancient Kingdom of *France*.

The other Branch of the *Suevi* poſſeſſed themſelves of all thoſe Tracts of Land in *Germany* that lie between the *Elve* and the lower *Rhine*, had extended their Seats all over the Coaſts of the North-weſt Sea, and from thence exerciſed their Arms and fierce Courages, in all ſorts of Spoils and Piracies, not only upon Merchants, or Traders at Sea, but upon the Maritime Coaſts of *Britain*, oppoſite to thoſe Countries about the Mouth of the *Rhine*, or thereunto adjacent. Theſe fierce People were called *Saxons*, from a Weapon generally uſed among them, and made like a Scythe with the Edge reverſed, which in their Language were termed *Seaxes*.

To theſe *Vortigern*, choſen King by the deſerted and afflicted *Britains*, made Addreſs for Aid againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, who had now made Inroads as far as *Trent*. Their Deſires of Relief, and Offers of Seats in *Britain*, were ſoon accepted and granted by the *Saxons*; who under the Conduct of *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, of the Race of *Odin*, came over with great Numbers to the Aſſiſtance of the *Britains*, in the Year 450. They joined with the Natives at firſt, as Friends and Allies, had the Iſle of *Thanet* aſſigned them at their landing; and upon Occaſion of greater Numbers, the County of *Kent* for their Colony and Habitation. They marched againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in Conjunction with the *Britiſh* Arms, overthrew their Forces in ſeveral Battles, or Encounters, with thoſe cruel Ravagers, and beat them back into the moſt Northern Parts of the Province. After this, by Conſent of the *Britains*, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* ſent for their Two Sons, or near Kinſmen, to come over with a new Army of *Saxons*, by Sea, into thoſe Northern Parts; who ſeated their Colony about *Northumberland*, upon Pretence of guarding that Frontier againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, and their Incurſions upon the *Britains*, which they did with great Bravery and Succeſſes; and thereby left thoſe Nations contented, or forced, to bound their Territories with thoſe rough and mountainous Countries that lye between the Two Seas, near the River *Tweed*, and which ever ſince continued as the Borders between the Two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, into which the Iſland came afterwards to be divided.

The Province now delivered, and ſecured from their ancient Foes, Diſſentions began to ariſe between the *Britains* and their new Allies: The *Saxons* valued too high the Aſſiſtance they had given, and the *Britains*, perhaps, too low what they had received; 'till the firſt, allured by ſo fair a Prey, and the fertile Soil of ſo ſweet a Country, inviting ſtill greater Numbers from the Continent, eſtabliſhed Two *Saxon* Kingdoms, one in the Southern, and t'other in the Northern Parts; and from both theſe Sides invaded the *Britains*, who for ſome Time defended themſelves and their Liberties, with various Succeſſes, and with the greater Hatred and Diſtinction, the *Saxons* being all Pagans, and the *Britiſh* generally Chriſtians; which Religion ſeems to have been planted here in the firſt Century, but to have taken Root, and ſpread, chiefly, under *Conſtantius*, who was long Governor of the *Roman* Province here, a great Favourer of Chriſtianity, and Father of *Conſtantine* the Great.

In the Time of theſe firſt Wars between the *Saxons* and *Britains*, *Ambroſius* reigned over the laſt; and either as General of his Armies, or his Succeſſor in the Kingdom, *Arthur*, ſo famous in the Traditions, or rather in the Romances of ſucceeding Ages, and who is ſaid to have gained Twelve Battles over the *Saxons*, and to have left the *Britains* in the Middle of the Province, for ſome Time ſecure from theſe fierce Enemies, 'till Peace and Luxury had again ſoftned them; and by new Diſſentions among themſelves, expoſed their whole Province to become an eaſy Prey to ſo fierce and numerous Invaders. The Time of King *Arthur*'s Reign, or Atchievements (if any ſuch there were) muſt have been between the Years 460 and 500. But this whole Story is left ſo uncertain, or obſcure, by thoſe poor Writers, who have pretended to leave the Tales, rather than the Hiſtory of thoſe Times behind them, that it remains in doubt, whether to conſider them as a Part of the Story of that, or the Fables of ſucceeding Ages. Whatever there was of plain Stuff, the Embroidery of it, with the Knights of the Round Table, their Orders and their Chivalry, and the reſt of that Kind, ſeems to have been introduced by that Vein of the *Spaniſh* Romances, which many Ages after filled the World with ſo much of that idle Traſh; and choſe for the Subject of them, the Adventures and Succeſſes of the firſt Chriſtian, pretended, Heroes, who renowned ſuch fictious Names, by extravagant Actions, or Adventures, againſt the *Pagans*, or the *Saracens*, either in *Spain* or other Parts of *Europe* and *Aſia*. And among theſe, 'tis probable, thoſe Writers found Room for the many Legends of the *Britiſh Arthur*, and his romantick Adventures againſt the Heathen *Saxons*.

After the Year 500, for one Century, or thereabouts, the *Saxon* Forces were employed in ſubduing the midland Parts of *Britain*, interjacent between their Two firſt eſtabliſh'd Colonies, or Kingdoms, in the South, or *Kent*, and in the North, or about *Northumberland*; and to furniſh Men for ſuch Atchievements, and the new Plantation of ſo great Tracts of Country, after the Conqueſt and Devaſtation of the old, mighty Numbers of the *Saxon* Race came over into *Britain*, in ſeveral Expeditions, and landing at ſeveral Places: That which is recorded to have made ſudden and eaſy Way for their final Conqueſts, was a Treaty they entered into with the *Britains*; where, upon a Parley mediated between them, Three hundred of the chief of each Side, agreed to meet, and conclude the Treaty, in a great Plain: In the midſt of Talk and Drink, which had paſt in this Commerce, the Saxons provoking maliciouſly, and the *Britains* innocently reſenting, fell to quarrel, firſt in Words, and at laſt to Blows: When the *Saxons*, upon a Sign agreed between them, drew out ſhort Swords they had concealed under their upper Garments, fell upon the unarmed *Britains*, ſlew their whole Number in the Field, who being the beſt and braveſt of their Nation, left the reſt expoſed, without Heart or Head, to the Fury and Progreſs of the *Saxon* Arms. Theſe heartned with Succeſs, and proud of ſo great Poſſeſſions and Territories, invited and allured ſtill greater Numbers of their own from abroad; who being of ſeveral Branches, and from ſeveral Coaſts, arrived here under ſeveral Names; among whom the *Angles* from *Sleſwick* and *Jutland*, ſwarmed over in ſuch Numbers, that they gave a new Name at length, to this Province, which from them was called *Angle-land*, and for eaſier Sound *England*.

The *Saxons* purſued their Invaſion with Courage and Fierceneſs, equal to the Multitudes of their Nation, that ſwarmed over into this Iſland, and with ſuch an uninterrupted Courſe of Fortune and Victories, after the Year 500, that by the End of the next Century, they had ſubdued the whole Body of the Province, and eſtabliſh'd in it Seven ſeveral Kingdoms, which were by the Writers of thoſe Times, ſtiled the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*. They had expelled the *Britains* out of the faireſt and beſt of their ancient Poſſeſſions, and driven their greateſt Numbers, who eſcaped the Conquerors Fury, into *Wales* and *Cornwall*, Countries mountainous and barren, encompaſſed on Three Sides by the Sea, and towards the Land of difficult Acceſs. Some great Colonies of them wholly abandoned their Native Country to their fierce Invaders, ſailed over into the North-weſt Parts of *France*, where poſſeſſing new Seats, they gave a new Appellation to that *Peninſula*, which preſerves ſtill the Name and Memory of *Britain* there, though, about this Time, almoſt worn out at home.

This is the Account commonly given of the *Britiſh* Colonies firſt eſtabliſhing themſelves in that Canton of *Gaul*: But there is another given by ſome learned Perſons of their own, and drawn, as they ſay, either from ancient Archives, or Traditions among them, and which to me ſeems the moſt probable. When upon the *Roman* Wars in *Gaul*, among ſeveral Pretenders to the Empire, great Numbers of the *Britains*, as well as *Roman* Forces in that Iſland, were drawn over to aſſiſt the contending Parties: 'Tis ſaid, That very great Multitudes of the *Britiſh* having followed the unfortunate Side, retired as faſt as they could to that Part of the Sea-coaſt neareſt to their Iſle, and moſt likely to furniſh them with Ships for their Tranſportation; but that the Miſeries of their Native Country, from the furious Inroads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, ſo diſcouraged their Return, that by Conſent of the *Gauls* their Friends, they eſtabliſhed themſelves in the furtheſt North-Weſt Parts of that Province, which has ſince that Time retained their Language and their Name. And this agrees with the Legend of King *Arthur*, who is ſaid to have been a young Prince, or Leader, ſent from the *Britains* in *France*, to aſſiſt their Countrymen here againſt the *Saxons*. Whatever the Beginnings of this Colony were, or at what Time, 'tis, at leaſt, agreed to have been much augmented by the Reſort of ſo many *Britains*, as ſought Refuge there from the *Saxon* Cruelty.

The weak and poor Remainders of the Old *Britains*, who were ſcattered among the *Saxons* in *England*, were wholly ſpoiled of their Lands and Goods, which were fallen under the Mercy of the Conquerors, who ſharing them all among themſelves, left the remaining *Britains*, in a Condition of downright Servitude, uſed them for tilling Ground, feeding Cattle, and other ſervile Works, in Houſe or Field; ſometimes farming out certain Parts of Land to them, at certain Rents or Profits, but held always at the Will and Pleaſure of the Landlord. The Children that were born of theſe miſerable People, belonged to the Lord of the Soil, like the reſt of the Stock or Cattle upon it, and thus began Villenage in *England*, which laſted till the Time or End of *Henry* the Seventh's Reign.

Soon after the Year 600, the *Saxons* in *England* having ended their old Quarrel with the *Britains*, began new ones among themſelves; and, according to the uſual Circle of human Affairs, War ended in Peace, Peace in Plenty and Luxury, theſe in Pride, and Pride in Contention, till the Circle ended in new Wars. The *Saxon* Princes, of the Seven Kingdoms they had erected in *Britain*, fell into Emulations of one another's Greatneſs, Diſputes about the Bounds of their ſeveral Principalities, or about Succeſſions or Uſurpations, pretended or exerciſed in one or other of them: Theſe were followed by formal Wars among them, the Stronger ſwallowing up the Weaker, and theſe having recourſe to their Neighbours, for Defence againſt encroaching Power. Many fierce Encounters, Sieges, Battles, Spoils, and Devaſtations of Country, ſucceeded in the Progreſs and Deciſion of theſe mutual Injuries and Invaſions, between the *Saxon* Kings, for above Two hundred Years: but the Account of them is very poorly given us, with little Order or Agreement of Times or Actions, by the few and mean Authors of thoſe barbarous and illiterate Ages; and, perhaps, the rough Courſe of thoſe lawleſs Times and Actions, would have been too ignoble a Subject for a good Hiſtorian.

About the Year 830, after many various Events and Revolutions between the ſeveral Races of the Heptarchy, *Ecbert*, deſcended from the *Weſt-Saxon* Kings, having inherited moſt of the Succeſſions from the Proweſs and Exploits of his Anceſtors, and acquired others by his own, became the firſt ſole King or Monarch of *England*, as it now was diſtinguiſhed from the Principality of *Wales*, poſſeſſed by the old *Britains*, and from that Part of the Iſland to the North of *Tweed*, poſſeſſed by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and by the *Saxons* ſtiled by one common Name of *Scotland*.

This famous Adventure of the *Saxons* in *England*, was atchieved by the Force and Confluence of ſuch Multitudes from the Coaſts of *Germany*, which lie between the *Belgick* and *Baltick* Shores, that ſome Parts of their Native Countries were left almoſt diſpeopled, to fill again by new Swarms from the great Northern Hive, and the Number of *Saxons* and *Angles*, *Jutes*, and other Nations that came over, were not only ſufficient to conquer and waſte this whole Province, but even to plant and people it ſoon again, with numerous and new Inhabitants. So as by them ſucceeded in this Iſland, not only a Change of Government, as by the *Roman* Arms; but a Change of the very People or Nation, that inhabited or poſſeſſed the Lands of this whole Province: This induced a Change likewiſe of Names, of Language, of Cuſtoms, of Laws, of Arms, of Diſcipline, of Poſſeſſions, of Titles, of Religion, and even of the whole Face of Nature, through this whole Kingdom. So as we may juſtly date the Original of all theſe amongſt us, as well as our Nation it ſelf, from theſe our *Saxon* Anceſtors: *Britain*, which was before a *Roman* Province, was now grown a *Saxon* Kingdom; and inſtead of its former Name, was called *England*; the Language, which was either *Latin* or *Britiſh*, was now grown wholly *Saxon*, or *Engliſh*; the Land that was before divided into *Roman* Colonies or Governments, was ſo now into Shires, with Names given to them by the *Saxons*, as they firſt poſſeſſed, or afterwards thought fit to diſtinguiſh them.

The Habits in Peace, and Arms in War, the Titles of Officers in both, as well as of great Counſellors to their Kings, or great Proprietors of Lands, came to be all according to the *Saxon* Forms and Uſage. The Laws of this Country, which before were *Roman*, changed now into *Old Saxon* Cuſtoms or Conſtitutions. Their Princes or Leaders of their ſeveral Nations, became *Konings* or Kings of the Territories they had ſubdued. They reſerved part of the Lands to themſelves for their Revenue, and ſhared the reſt among their chief Commanders, by great Diviſions, and among their Soldiers by ſmaller Shares. The firſt, who had the great Diviſions, were called Earls or Barons; thoſe of the ſmaller were Knights; and the ſmalleſt of all were Freemen, who poſſeſſed ſome Proportions of Free Lands, and were thereby diſtinguiſhed from the Villens, that held nothing but at the Will of the Landlord.

In this univerſal Transformation, Religion it ſelf had a Share, like all the
reſt, and received new Forms and Orders, with the new Inhabitants, whilſt
all that was *Roman* or *Britiſh*, expired together in this Country: The *Bri-*
tains began early to receive the Chriſtian Faith, and, as is reported, from
ſome of the Diſciples themſelves: and this was ſo propagated among them,
that when the *Romans* left the Province, they were generally Chriſtians, and
had their Prieſts and Biſhops from that Ancient and Apoſtolick Inſtitution.
The *Saxons* were a ſort of idolatrous Pagans, that worſhipped ſeveral Gods
peculiar to themſelves, among whom *Woden*, *Thor*, and *Frea* were the chief,
which left their Memories ſtill preſerved by the common Names of Three
Days in the Week: This Religious Worſhip they introduced with them, and
continued long in *England*, till they ſubdued the *Britains*, reduced it under
their Heptarchy of *Saxon* Kings, perſecuted the *Britiſh* Chriſtians, and drove
them with their Religion, into *Wales*, where they continued under their pri-
mitive Prieſts and Biſhops, who, with their Monks, were all under the Sur-
intendance of one Arch-Prieſt or Biſhop of *Carleon*, the Bound of the *Britiſh*
Principality. About the Year 600, Pope *Gregory* ſent *Auſtin* the Monk to
preach the Goſpel in *England* to the Heathen *Saxons*, who landing at *Dover*,
was received with Humanity by *Ethelbert*, King of the *South-Saxons*; and be-
ing admitted, with Four or Five of his Companions, as well-meaning Men,
to teach and explain the Doctrine and Myſteries of Chriſtianity, among theſe
ignorant and barbarous People, they ſo well ſucceeded, that they converted
at firſt, great Numbers of the common ſort, and at length the King himſelf,
whoſe Example gave eaſie way for introducing the Chriſtian Faith into his
whole Kingdom, which from thence ſpread into all the Countries ſubject to
the *Saxon* Heptarchy. Thus Religion came to be eſtabliſh'd in *England*, under
the Rites and Forms, and Authority, of the *Roman* Church; by which *Au-*
ſtin was inſtituted chief Biſhop in *England*, and ſeated by the *Saxon* King at
Canterbury. But his Juriſdiction, though admitted in all the *Saxon* Territories,
was not received by the *Britiſh* Prieſts or People in *Wales*, tho' endeavour'd
by many Miſſions from *Auſtin* and his Succeſſors, and even by Wars and Per-
ſecutions of the *Saxons*, upon the old *Britiſh* Chriſtians, at the Inſtigation of
the new *Romiſh* Prieſts, in one of which, near *Carleon*, Twelve Hundred of
the poor *Britiſh* Monks are ſaid to have been ſlaughtered, while they were
apart in the Field at their Prayers for the Succeſs of the *Britiſh* Army.

With this Account of a new Face and State of Perſons and of Things, both
Natural, Civil, and Religious, eſtabliſh'd in *England*, I return to the Period I
left, of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, which being extinguiſh'd by long and various
Revolutions among themſelves, made way for the Reign of *Ecbert*, the firſt
ſole King or Monarch of *England*, about the Year 830.

It might have been reaſonably expected, that a wiſe and fortunate Prince, at
the Head of ſo great a Dominion, and ſo brave and numerous a People, as the
Engliſh, after the Expulſion of the *Picts* and *Scots* out of his Country into the
rough Northern Parts, and of the *Britains* into the North-Weſt Corners of the
Iſland, ſhould not only have enjoyed the Fruits of Peace and Quiet, but left much
Felicity, as well as Greatneſs, to many ſucceeding Generations, both of Prince
and People. Yet ſuch is the Inſtability of human Affairs, and the Weakneſs of
their beſt Conjectures, that *Ecbert* was hardly warm in his united Throne, when
both he and his Subjects began to be alarmed and perplexed at the Approach
of new and unknown Enemies, and this Iſland expoſed to new Invaſions.

About this Time, a mighty Swarm of the Old Northern Hive, who had
poſſeſſed the Seats about the *Baltick* (almoſt deſerted by ſuch Numbers of
Goths, *Vandals*, and *Saxons*, as had iſſued out of them ſome Centuries before)
began, under the Names of *Danes* and *Normans*, to infeſt at firſt the Sea, and
at length the Lands of the *Belgick*, *Gallick*, and *Britiſh* Shores, filling all where
they came with Slaughters, Spoils, and Devaſtations. The *Normans* firſt
over-run the *Belgick* Provinces upon the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and gave new
Names of *Holland* and *Zealand* to thoſe Parts adjacent to the Sea: After-
wards they failed with mighty Numbers into the Mouth of the *Sein*, and with

great Fierceneſs ſubdued that Northern Part of *France*, which from them firſt received, and ever ſince retained, the Name of *Normandy*, and became the State of a great *Norman* Duke, and his Succeſſors, for ſeveral Generations.

In the mean Time, the *Danes* began their Inroads and furious Invaſions upon the Coaſts of *England*, with mighty Numbers of Ships, full of fierce and barbarous People, ſometimes entring the *Thames*, ſometimes the *Humber*, other times coaſting as far as *Exeter*, landing wherever they found the Shores unguarded, filling all with Ravage, Slaughter, Spoil, and Devaſtations of the Country; where they found any ſtrong Oppoſition, retiring to their Ships, ſailing home laden with Spoil; and by ſuch Encouragements, giving Life to new Expeditions the next Seaſon of the Year. The braveſt Blood of the *Engliſh* had been exhauſted in their own Civil Wars, during the Contentions of the Heptarchy; ſince thoſe ended, the reſt were grown ſlothful with Peace and with Luxury, ſoftned with new Devotions of their Prieſts and their Monks, with Penances and Pilgrimages, and great Numbers running into Cloiſters, and grown as unequal a Match now for the *Danes*, as the *Britiſh* had been for the *Saxons* before. Yet this Century paſſed not without many various Succeſſes between the Two Nations, many Victories and many Defeats on both ſides, ſo that Twelve Battles are ſaid to have been fought between them in one Year. The *Danes* divided their Force into ſeveral Camps, removed them from one part of the Country to another, as they were forced by Neceſſity of Proviſions, or invited by Hopes of new Spoils, or the Weakneſs and Diviſions of the *Engliſh*: at length, fortified Poſts and Paſſages, built Caſtles for Defence of Borders one againſt the other, which gave the Beginning to thoſe numerous Forts and Caſtles that were ſcattered over the whole Country, and laſted ſo long, as to remain, many of them, to this very Age. The *Engliſh* ſometimes repulſed theſe Invaſions, ſometimes purchaſed the Safety of their Provinces by great Sums of Money, which occaſioned great Exactions of their Kings upon the People, and that great Diſcontents; while the *Danes* increaſing ſtill, by new Supplies of Numbers and Force, began to mingle among the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts they had ſubdued, made Truces and Treaties, and thereupon grew to live more peaceably under the Laws and Government of the *Engliſh* Kings. *Alfred*, to prevent the Danger of new Invaſions, began to build Ships for the Defence of his Coaſts; and *Edgar*, a Prince of great Wiſdom and Felicity in his Reign, applying all his Thoughts to the Increaſe and Greatneſs of his Naval Forces, as the true Strength and Safety of his Kingdom, raiſed them to that Height, both of Numbers and Force, and diſpoſed them with that Order, for the Guard of the Seas round the whole Iſland, as proved not only ſufficient to ſecure his own Coaſts from any new Invaſions, but the Seas themſelves from the Rovers and Spoilers of thoſe Northern Nations, who had ſo long infeſted them; ſo that all Traders were glad to come under his Protection: Which gave a Riſe to that Right, ſo claimed by the Crown of *England* to the Dominion of the Seas, about the Year 960.

But theſe Proviſions for the Safety of the Kingdom, began to decline with the Life of *Edgar*, and neglected in the ſucceeding Reigns, made way for new Expeditions of the *Danes*, who exacted new Tribute from the Kings, and Spoils from the Subjects; 'till *Ethelred*, compounding with them for his own Safety, and their peaceable living in *England*, and fortifying himſelf by an Alliance with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, laid a Deſign for the general Maſſacre of the *Danes*, ſpread abroad and living peaceably throughout the Realm, which was carried on with that Secrecy and Concurrence of all the *Engliſh*, that it was executed upon one Day, and the whole Nation of the *Danes* maſſacred in *England* about the Year 1002.

This cruel and perfidious Maſſacre of ſo many Thouſands, inſtead of ending the long Miſeries of this Kingdom from the Violences, Invaſions, and Intruſions of the *Danes*, made way for new and greater Calamities than before: For *Swane* King of *Denmark*, exaſperated by the Slaughter of his Nation here, and among them of his own Siſter, and animated by the Succeſſes of ſo many private Expeditions; ſoon after landed with great Forces, formed ſeveral Camps of *Danes* in ſeveral Parts of *England*, filled all with Spoil and Slaughter, forced *Ethelred* to fly for Relief into *Normandy*; and though he returned again, yet being a weak and cruel Prince, and thereby ill beloved, and ill obeyed by his Subjects, he never recovered Strength enough to oppoſe the Forces and Numbers of the *Danes*, to whom many of the *Engliſh* Nobles, as well as Commoners, had in his Abſence ſubmitted.

Swane died before he could atchieve this Adventure; but left his Son *Canute* in a Courſe of ſuch proſperous Fortunes, and the *Engliſh* ſo broken or divided, that coming out of *Denmark* with new Forces in Two hundred Ships, he reduced *Edmund* Son of *Ethelred*, firſt to a Diviſion of the whole Kingdom between them, and after his untimely Death, was by the whole Nobility of the Realm acknowledged and received for King of *England*. This fierce Prince cut off ſome of the Royal Line, and forced others into Exile, reigned long, and left the Crown for Two Succeſſions to his *Daniſh* Race, who all ſwore to govern the Realm by the Laws which had been eſtabliſhed, or rather digeſted, by *Edward* the Firſt, and *Edgar*, out of the old *Saxon* Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions. But *Hardecnute*, laſt of the *Daniſh* Kings, dying ſuddenly at a Feaſt, in the Year 1042, left the Race ſo hated, by the Impoſition and Exaction of ſeveral Tributes upon his People, that *Edward*, ſurnamed *The Confeſſor*, and Grandſon to *Edgar*, coming out of *Normandy*, where he had been long protected, found an eaſie Acceſſion to the Crown, by the general Concurrence both of Nobles and People, and with great Applauſe reſtor'd the *Saxon* Race in the Year 1043.

Thus expired, not only the Dominion, but all Attempts or Invaſions of the *Danes* in *England*; which though continued and often renewed, with mighty Numbers, for above Two Hundred Years, yet left no Change of Laws, Cuſtoms, Language, or Religion, nor other Traces of their Eſtabliſhments here, beſides the many Caſtles they built, and many Families they left behind them, who after the Acceſſion of *Edward the Confeſſor* to the Crown, wholly ſubmitting to his Government, and peaceably inhabiting, came to incorporate, and make a Part of the *Engliſh* Nation, without any Diſtinction.

Edward the Confeſſor reigned long, reduced the Laws of *Edward*, *Alfred*, and *Edgar*'s Reigns into more Form and Order, and governed by them. His Wars were ſucceſsful both in *Scotland* and *Wales*, though managed by his Leaders, and without his Preſence. But being a Prince of a ſoft and eaſie Nature, he gave way to the growing Power and Arrogance of Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, who had been the chief Inſtruments of advancing him to the Throne, upon the Condition of marrying Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter. After he was ſettled in the Kingdom, either upon Gratitude or Inclination to the People and Cuſtoms of a Country where he had lived long, and been well received when he was baniſhed from his own; he invited many of his *Norman* Friends into *England*, employ'd them in his greateſt Offices either of Church or State, and upon ſome Quarrels between them and the *Engliſh*, expreſs'd too much Partiality to the *Normans*. This gave *Godwin* and his Son *Harold*, Occaſion or Pretence of raiſing and heading great Diſcontents of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Norman* Favourites, and at laſt Inſurrections againſt the King; who ſoft in his Nature, devout in his Temper, and now declining in his Age, endeavoured rather to appeaſe theſe Troubles by Articles than by Arms, and thereby left *Harold* too powerful for a Subject, and aſpiring to the Crown. *Edward* had no Children; and though he ſeemed deſirous to leave the Crown to his Nephew, yet diſtruſting his Weakneſs to defend it againſt ſo powerful a Rival, it does not appear, or is not agreed among Authors, whether he made any Diſpoſition of it at his Death, or no; or whether any ſuch, at leaſt, as was afterwards pretended.

Harold alledged, That he was appointed by *Edward the Confeſſor* to ſucceed him, was believed by ſome, and allowed by more, who followed his Power, rather than his Right, and was immediately after the King's Death, elected or admitted to the Crown.

His firſt Trouble was from his own Brother, who being the Elder, had obtained Aſſiſtance from *Norway*, to ſet up a Title or Pretence to the Kingdom, though he could have no other, but that his Brother had uſurped it. *Harold* having marched into the North, overthrown his Brother and his Army of Strangers or Diſcontents, with great Slaughter, at *Stamford*, was ſuddenly recalled by a more dangerous and fatal Storm from the South. For *William* Duke of *Normandy*, ſurnamed *The Conqueror*, was landed at *Haſtings* with a mighty Army of ſtout *Norman* Soldiers, to purſue a Right he pretended to the Succeſſion of the Crown after the Death of *Edward*. What this was, is but obſcurely proved or defended. But the Pretext was, That *Edward* had by Teſtament left him Succeſſor of the Crown; and that *Harold*, while he was laſt in *Normandy*, had likewiſe aſſured him of his Aſſiſtance to advance him to the Kingdom upon the Death of the King; and the Duke therefore ſent to put him in mind of that Engagement. But *Harold* was in poſſeſſion, and admitted neither of theſe Claims, reſolved to defend well what he had gotten ill, ſince the apparent Right was in *Edgar Atheling*, deſcended from the true *Saxon* Race, and from a Brother of *Edward the Confeſſor*. To decide theſe Diſputes between the Two powerful Pretenders (while the juſt Right lay unregarded for want of Force to ſupport it) a fierce and bloody Battel was fought near *Haſtings*, which continued for a whole Day, with great Bravery and Slaughter on both ſides; but ended with the Death of *Harold*, moſt of the braveſt Captains, and above Sixty Thouſand Soldiers of the *Engliſh* Nation, who reſolved to defend a Domeſtick Uſurper againſt a Foreign Invader; and by the Loſs of their Lives made eaſie Way for the undiſputed Succeſſion of *William the Conqueror* to the Crown of *England*, about the Year 1066, or, as ſome account, 1068.

This *Norman* Prince was Natural Son of *Robert* the Sixth Duke of *Normandy*, by *Arlette*, a very beautiful Virgin of *Falaize*, with whom he fell in Love, as ſhe ſtood gazing at her Door, whilſt he paſſed through that Town: So that he was the Iſſue of a ſudden and ſtrong Inclination; like a noble Plant, raiſed in a hot Bed, which gave it ſuch Force and Vigour, as made it proſper and grow to ſo great a Height: Nor is it unlikely, that the ancient Heroes derived themſelves from ſome Gods, to cover the Miſfortunes or Follies, the Rapes or Loves, of ſome fair Maidens, or elſe the Paſſions of ſome frail Wives, who loved a Gallant better than a Husband: And the Force of ſuch Encounters might have Part in the Conſtitution of a young Hero, and give a Natural Vigour, Spirit, and Luſtre to the Children, from the Flames wherein they were conceived. 'Tis certain this young Conqueror owed his Greatneſs to his Birth, and his Fortunes to his Perſonal Merit, from the Strength of his Temper, and Vigour of his Mind: For he had a Body of Iron, as well as a Heart of Steel; yet his Intellectuals were, at leaſt, equal to his other natural Advantages; and he appears as Wiſe in his Politick Inſtitutions, as he was Bold in his Enterprizes, or Brave and Fortunate in the Atchievement of his great Adventures.

His Father *Robert* growing old, fell into a Fit of Devotion, frequent enough in that Age; which made him reſolve upon a Viſit to the Holy Sepulchre: His Nobles uſed all Arguments they could to diſſuade him, but chiefly from the want of lawful Iſſue, and the Competition like to ariſe upon his Death, between ſeveral great Pretenders, which might prove dangerous to his Country, and, perhaps, fatal to the *Norman* State. But he perſiſted in the Deſign of his Journey, and told them, He had a young Son, that he believed certainly to be his own, and of whoſe Perſon and Diſpoſition he had great Hopes, and therefore reſolved to leave him his Succeſſor in the Dutchy; recommended him to their Care and Loyalty, and appointed the King of *France* to be his Guardian, and the Duke of *Britain* his Governor, who was one of the faireſt Pretenders to the Succeſſion of that Dutchy, after the failing of *Robert*'s Line: An unuſual Strain or Teſtimony of the good Faith and Meaning of that Age, where Honour was ſo much more in requeſt than Intereſt, that ſuch a Prince could truſt a Son of reproached Birth and diſputed

Right, to a powerful Neighbour, the likelieſt to invade him, and to a Pretender, that ſtood the faireſt to conteſt his Title.

The Prince was not above Nine or Ten Years old, when Duke *Robert* cauſed his Nobles and chief *Norman* Subjects, to ſwear Fealty to him, and afterwards carried him to do Homage to *Henry* the Firſt, King of *France*, for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, according to the Cuſtom of the former Dukes, ſince their firſt Accords with that Crown, after their Conqueſts and Eſtabliſhments in that Part of *France*, which was before called *Neuſtry*, and took the Name of *Normandy* from thoſe fierce Invaders: Theſe coming from the Coaſts of *Norway*, in Two ſeveral Expeditions, with mighty Numbers of a brave, but barbarous People, had, about Two hundred Years before, firſt ravaged the Coaſts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, then entred the Mouth of the *Sein*, ſubjected the Country by unreſiſted Arms; then taking the City of *Rouen*, Capital of that Province, upon Compoſition, and made Inroads from thence into the Iſle of *France*, and near *Paris* it ſelf, with ſuch Fury and Succeſs, that the King of *France*, embroiled then at Home, thought fit to tame theſe Lyons, rather than longer to oppoſe them, and threw them that noble and fruitful Morſel of *Normandy*, to aſſuage their Hunger; yielding it up wholly to their Leader *Roul*, upon Conditions of his turning Chriſtian, and his holding that Dutchy from the Crown of *France*, for him and his Succeſſors.

After theſe Ceremonies were paſſed of the Homages received in *Normandy*, and given in *France*, the old Duke *Robert* delivered his young Son himſelf into the Hands and Tutelage of the *French* King, upon the Confidence of great Services he had formerly done him, in Diſputes about the Crown; and immediately after theſe Tranſactions, began his Voyage into *Aſia*, where he lived not long, and left his Son to be the Founder of his own Fortunes, rather than Heir of his Father's; which he found expoſed to all ſorts of Dangers from the Tenderneſs of his Age, the Reproach of his Birth, a ſuſpected Guardian, a diſputed Title, and a diſtracted State.

After the News of Duke *Robert*'s Deceaſe, the Nobles of *Normandy* by him intruſted with the Government during his Son's Minority, found themſelves ſoon involved in many Difficulties, by the open Factions of ſome Nobles, who envied their Greatneſs; and by the private Practices of others, who being derived from ſome of the former Dukes, reſolved to ſet up their Pretences to the Succeſſion, but maſqued their Deſigns at firſt, and herded with the common Diſcontents, againſt the preſent Adminiſtration. The Governors, faithful to the Truſt repoſed in them by the Father, and the Fealty they had ſworn to the Son, eſteemed the Preſence of the young Prince neceſſary to ſupport their Authority and his Title, and thereupon prevailed with the King of *France* to ſend him into *Normandy*; which he did accordingly, with great Honour to Himſelf, and Kindneſs to the young Duke, as well as Satisfaction to all his loyal Subjects; but to the Diſappointment of thoſe, who pretended their Diſcontents rather againſt the Governors, than the Succeſſion.

No Prince ever came ſo early into the Cares and Thorns of a Crown, nor felt them longer, engaged in Difficulties and Toils, in Hardſhips and Dangers; his Life expoſed to the Arms of Enemies, the Plots of Aſſaſſins; his Reign embroiled by the Revolts of his Subjects, the Invaſions of his Neighbours; and his whole Life, though very long, ſpent in the neceſſary and dangerous Defence of his own Title and Dominion, or in the ambitious Deſigns of acquiring greater: Yet none ever ſurmounted all with more Conſtancy of Mind, Prudence of Conduct, and Felicity of Fortune. By all which, he ſeems born to have been rather a great Prince, than a happy Man.

His firſt Conteſts and Dangers, aroſe from the declared Competition of the Pretenders to the Succeſſion of the Dutchy, who, favoured by the Defects of his Birth, and grounding their Title upon their own legitimate Deſcent, found ſo many Followers at Home, and ſuch Aſſiſtance from ſome neighbouring Princes, that, agreeing together againſt the preſent Poſſeſſor, tho' diſputing among themſelves upon their own Rights, they raiſed great Forces, and conſtrained

ſtrained the young Duke to appear, not only at the Head of his Councils, but of his Armies too, by that time he was full Seventeen Years old.

Theſe Civil Wars continued long, with many various Succeſſes, bloody Encounters, defeating and recruiting of Troops, ſurprizing, ſacking, beſieging, relieving of Towns, and waſting of Countries; 'till at laſt, the Duke, by his Vigilance, Prudence, Courage and Induſtry, ſubdued totally, not only the Forces, but the Hearts of all his Competitors and Enemies at Home, and forced them to quit both *Normandy* and *France*, and ſeek new Fortunes, or, at leaſt, Protection, in *Italy*, under the Banners and Service of thoſe Northern Princes, who had firſt, by aſſiſting their Friends, and then purſuing their own Fortunes, made themſelves Maſters of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*. So great was the Proweſs and Conduct of thoſe brave *Norman* Adventurers, that from *Truhans*, as the *French* called them, becauſe they could not ſtay at home, but left their own Country, to ſeek Room in foreign and diſtant Regions, they became Poſſeſſors and Sovereigns, in leſs than Two hundred Years, of one noble Dutchy in *France*, a great Kingdom in the beſt Parts of *Italy*, and a greater yet, and more renowned, in the *Britiſh* Iſle, and thereby exchanged the ſavage Woods, and barren Mountains of *Norway*, for Three of the fruitfulleſt, faireſt, and moſt pleaſant Countries in the Weſtern Parts of *Europe*, and which had been obſerved, both before and ſince, to produce the braveſt Bodies and Courages of any Provinces among their Neighbour Nations.

The Defeats and final Overthrow of Competitors at Home, gave Duke *William* no long Quiet; for another appeared from Abroad, more dangerous than any of the former: This was *Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, that was not only a Prince of great Poſſeſſions, but yet more formidable, by the Alliance and Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, who, jealous of the *Norman* Greatneſs, thought it both wiſe and juſt, to prevent its farther Growth, and abate a Neighbour's Power, before it grew too high, and, perhaps, out of his Reach, by the Conduct, Ambition, and Fortune of ſuch an aſpiring Prince.

To this End, and upon ſmall Pretences (which never fail a ſtrong Invader) he encouraged, if not ſet on foot, the Earl of *Anjou*'s Pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, gave him firſt his Countenance and Aſſiſtance, to juſtifie his Claim, and purſue it by Arms, but by degrees, engaged in an open and declared War againſt the Duke: This he proſecuted with much Paſſion and Violence, imploying in it not only all the Forces he could raiſe, but his own Perſon to command them, attended by many, the chief Nobles of his Kingdom, and many great Perſons of his Allies.

Duke *William* loſt nothing of his Temper or Courage, upon the Approaches of ſo great a Storm, but prepared firſt for his Defence; 'till fluſh'd with Succeſs in many Encounters, and truſting to the Bravery and Affections of his Army, though much inferior to the *French*, he brought the Quarrel to the Deciſion of Two fierce Battels in Two pitch'd Fields: The firſt ended in an entire Victory on the Duke's ſide, with the Slaughter of Three Parts of his Enemies, amounting to above Thirty thouſand Men. This Loſs, however, rather inraged, than diſcouraged the King of *France*, who gave himſelf or his Enemies no Quiet, 'till he ingaged the *Normans* in a ſecond Battle, with greater Forces and Rage on both ſides, but with the ſame Succeſs the former had ended. In this Field the King of *France* loſt the Flower of his Army, the greateſt part of his Nobles, and hardly eſcaped himſelf in Perſon. But that little availed this unfortunate Prince, who was ſo ſenſible of the Loſs, and, as he thought, Diſhonour, received by ſo unequal a Match, that he had not the Heart to ſurvive it long, but died of Grief, and thereby gave an End to this War, and left Duke *William* a calm and peaceable Reign, 'till he diſturbed his own and his Neighbours Quiet, by new and greater Adventures. But to diſcover their Cauſes, and judge better of the Events, we muſt have recourſe to the Accidents of the former Reigns, both in *England* and *Normandy*, and the great Commerce and Intelligences that were thereby grown, for many Years paſt, between theſe Two Courts and Nations.

Edward, for his Piety, ſurnamed *The Confeſſor*, the laſt King of the *Saxon* Race in *England*, had, by the Perſecution of his Enemies under the Reign of *Hardecnute* the *Dane*, been forced to leave *England*, and ſeek Shelter in *Normandy*, where he was kindly received, nobly entertained by the Duke, lived long there with many *Engliſh*, who adhered to his Right, followed his Fortunes, and ſhared in the Cauſes and Reliefs of his Baniſhment; ſome found Imployments, others Alliances, All, Favour and kind Reception in *Normandy*. Theſe mutual good Offices produced ſo much Kindneſs between the Givers and Receivers, that 'tis by ſome Writers reported, King *Edward*, during his Reſidence in the *Norman* Court, promiſed Duke *Robert*, That in caſe he recovered the Kingdom of *England*, and died without Iſſue, he would leave him the Crown. The firſt happening, and *Edward* reſtored by the Power of Earl *Godwin*, or rather the general Diſcontents of the *Engliſh* againſt the *Daniſh* Race and Government, 'tis certain, King *Edward*, after his Reſtoration, or rather firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, ever appeared more ſavourable and partial to the *Normans*, than was well reſented by his *Engliſh* Subjects in general; but Earl *Godwin* and his Son *Harold* were ſo offended, that they made it the Cauſe or Pretence of a dangerous Inſurrection, and were forced, upon the ill Succeſs thereof, to leave the Kingdom, and fly into *Flanders*, though after reſtored and received by the King, rather by Force than any free and willing Conſent.

Duke *William*, after the End of his Wars with *France*, had turned his Thoughts to the common Arts and Entertainments of Peace, regulating the Abuſes of his State, and the Diſorders introduced by a long Courſe of Wars and Violence, adorning his Palaces and Houſes of Pleaſure, building Churches and Abbies, and endowing them with great Bounty and Piety: After which he made a Journey into *England*, where he was received and entertained by King *Edward*, with the ſame Kindneſs himſelf had found in the *Norman* Court; for which, like a good Prince, he was much pleaſed to make this Return of Gratitude, as well as Juſtice. In this Viſit, 'tis ſaid by ſome Authors, that the Duke gained ſo far upon the Eſteem and Kindneſs of the King, that he then renewed to the Son in *England*, the Promiſe he had formerly made the Father in *Normandy*, of leaving him the Crown by Teſtament, in caſe he died without Iſſue.

Some time after the Duke's Return, *Harold* Son to Earl *Godwin*, and Heir of his great Poſſeſſions and Dependances in *England*, was forced by a Storm (as he at leaſt pretended) upon the Coaſts of *Normandy*; and to refreſh himſelf after the Toils and Dangers of his Sea Voyage, went firſt to the *Norman* Court, and after ſome Stay there, to that of *France*; and was in both entertained like a Perſon known to be of ſo great Conſideration and Power in *England*. But his laſt Viſit at *Paris*, was thought deſigned only to cover the true Intention of his firſt in *Normandy*; where he engaged to aſſiſt that Duke with all his Friends and Force, in his Claim to the Crown of *England*, upon King *Edward*'s Death; which happening not long after, *William* claimed the Crown by virtue of a Teſtament from that King, and of an Engagement from *Harold*. But he, on the contrary, denied any ſuch Teſtament from the deceaſed Prince; alledged an Appointment made by him at his Death for *Harold* to ſucceed him; diſowned any Promiſe made in Favour of the Duke, and making the beſt Uſe of the Credit and Authority gained by his Father and himſelf, in a craſie and diſeaſed State, during the ſoft Reign of a weak, though pious, King; *Harold* ſet up boldly for himſelf, without any reſpect of Right, beyond the People's Submiſſion (interpreted for their Conſent), and was elected King by thoſe Nobles and Commons of his Friends, or indifferent Perſons, who aſſembled at his Coronation; leaving to *Edgar Atheling* an undoubted, but yet unregarded Right of Succeſſion; and to *William*, a diſputed Plea, from the alledged Teſtament of the deceaſed King.

The Duke, fond of thoſe ambitious Hopes he had framed early, and nouriſhed long, and ſpighted at the perfidious dealing of *Harold* towards him, and his Inſolence towards the *Engliſh* Nation, in ſeizing the King and Government,

vernment, againſt all Juſtice, or ſo much as Pretence of Right (which is commonly made uſe of to cover the moſt lawleſs Actions) aſſembles his Eſtates of *Normandy*, expoſes to them his Claim to *England*; the Wrong done him by *Harold*; his Reſolutions of proſecuting both with his utmoſt Power; the Glory as well as Juſtice of the Enterprize; the Hopes of Succeſs from his own Right; and the Hatred in *England* of the Uſurper, as well as the Friends and Intelligences he had in that Kingdom; the Greatneſs of Spoils and Poſſeſſions, by the Conqueſt of his Enemies; and the Share he intended his Friends and Followers, according to each Man's Merit and Contribution towards the Advancement of his Deſigns.

Though the Generality of the *Normans* in this Aſſembly, were not at firſt very much moved by theſe Diſcourſes, as either doubting the Right or Succeſs of ſo hazardous an Adventure, yet they could not diſcourage what they were unwilling to promote, ſince they found the Prince had it ſo much at Heart; who prevailed with ſeveral of the greateſt Biſhops and Nobles of *Normandy*, to make him a voluntary Offer of what Monies, Men, and Ships they would each of them furniſh towards this Enterprize, as well as of their own perſonal Attendance upon him, in ſo noble and juſt a Deſign.

This free and magnanimous Offer of the greateſt among them, in ſome Degree, ſpirited not only the reſt of the Aſſembly, but had much Influence upon the People in general, who, grew confident of the Succeſs, from the Greatneſs and Boldneſs of the Undertakers, ſo as they fell into Emulation, who ſhould engage ſooneſt, and contribute fartheſt upon this Occaſion.

The Duke, aſſiſted to his Expectation by his Subjects, began to practiſe upon the Hopes and Ambition of his Neighbours, who weary of the long Quiet they had lived in at Home, ſince the part they had taken in the *French* and *Norman* Wars, begun to grow fond of ſome new Action, and to look out for new Adventures.

The Duke had gained and deſerved ſo high Eſteem and general Reputation, by the wiſe Conduct of his Government, both in Peace and in War, by his Juſtice and Bounty, his Valour and his Clemency, that he was renowned not only among his Subjects and his Neighbours, but in the remoter Regions of *Germany* and *Italy*; and found a Concurrence in this Deſign from many Princes his Friends, and ſome who had been his greateſt Enemies: He was favoured and aſſiſted with Money, or with Soldiers, by the Dukes of *Britain* and of *Brabant*, the Counts of *Bologne* and *Flanders*, and his ancient Competitor the Earl of *Anjou*: By many Princes of *France*, the moſt conſidered in that Court; as, the Duke of *Orleans*, Earls of *Poitu* and *Maine*, excited by the Honour of the Enterprize, or Fame of the Leader, at a Time when the Infancy of their King gave them no Hopes of Action at Home, and left that Crown unconcerned in what paſſed Abroad. The Emperor ſent ſome choice Troops, and experienced Commanders, to ſerve in this Expedition; and the Pope, induced by the Fame of this Duke's great Virtues, and Piety, in the whole Courſe of his Reign, which had now laſted above Forty Years, ſent him a Banner he had bleſſed, with ſeveral Relicks; and thereby was eſteemed, according to the Devotion of thoſe Times, to have juſtified his Title, and even ſanctified his Arms.

With all theſe Advantages, this brave Duke began and finiſhed his mighty Preparations, by a general Concurrence of his own Nobles and Subjects, and a Confluence of moſt of the bold adventurous Spirits in his Neighbour Provinces, led by the Deſires of Glory or of Gains: The Princes truſted his Faith and his Promiſes, which he had never forfeited: The Knights and Soldiers relied upon his Valour and his Fortune, which had never failed in the long and happy Courſe of his Reign.

What the Number was of the Army he brought over into *England*, is not diſtinctly related, or well agreed; but muſt be concluded to have been very great, by that of the Ships wherein they were imbarked, which were between Eight and Nine Hundred: Beſides, they were all choſen and brave Troops, excellently diſciplined, commanded by gallant Officers, ſtrongly united by the Love of their Prince, and encouraged by the common Hatred of *Harold* his Enemy, both at Home and Abroad: A known Uſurper, cruel in his Nature, of *Daniſh* Extraction, and thereby ungrateful to the *Engliſh*; a Hater of his own Blood, and who had never triumphed, but over his own Brother; and by a bloody Victory at *Stamford*, had loſt the braveſt of his Troops, as he had done before the Hearts of his Subjects.

The Duke landed his Army at *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*, about the beginning of *October*; and expecting a general Submiſſion of the *Engliſh* to his Right and Title (pretended from the Teſtament of *Edward the Confeſſor*) or the Deſertion of *Harold* (as an Uſurper) by his own Army; he made at firſt no Show of invading a hoſtile Country, but rather of incamping in his own: Forbidding all Injuries to any of the Inhabitants, and all Spoil of the Country about him: And ſo continued, with his whole Army, in a quiet and peaceable manner, for about a Fortnight, either to refreſh his Troops, or to expect how his Claim to the Crown, and Arrival upon it, would be received in *England*.

But after this Time expired, he was ſoon rouzed by the Approach of *Harold*, who returned from the Defeat of his Brother, and his *Daniſh* Aſſiſtants, with all the Forces he had employed in that Expedition, and all he could invite or collect out of the Country as he paſſed. The firſt were ſtanding Troops, numerous and brave, which he kept for the Defence of his Perſon and Title, knowing they were both generally hated in *England*. The laſt were ill-diſciplined, and worſe affected, and ſerved only to increaſe the Number of his Army, which was very great.

Upon Approach of his Enemies, he ſent Spies into the *Norman* Camp, who were taken and courteouſly uſed by the Duke; carried thro' all his Troops, ſhewed their Diſcipline and Diſpoſal, and ſent back with Rewards. At their Return they told *Harold*, that the *Normans* looked rather like an Army of Prieſts, than of Soldiers, by their great Silence and Order in their Camp as well as by their Faces being all ſhaved.

'Tis ſaid, The Duke, before the Battel, ſent an Offer to *Harold*, to decide the Quarrel between them by ſingle Combat, and thereby ſpare their Subjects Blood; which *Harold* refuſed, and ſaid, He would leave it to God to determine. Upon which, his Brother deſired him, That he would not be preſent at the Battle, becauſe he had formerly ſworn to Duke *William* to aſſiſt his Title upon King *Edward*'s Death; and rather leave it to them, who had a juſter Cauſe; and ſhould fight only for Defence of their Country, and without Breach of Oath. But the Courage of *Harold* was more than his Conſcience, and ſo both Parts diſpoſed their Armies for a pitch'd Battel next Morning: after the *Engliſh* had paſſed the Night in Songs and Feaſting, and the *Normans* in much Devotion.

The Fight began with great Fury, and equal Bravery, as well as Order, on both ſides. The *Engliſh* were cruelly gauled by thick Showers of Arrows from the *Norman* Long Bows, before the Battel joined; which was a Weapon then unuſed in *England*, and thereby the more ſurprizing, by Wounds coming from Enemies ſo far out of Reach, and not ſuddenly to be revenged. But when they came up to cloſe Fight, the *Normans* were hewed down by the *Engliſh* Bills, which of all Weapons gives the moſt ghaſtly and deplorable Wounds. Beſides, their Points were ſo ſtrong and ſo cloſe together, that no Charges of the *Norman* Horſe, could break the *Engliſh* Ranks, though the Duke aſſaulted them ſo often, and with ſo great Bravery, that he had Three Horſes killed under him in the Attempt. But finding them continue firm, he at length, by a Signal, cauſed a ſudden Flight to be feigned, by his *Normans* that were moſt advanced: Upon which, the *Engliſh*, eaſily deceived by their own Courage, as well as Hopes, began ſuch an eager Purſuit, as by it they diſſolved their Ranks, that had been otherwiſe impenetrable. Upon this Incident, before expected, and ſoon diſcovered by the Duke, and upon another Signal given, the *Normans* returned with greater Fury than before; broke into the diſordered Body of the *Engliſh*, routed and purſued them to a riſing Ground; where their broken Forces made a Stand, fell again into Order, and, encouraged by the Speeches, but more by the brave Example of *Harold*, they renewed the Fight, and made a mighty Slaughter of the *Normans*, as they endeavoured to force them againſt the Diſadvantage of the Hill which they defended.

The Fierceneſs and Obſtinacy of this memorable Battle, was often renewed by the Courage of the Leaders, where-ever that of the Soldiers began to faint; 'till the *Normans* leaving the Aſſaults of the Hill, too obſtinately defended, and keeping a little Diſtance, fell again to their Arrows, with one of which *Harold* was ſhot quite through the Head, and fell to the Ground: And by his Death gave the Victory and the Field to the *Normans*, which had hitherto continued doubtful on both ſides; and ſeemed thus far to have been fought with equal Courage, and with equal Loſs. But the Flight of the *Engliſh*, upon *Harold*'s Fall, ſoon determined it, and was followed by a long and bloody Purſuit of the *Normans*, which laſted 'till Night, and left mighty Numbers of the *Engliſh* ſlain in the Flight, that had been ſafe in the Battle; and the reſt of them wholly diſperſed, though covered by the Night: So different are the Effects of Courage and of Fear, and ſo juſt the Rewards of both; the firſt, which ſeeks Dangers, often avoids them; the other, often runs into them, by endeavouring to eſcape them: Much greater Numbers falling in all Battles, by the Purſuit of thoſe that fly, than by the Slaughter of thoſe that fight.

Nothing ſeems to ſhow the Greatneſs of *England* ſo much at this Time, as that *Harold* ſhould be able to aſſemble ſo mighty an Army to oppoſe this Invaſion; and find above Threeſcore Thouſand Men, brave enough not only to fight, but to loſe their Lives in his Defence: For ſo many are agreed to have been ſlain of the *Engliſh* at this Battle of *Haſtings*; where he loſt his Crown and his Life together; and left the Field, with the Kingdom, to this brave *Norman* Conqueror. This was the Man, theſe the Forces, and ſuch the Circumſtances that contributed to ſo famous an Enterprize; by which the Fate of *England* was determined, in or about the Year 1066.

The Duke after this famous Victory, reſolved not to loſe the Fruits and Advantages he had thereby gained (which is often done) for Want of Speed, or Vigor, in the Proſecution, wherein Celerity is ſometimes of more Conſequence than Force. Therefore, after the Purſuit of his broken Enemies, and a ſhort Refreſhment of his own Army; he began immediately his March towards *London*, where was all the Strength then left in the Kingdom; believing if he could be Maſter of the Head, the reſt of the Body would follow, without more Struggle or Reſiſtance.

In his March he is ſaid to have exerciſed much Cruelty towards all he found in Arms; with great Rigour and Oppreſſion upon the other Inhabitants, and Spoil of the Countries where he paſſed; 'till entring into a woody Part of *Kent*, and advancing with his Vanguard before the reſt of his Army, he found himſelf almoſt environed with mighty Numbers of the *Kentiſhmen*, who had concealed themſelves in the Wood, by carrying every Man a great Bough of a Tree, like a Shield, in his Hand. But when they ſaw the *Norman* Troops, and the Duke at the Head of them, within their Danger, they began on a ſudden to march, like a moving Wood, 'till approaching their Enemies, they threw down their Boughs, and diſcovered on all Sides a Multitude of brave armed Men, ready to charge the *Normans*, that ſtood ſurprized and amazed at the Strangeneſs of the Sight, which appeared as if a Wood had been, by ſome Enchantment, transformed into an Army: But the *Kentiſhmen* approaching, made a Halt, and ſent the Abbot of St. *Auſtin*'s to tell the Duke, That all the Men of that Province were there aſſembled, to defend their Country and their Liberties, or to ſell their Lives as dear as they could; that if he would ſwear to preſerve them in thoſe ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, under which they and their Anceſtors had ſo long lived, they were all ready to lay down their Arms, and become his Subjects; if not, he muſt prepare to fight with Men that had reſolved to loſe their Lives, rather than their Liberties and Laws. The Duke finding he was too far advanced to join the Body of his Army before he engaged, and unwilling to venture all his Fortunes and Hopes againſt ſuch numerous Bands as theſe appeared, and of ſo deſperate Men, granted to all the Inhabitants of the Province of *Kent*, the Preſervation and free Enjoyment of all their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms under the *Saxon* Reigns, ſwore the Obſervance of his Grant, received their Homage, and ſo purſued his March. This is repreſented as a forc'd Prelude to a ſubſequent voluntary Act of this Prince, whereby he made, or confirmed, the ſame Conceſſion, in general, to all the reſt of the Kingdom. And though this Adventure of the *Kentiſhmen* be not recorded with great Evidence of Truth, or Agreement of Circumſtances, or of Time (for ſome Writers place it before his firſt Arrival at *London*, others after, and upon an Expedition to reduce the Caſtle of *Dover*) yet it is related by ſo many Authors, and is ſo generally received by vulgar Tradition, that it ſeems not to be omitted: But when, or however it happened, or whether at all or no, is not material to the Hiſtory of this Prince, or to the following Actions, or Inſtitutions, of his Reign.

In the City of *London*, beſides the great Numbers and Riches of the Inhabitants, were retired moſt of the great Nobles of the Kingdom, both Eccleſiaſtical and Secular, who had not been engaged in Action of either Side; and attended what would be the Iſſue of this ſtrong and violent Convulſion of the State. Upon Deciſion of the laſt Battle, they all conſulted together with the Citizens, what was beſt to be adviſed and done for their common Intereſt and Safety, as well as of the whole Kingdom; which was like to run their Fate, by following their Example. Many of the Secular Nobles were for collecting what Forces they could, and making a Stand, either in the Field, or in the Town; and thereby trying their Fortunes, or, at the worſt, making Conditions; for they could not bear that their great Poſſeſſions and Lands ſhould lie at the Mercy of a Prince, whoſe Will might be as boundleſs as his Power, and who had ſo great a Train to be rewarded at their Coſt, and by the Spoils, if he pleaſed, of the whole Kingdom.

The Citizens feared the hoſtile Entrance of an incenſed Army, upon a weak Reſiſtance, and the ſudden Loſs of their Poſſeſſions, which conſiſting chiefly in Moveables, might be ſeiz'd in a Day, and diſſipated, paſt any Recovery, by the very Grace of the Prince, or ſucceeding Compoſition between him and the reſt of the Kingdom: They thought no Forces could be collected, either in Time, upon ſo ſudden an Approach, or with Strength enough to make Oppoſition, in a Body that had loſt ſo much Blood, and without a Head to command them, or, upon any Treaty, to manage their common Intereſts to the beſt Advantage; and ſo they were diſpoſed to ſubmit to what they eſteemed the Fate of the Kingdom. The Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy, were a ſort of State apart, within the State it ſelf, having a Juriſdiction independent (as they pretended, and were uſually allowed in that Age) upon the Secular Power; they held their Lands and Poſſeſſions in the Kingdom, by another Tenure than the Laiety pretended, and feared not to loſe them under any Prince that was a Chriſtian, which made them more indifferent of what Race, or by what Title he held the Crown; and ſo more eaſy to fall in with the Stream of any Changes or new Revolutions: Beſides, they were poſſeſs'd with the Fame of this Prince's Piety, and the Opinion of his Right having been determined by the Pope's approving and aſſiſting it with his Benediction. They thought, as well as the Citizens, that this Torrent was not to be reſiſted; that a faint and fruitleſs Oppoſition would but exaſperate the Duke, and make him continue, as well as begin his Reign, like a Conqueror; and therefore eſteemed the wiſeſt Part was, to acknowledge his Right, and thereby tempt or perſuade him into a ſafer and eaſier Form of Government, both for himſelf and his Subjects, as a juſt and lawful King.

The Clergy was in very great Authority at this Time, and among all ſorts of People in the Kingdom, having enjoyed and exerciſed it here, during the whole Courſe of the *Saxon* Reigns, after thoſe Kings became Chriſtians in this

Iſland; nor could any other Authority riſe ſo high, and ſpread ſo far, as growing from ſo many Roots: They were allowed to be the Guides and Inſtructors of Mankind in all ſpiritual Worſhip and Divine Service, and even the Diſpenſers of thoſe Graces and Forfeitures upon which depended the Rewards or Puniſhments of a future State; which being greater and longer than thoſe of this Life, gave them more Influence upon the Minds of Men, than any ſecular Juriſdiction that can extend no farther: They had mighty Poſſeſſions in Lands throughout the Kingdom, as well as other Riches, from the Bounty of pious Princes, of devout and innocent People, and from many others, who thought to expiate Crimes, or cover ill Lives by theſe kinds of Donation to the Church. Theſe Poſſeſſions were eſteemed ſacred, and as much went into this Stock every Age, ſo nothing ever went out; and all the Lands in the Kingdom might, in the Courſe of Ages, have held of the Church, if this Current had not been ſtopped by the Statute of *Mortmain* in the Time of *Edward* the Firſt. 'Tis recorded, That of Sixty two thouſand Knights Fees, that were reckoned in *England* during the Reign of this firſt *Norman* King, there were in that of King *John* Twenty eight thouſand in the Hands of the Church. This gave the Clergy (by the Dependances of thoſe that held under them in ſo great Numbers) a Secular Power annexed to their Eccleſiaſtical Authority: They had, beſides, all the little Learning which was in thoſe ignorant Ages, and paſſes for Wiſdom among thoſe who want both; gives a Faculty, at leaſt, of diſcourſing, though, perhaps, not of judging better than others, and gains more Attention, and eaſier Applauſe from vulgar Auditors. Laſtly, They were united, more than any other State, upon one common Bottom, and in Purſuit of one common Intereſt, which was always pretended to be the Greatneſs of the Holy Church; but, indeed, was their own, and the Honours, Power, and Riches of the Church-Men, rather than of the Church. By theſe Circumſtances, and the Advantage of ſuch a complicated Strength, the Clergy came to ſuch an Authority, that they were Arbiters, if not of all Affairs, at leaſt, of all Conteſts in the Kingdom, and turned the Balance which way ſoever they fell in; were ſtill applied to by the weaker, and often by the unjuſter ſide; had the chief Sway, and were the chiefeſt Inſtruments in all thoſe many Revolutions of State, irregular Succeſſions, and even Uſurpations of the Crown, that happen'd between the Time of the Conqueſt, and the Reign of *Henry* the Third; which may eaſily be obſerved, and cannot eaſily be wondered at, by all who read the Story of thoſe Reigns, and conſider what has been ſaid upon this Subject, important enough to excuſe this Digreſſion.

But to return to our Conqueror, upon his March to *London*, and the Conſultations there how to receive him. The Opinions and Counſels of the Biſhops and Eccleſiaſticks eaſily prevailed, and ſeem to have had more Reaſon, as well as Authority, than the reſt: ſo it was unanimouſly reſolved, not only to ſubmit to a Power they could not oppoſe, but to acknowledge a Title they would not diſpute. The Duke, upon his Approach to the City, was received with open Gates and open Arms, at leaſt, without the Appearance of any Reluctance or Diſcontent, any more than of Reſiſtance: He claimed the Crown at his Arrival, by the Teſtament of King *Edward the Confeſſor*, without any mention of Conqueſt, which was infinitely grateful to all the Nobles and Commons of the Realm; whether it was a Strain of his own Prudence and good natural Senſe, or a Perſuaſion of thoſe *Engliſh*, who had either aſſiſted or invited his Invaſion, or Apprehenſion of ſo great and brave a People, if offended by the Name of Conqueſt, and irritated by the Dangers or Fears of a lawleſs Arbitrary Power, to which they had not yet their Hearts or Strength broken enough, eaſily to ſubmit.

He was crowned King at *Weſtminſter* by the Archbiſhop of *York*, who with *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had been the great Promoters of thoſe Councils, by which he entred upon ſo peaceable a Beginning of his Reign: At his Coronation, he took the Oath uſual in the Times both of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Kings; which was, To protect and defend the Church, to obſerve the

Laws of the Realm, and to govern his People juſtly: After which he cauſed Fealty to be ſworn to him by all the Biſhops, Barons, and Nobles, with the Magiſtrates of the City, who had aſſiſted or attended at his Coronation, and thereupon found himſelf on a ſudden ſettled in a calm and quiet Poſſeſſion of a Crown he had ſo long aſpired to, and ſo lately won by one ſingle, tho' violent Blow.

The King was about Two and Fifty Years old, upon his Acceſſion to this Crown, and is, perhaps, the only Inſtance found in Story, either before or ſince, in this Iſland, or the reſt of the World, that began and atchieved any great and famous Enterprize after that Age: Whether the decline of Nature leaves not Vigour enough for ſuch Deſigns or Actions; or Fortune, like her Sex, have no Kindneſs left for old Men, how much ſoever ſhe favoured them when they were young: But the Talents of Age, which are Prudence and Moderation, learnt beſt in the School of Experience, and ſeldom joined, if conſiſtent, with the warm Paſſions of Youth, were now as neceſſary to this Prince, for the Conſervation of his Kingdom, as his long, induſtrious Application, and bold Execution, had been for acquiring it; and how much he excelled in theſe Qualities, will be ſeen by the Sequel of his Reign.

He conſider'd very wiſely, That though he had gained the Crown by the Aſſiſtance of foreign Forces, and by the Deciſion of Arms, yet theſe might not always be ſo proſperous, if too often tried, and the Number or Strength of his Foreigners, bore no proportion to thoſe of ſo brave and populous a Nation, if they ſhould unite on any Bottom of common Diſcontents, of Dangers, or of Fears, and that the Safety and Peace of his new acquired Dominion, could be preſerved only by the general Satisfaction and Security of his *Engliſh* Subjects; And this was his firſt Care, and was the beſt provided for by the Two firſt Actions of his Reign; one was, That as he had claimed the Crown only from the Teſtament of King *Edward*, and wholly avoided that odious Name of Conqueſt, ſo he expreſſed, upon all Occaſions, his Reſolution to govern the Kingdom as a legal Prince, and leave the ancient Laws and Liberties of the *Engliſh* Nation, as they had before enjoyed them: The other was, That as he drew no Blood, but what was ſpilt in the Field, ſo he ſeized only the Lands and Eſtates of thoſe who had been in Arms againſt him, before his Acceſſion to the Crown, or after that Time, by any Revolt, or new Oppoſitions.

This wiſe Counſel made a clear and ſudden Diſtinction between thoſe *Engliſh* that were to feel any ill Effects by this late Revolution, and the reſt who were left out of Danger, and in the ſame State they enjoyed under the Race of their former lawful Kings, and ſo but little ſenſible of the Change: The forfeited Eſtates and Lands were, indeed, ſeized with great Severity, but the greateſt Part of the Proprietors were ſilent in the Grave, having been ſlain in the Battle of *Haſtings*, and Purſuit of that Victory; thoſe who remained alive, being at once deſpoiled of all their Poſſeſſions, were broken in their Hearts, maimed in their Intereſt among their Neighbours; and being but few throughout the Kingdom, in Compariſon of thoſe that were ſafe, their Loſſes or Complaints were little regarded by the reſt, but, like wounded Deer, were deſerted, and even avoided, by the Herd.

Upon the Coronation of the King at *London*, with the Concurrence of Nobles and People in that City, and his Care in publiſhing throughout the ſeveral Counties, theſe Two Reſolutions concerning the Safety of their Properties and Laws: All the Inhabitants of both the adjacent and remoter Counties, and of what Degree ſoever, not only with univerſal Conſent, ſubmitted to his Government as to a Decree of Heaven, but moſt of them began to expreſs, or, at leaſt, pretend, a common Joy at the Fate of the late Uſurper, and the proſperous Fortunes of the preſent King.

His next Care was the Satisfaction of thoſe many and brave Adventurers and Soldiers, who had followed him in this Expedition; which he endeavoured to make with Juſtice to his Promiſes, and to their ſeveral Merits, as far as the forfeited Lands and Revenues would reach, or any Treaſures or Debts he found here belonging to the Crown: The Lands of the *Engliſh* Barons who had oppoſed him, he divided among the *Norman* Barons that had attended him; thoſe of the Commoners among the Soldiers; what Offices were vacant, he ſupplied with ſuch as had he not Lands or Money to reward; ſuch of the *Normans* as he could not clear Accounts with at preſent by any of theſe Ways, he diſtributed into the rich and numerous Abbies of the Kingdom, to be there entertained 'till new Employments ſhould fall, or new Forfeitures, or new Supplies ſhould come into the King's Coffers, by the large Revenues of the Crown, or the wiſe Management of his Treaſures; which had always been a Virtue of this Prince, and exerciſed in his lower Fortunes, as far as could agree with the Bounty of his Nature, towards thoſe who deſerved it by their Merits or their Services.

The Proviſion he made for ſo many poor *Normans*, by diſpoſing them among the rich Monaſteries, to ſhare in their Plenty, ſeemed, at leaſt, a temporary Impoſition upon the Clergy, and a Breach of thoſe Immunities they had enjoyed in the *Saxon* Reign: For though one chief End of the large Donations made by ſo many Princes and pious Subjects to the Church, was intended for charitable Uſes, by Relief of the Poor, and the hoſpitable Entertainment of Paſſengers, Pilgrims, and Strangers, yet this Uſe was left voluntary, and at the Choice of thoſe who poſſeſſed theſe Revenues: The *Normans* ſent among them, were indeed Strangers and Poor, but yet the moſt charitable Monks had little mind to relieve them, or, if they had, were not willing to receive them within their Convents, to be not only Sharers of their Proviſions, but Obſervers of their Actions; however, they complied at preſent with the Deſires of the King, or the Neceſſity of the Times, yet they generally took it ill of the King, and for a Diminution of thoſe Immunities, or of that Favour they had enjoyed under former Reigns: Some thought, he had an envious Eye at the vaſt Riches of the Clergy; others, that he was jealous of their Power, and ſuſpected their Affections to his Perſon and Government, and apprehended as eaſy a Change among them, upon the Approach of any new Revolution, as they had ſhewed upon the laſt, in his own Favour. That for theſe Reaſons he had diſperſed his *Normans* as ſo many Guards, or, at leaſt, as ſo many Spies among them: Whatever it was, 'tis certain this Action bred the firſt Unkindneſs of the Clergy towards this King, and being followed by Two other Strains of the ſame Nature (which will be obſerved in their Time) left an Impoſition upon his Memory, of Hardſhip, Cruelty, Oppreſſion, or Exaction, which he deſerved as little as other Princes, that have a fairer Character in Story and common Opinion. For the Monks having been the only Writers remaining of thoſe Times, as well as ſome ſucceeding Reigns, have left a Tincture of their Paſſions upon the Actions of the firſt Kings of this *Norman* Race, and painted their Virtues and Vices in fairer or fouler Colours, according to the Ideas they had framed of them and their ſeveral Diſpoſitions or Actions in Favour or Prejudice of the Church; that is, of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons or Privileges: Such an Authority have the Pens of learned Writers, always claimed and poſſeſſed, as to paſs the definitive Sentence upon the Memories of the greateſt Princes, in the vulgar Opinion of Poſterity. Nor is it evident, whether the invidious Name of Conqueror, which this King had ſo carefully avoided, were entailed upon him by the Flattery of his Friends, or the Malice of his Enemies; among whom, the Monkiſh Writers ſeem to have been the chief and moſt inveterate.

Whatever Motions were raiſed upon this Occaſion in the Minds of the Clergy, none appeared in the reſt of the Body of the Realm, or Maſs of the People: Moſt were ſatisfied, becauſe they either liked their new King, or hated the laſt Uſurper: Some were indifferent to both, while their Eſtates and Liberties were out of Danger; and ſuch who were diſpleaſed with either, diſguiſed their Reſentment, or were not taken notice of in the Crowd. All conſpired to make ſo great a Calm ſucceed in the Kingdom, as is uſual after a great Storm is over, that the King, having paſſed ſome Months here in the Cares and for the Settlement of his new Dominions in *England*, made a Journey to viſit his old in *Normandy*, about the Beginning of the Summer, having been crowned at *Weſtminſter* on *Chriſtmas-Day*.

Whether this was undertaken upon any Neceſſity of his Affairs on that Side, or to ſettle them ſo, as not to interrupt him here, where he intended to reſide, is not known; or whether he took a Pleaſure and a Pride to ſhew both his Subjects, and his Neighbour Princes, how ſecure he eſteemed himſelf in his new acquired Dominions; but it looks like a Strain of his uſual Boldneſs and fearleſs Temper, and ſucceeded well, like the reſt of his Counſels and Reſolutions: Yet was not this Journey undertaken without Prudence and Caution, in the Choice of thoſe Hands with whom he left the Government in his Abſence, and of thoſe Perſons he engaged to accompany him in the Voyage. He committed the Rule of the Kingdom to his Brother *Odon* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and to *Fitz Auber* his near Kinſman, whom he had lately made Earl of *Hereford*. He took with him into *Normandy*, *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who though a great Inſtrument in his eaſy and peaceable Admiſſion to the Crown, yet had been diſcontented at his Coronation, which had been performed by the Archbiſhop of *York*, upon Pretence of ſome Fault or Queſtion about the other's Inveſtiture; with him he took ſeveral other Biſhops, the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Two Perſons of great Power and Dependances, with many other *Engliſh* Noblemen, of whoſe Faith or Affections he was the leaſt confident; and beſides theſe, he took with him a greater and much more conſiderable Hoſtage for the Quiet of *England*, though under colour of honouring him, or being honoured by his Company; This was *Edgar*, ſurnamed *Atheling*, Nephew to *Edward the Confeſſor*, and deſigned by him for Succeſſor, as was divulged among thoſe of his Subjects, that neither favoured the Right or Pretenſions of *Harold*, or the *Norman* Duke. He had many Diſadvantages to ballance and weigh down his Right which was undiſputed; as, his foreign Birth and Breeding, which was in *Hungary*, during his Father's Exile under the Reign of *Hardecnute*; The Perſecution and Hatred of his Grandmother *Emma*, a Woman celebrated in her Time, for the Suſpicion and Clearing of her Chaſtity by the *Saxon* Tryal of Fire Ordeal; but who having married *Hardecnute*, after the Death of her firſt Husband, had ever after more Inclination to the *Daniſh* than the *Saxon* Race: Beſides, *Edgar*, though of ſo good and virtuous Diſpoſitions, as made him be ſtiled *England*'s Darling, yet they were ſuch as ſeemed to become an excellent private Perſon, rather than a Prince, or, at leaſt, to have adorned an eaſy and peaceful Poſſeſſion of a Crown, rather than to force his Way to a legal Right, through the Difficulties and Oppoſition of Two powerful Pretenders. However, an undiſputed Right (which, they ſay, never dies) had left him ſo many Friends in the Kingdom, that the King thought it not ſafe to leave him behind, upon his going into *Normandy*, nor wiſe to tempt either Him or his new *Engliſh* Subjects with ſuch an Opportunity of raiſing any Commotions upon ſo fair a Pretence.

Beſides theſe Cautions, he took with him moſt of his *French* Adventurers into *Normandy*, finding they were not very agreeable here, either to the *Engliſh*, or to the *Normans*, and pretending he was not able to clear his Accounts with all that aſſiſted him, out of the Revenues or Forfeitures here, and that he would find out ways of ſatisfying them either in *Normandy*, or by his Credit and Recommendations to other Princes, where his own Bounty or Abilities could not reach.

During his Stay in *Normandy*, which was no leſs than the whole Summer, his new Government in *England* continued quiet and peaceable; though one *Erick*, called *The Foreſter*, endeavoured to diſturb it, by calling in ſome looſe Forces of the *Welſh*, his Neighbours, into *Herefordſhire*; but he was ſoon ſuppreſſed, and They eaſily forced back into their own Mountains, by the Vigilance of the Governors, and the Vigour of thoſe Forces he had left here, diſpoſed with ſuch Order, into the ſeveral Counties as to give Way or Time to no growing Dangers, that ſhould ariſe in any one Corner, or from any ſingle Diſcontent, while the general Humour of the People was calm, and either ſatisfied with the Change, or at a Gaze how this new World was like to end. So that the King, after having ſettled his Affairs in *Normandy* to his Mind, returned before Winter, to enjoy the Fruits of ſo many Dangers and Toils, as his Life had been engaged in, reſolving to ſpend the Remainder of it in *England*, as the nobler Scene and greater Dominion, and to cultivate with Care, an Acquiſition he had gained himſelf with much Hazard and Pains, and with greater Glory.

The King at his Return into *England*, finding his new Dominion had continued calm and peaceable under the Authority of his Brother and Council, had Reaſon to believe it would eaſily be preſerved ſo, under his own. For, as the Abſence of an ill Prince ſeldom fails of raiſing Diſquiets and Commotions among the People, in a Government which is obeyed only from Fear; ſo nothing contributes more to the Satisfaction and Obedience of Subjects, than the Preſence of a good King; and this is the Reaſon why all diſtant Provinces, governed by Commiſſions or ſubordinate Authorities, are ſo ſubject to frequent Seditions and Revolts, how lawfully ſoever they are inherited, or how well ſoever they are eſtabliſhed after any new Conqueſt or Acquiſition; the Force and Influence of Authority growing ſtill weaker by the Change of Hands and Diſtance of Place: This diſpoſed the new King to the Reſolution he took at this Time, of making *England* the Seat of his Perſon, as well as Empire, and governing *Normandy* by his Lieutenants; thereby forcing the common Affections of Birth, or Education and Cuſtom, to yield and comply with Reaſons of State, and preferring a foreign to his natural Soil, though, perhaps, ſeated in a better Climate, and at that Time more adorned and civilized by the Commerce of *France*, and other Countries upon the Continent.

With this Reſolution, and in this Security, he applied himſelf at his Return to the Arts of Peace, and the Orders of his State, wherein he as well excelled, as in thoſe of War, and was framed, not only for a great Prince, but for a Good; to which he was inclined by the Bounty and Clemency of his natural Diſpoſitions, by the Strength and Soundneſs of his Judgment, and by the Experience of his Age: His firſt Care was to provide for the due Adminiſtration and Execution of Laws and Juſtice throughout his Realm; and the next was, to introduce Order into the common Courſe of his Revenue, and manage it with ſo great Proportion of his Expence to his Receipts, as might neither leave the Crown in Neceſſities, nor the Subjects in Fears of new or lawleſs Exactions and Oppreſſions; Juſtice being the very Foundation of Government, as Treaſure is ſaid to be the Sinew of War.

For the firſt; As he had ſworn at his Coronation to govern by the Laws of the Realm; ſo he continued the ancient Cuſtoms and Liberties of the People, that were called the common Law of the Kingdom, which he cauſed to be in Subſtance obſerved, both in what concerned the Crown and the Subject, tho' he introduced ſeveral new Forms in the Adminiſtration or Execution of them: Beſides the ancient Laws or Cuſtoms that concerned the Deſcent of private Inheritances, or the Penalties upon ſeveral Crimes, there were Two fundamental Laws of the *Saxon* or *Engliſh* Kingdom; The Tryal by Juries of Twelve Men, wherein conſiſted the chief Safety of Mens Properties and Lives; and the Borough Law, which was the greateſt Security that had been invented by the Wiſdom of our *Saxon* Anceſtors, for the Peace and Order of the Realm. The firſt, I know, is by ſome Authors mentioned as having been introduced by this *Norman* King out of the Laws of that Country: But I think it evident to have been an Inſtitution very ancient among the *Saxons*, and to have been derived and obſerved, during the whole Succeſſion of the *Engliſh* Kings, and even in the *Daniſh* Reigns, without any Interruption. Nor does there want ſome Traces or Appearance of it, from the very Inſtitutions of *Odin* the firſt great Leader of the *Aſiatick Goths* or *Getæ* into *Europe*, and the Founder of that mighty Kingdom round the *Baltick* Sea, from whence all the *Gothick* Governments in theſe North-Weſt parts of the World, were derived, by the ſpreading Conqueſts of thoſe Northern Races.

'Tis recorded, That upon the Beginning of his Expedition, he ordained a Council of Twelve Men, who ſhould judge and decide all Matters that came in Queſtion: And there being then no other Laws eſtabliſh'd among thoſe vaſt Numbers of rough People, going to ſeek out new Conqueſts, and thereby Seats to inhabit; it is probable, theſe Twelve Men judged all Caſes upon Evidence or Matter of Fact, and then gave their Sentence, and appointed Penalties according to what they eſteemed moſt agreeable to Juſtice and Equity, ſo as the Twelve Men were at firſt both Jurors and Judges: Their Judgments in Cauſes both real and criminal, being generally approved as juſt and equitable, grew into Precedent to ſucceeding Judges, and being received by general Submiſſion, introduced the Cuſtom of certain Sentences being pronounced in certain Cauſes, and certain Puniſhments being uſually inflicted upon certain Crimes. In Proceſs of Time, and Multiplicity of Buſineſs, the Matter of Fact continued to be tried by Twelve Men; but the Adjudgment of the Puniſhment, and the Sentence thereupon, came to be given by one or two, or more Perſons choſen out of ſuch as were beſt verſed in the Knowledge of what had been uſual in former Judgments upon like Caſes; and as the firſt Part was left to the Equals or Neighbours of the Perſons accuſed (as moſt likely to do Juſtice to one of their own Rank or Acquaintance) ſo the other was committed to Perſons of Learning or Knowledge in the ancient Cuſtoms, Records or Traditions of what had long paſſed in the Courſe of Juſtice among that Nation: Thus we find it evident, That in the *Saxon* Reigns in *England*, Cauſes were adjudged by the Aldermen and Biſhop of the ſeveral Shires, with the Aſſiſtance of Twelve Men of the ſame County, who are ſaid to have been Judges or Aſſiſtants to the Two firſt, by ſuch as affirm or pretend this manner of Tryal to have been drawn by the Conqueror himſelf out of *Normandy*, who is thereby ſaid to have introduced in this, as well as ſome other Forms, the *Norman* Laws into the Common Law of *England*. 'Tis true, that the ſame Cuſtom or Tryal was uſed in *Normandy* before the Conqueſt, and it is moſt probable, that neither the *Engliſh* received it from the *Normans*, nor theſe from the *Engliſh*; but that both Nations, deriving their Original from thoſe ancient *Goths*, agreed in ſeveral Cuſtoms or Inſtitutions, deduced from their common Anceſtors, which made this Tryal by Juries continue uninterrupted in *England*, not only by the *Normans*, but by the *Danes* alſo, who were but another Swarm of that great Northern Hive. 'Tis true, the Terms of Jury and Verdict were introduced by the *Normans*, with many others, in the Style and Practice of our Laws; but the Tryals by Twelve Men, with that eſſential Circumſtance of their unanimous Agreement, was not only uſed among the *Saxons* and *Normans*, but is known to have been as ancient in *Sweden*, as any Records or Traditions of that Kingdom, which was the firſt Seat of the *Gothick* Dominions in the North-Weſt Parts of *Europe*, and it ſtill remains in ſome Provinces of that Country. However, King *William* cauſed this to be obſerved as the Common Law of the Kingdom, and thereby gave great and univerſal Satisfaction to the Body of the People, both *Engliſh* and *Normans*.

The Borough-Law had been likewiſe anciently eſtabliſh'd among the *Saxons*, whereby every Shire was divided into ſo many Hundreds or Boroughs, conſiſting at firſt of one One Hundred Families therein uſually inhabiting; every Hundred into ſo many Tythings, conſiſting of Ten Families. If any Perſon committed, or were accuſed of any Crime, the Tything to which he belonged was bound to produce him to Juſtice before the Court of the Hundred or County: If he fled, they were to ſwear, they were not Complices of the Fact, and that they would procure the Criminal, whenever they could find him; if this failed, in a certain Time, they would diſcover all the Goods he was poſſeſs'd of within their Tything, to ſatisfy the Damage done to a Subject, or a Fine to the King upon ſuch an Offence: If neither Perſon nor Eſtate appeared, then the Tything was anſwerable to a certain Proportion; and if that were not ſufficient, then it was laid upon the Hundred. By this Means, it became every Man's Intereſt, as well as his Duty, to prevent all Crimes and Miſdemeanors among their Neighbours, and to diſcover the Criminals, ſince they were otherwiſe to ſhare in the Penalty; and, as the reſt of the Tything was bound for the Behaviour of every Freeman among them, ſo every Lord of Manor was bound to anſwer in the ſame manner for their Servants.

I know not whether any Conſtitution of Government, either Ancient or Modern, ever invented and inſtituted any Law or Order, of greater Wiſdom, or of greater Force, to preſerve the Peace and Safety of any State, and of equal Utility to the Prince and People, making Virtue and Innocence of Life ſo neceſſary, by the eaſy Apprehenſion or Diſcovery, and certain Puniſhment of Offenders. This Law the King cauſed likewiſe to be ſeverely obſerved during his Reign, finding therein his own Intereſt, as well as his Peoples, and the great Security of his new-ſettled Government.

He confirmed all Mens Properties, Inheritances, and Succeſſions, invading none, either for his own Benefit, or Reward of his *Norman* Forces, or Friends, excepting the Poſſeſſions of ſuch as had oppoſed his Claim to the Crown, which he pretended to be a lawful Right, as derived from the Teſtament of *Edward the Confeſſor*, and thereby was made a Pretence of legal Forfeiture in all that reſiſted him: But this Blow to ſo many Eſtates and Families, was given at once, and no more renewed: On the contrary, Juſtice was adminiſtred equally to the *Engliſhmen*, upon the Injuries of the *Normans*, who preſumed upon the King's Favour, in prejudice of Right, and of thoſe Laws he had confirmed or eſtabliſhed. Whereof one memorable Inſtance remains upon Record, even in thoſe Writers who were moſt ſevere upon the Actions and Memory of this Prince: It was an Action between *Warren* a *Norman*, and *Sherburn* an *Engliſhman*: The firſt, by Virtue of a Grant from the King, had enter'd upon the Lands of the other; who came into Court, and pleaded, That he had never bore Arms againſt the King, nor oppoſed his Title or Acceſſion to the Crown, but had lived always peaceably upon his own Lands, and ſo was liable to no Forfeiture by the Common Law, but was farther ſecured by the King's Declaration, immediately after his coming to the Crown: Upon which Plea, a juſt Sentence was given in Favour of *Sherburn*, his Lands reſtor'd, and *Warren* the *Norman* caſt and condemned to the Coſts of the Suit.

He appointed Juſtices to preſerve the Peace, and adminiſter Juſtice in every County, purſuant to that which was uſed in the *Saxon* Reigns. For the Pleas of the Crown, and thoſe of greater Moment, between the Subjects, he created Judges of the moſt Learned and Able he could find; and ordained Four Terms each Year, conſiſting of a certain Number of Days, wherein Juſtice ſhould be duly adminiſtred, and all Suits heard in ſuch Places as the King ſhould appoint, and find moſt convenient. Beſides theſe Orders, he inſtituted the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer; the firſt for tempering the Rigour of Laws, according to the Dictates of Conſcience and Equity; and the other for determining all Actions concerning the Revenues of the Crown, and puniſhing Exactions or irregular Proceedings in the Officers who levied or received them, as well as Defaults or Delays in thoſe from whom it was due.

For Taxes or Impoſitions unuſual, it does not appear that he levied any, excepting one of Six Shillings upon each Plow-Land, throughout the Kingdom, nor is it well agreed, at what Time, or upon what Occaſion, this was raiſed, whether by Conſent of a general Aſſembly, or by his own Regal Authority: By this, indeed, he impoſed *Danegelt* upon the Invaſion of the *Danes*, which happen'd once or twice in this Reign, though with little Progreſs or Succeſs.

This Tax was firſt raiſed by *Ethelred*, upon the firſt Enterprize of the *Danes* upon *England*, and afterwards uſed by ſeveral of his Succeſſors, upon the like Danger, ſometimes to repulſe them by Force and Arms, ſometimes to evade them by Bargains and Money; wherewith they compounded for the preſent Dangers, but invited others to come by ſuch mean Defences.

This Tax grew odious to the People, whenever it was raiſed upon any other Pretence, than a *Daniſh* Invaſion; and though it was ſometimes levied, yet very ſeldom, and cautiouſly, by ſome few of the *Saxon* Kings, and but once or twice by this *Norman* Prince, and then, moſt probably, upon the true natural Occaſions, which had given it the firſt Original. Thus, I ſuppoſe, it is confounded with the Tax before-mentioned, and without applying it to the *Daniſh* Invaſions, by ſome Writers who ſeem to take all Occaſions of defaming the Actions and Memory of this King, and to avoid all juſt Excuſes of any that were ill reſented: And this proceeded from the ill Talent of the Monkiſh Writers, who meaſured the Virtues and Vices of Princes, by the Opinion of their Favour or Diſaffection to the Clergy, whom they accounted, or ſtiled the Church; though this general Appellation is known to comprehend not only ſuch Perſons as were anciently choſen to adminiſter the Offices of Divine Worſhip, but alſo all believing Chriſtians that compoſed ſuch Aſſemblies, to whom thoſe Offices were adminiſtred. Of this the King ſeemed to be ſenſible; for though he was a Prince of known and great Piety, and ſo approved by the ſeveral Popes during his Reign; yet he appeared very little favourable, if not ſomething hard to the Eccleſiaſticks of this Kingdom; and, perhaps, ſomething bold with their Privileges, ſo long enjoy'd under the devout *Saxon* Kings.

For the reſt, he contented himſelf with the uſual Revenues of the Crown; and by his great Order and Management, as well as Moderation in his conſtant Expence, gained much Eaſe to the Crown, and Satisfaction to his People.

The chief and ancient Branches of the Crown-Revenue conſiſted of, Firſt, The Lands of old reſerved as a Proviſion for the King's Houſhold, and ſo reckoned as Crown-Lands: Theſe, at firſt, yielded only certain Quantities of Proviſions, as Beefs, Sheep, Wheat, Hay, Oats, according to the Nature of the Lands, the Tenures by which they held, and the Quantity of Proviſions found neceſſary for the King's Houſhold; what Overplus remained, was compounded for, and paid in Money, according to the Rates uſual and agreed. The next was a Duty reſerved anciently out of every Knight's Fee; which, at firſt, was conſtantly paid as a Quit-rent, but being ſmall, came, in Time, to be neglected by the Kings, that contented themſelves with the Military Attendance of the Knights in their Wars; and with levying ſometimes a greater Duty, upon great or urgent Occaſions, under the Name of Eſcuage, which was burthenſome and odious, 'till the Proportions and Occaſions came to be aſcertained. Thoſe Authors who will make the Conqueror to have broken, or changed the Laws of *England*, and introduced thoſe of *Normandy*, pretend this Duty of Eſcuage, with the Tenures of Knight's Service and Baronage, to have come over in this Reign, as well as the Tryal by Juries: But as enough has been ſaid to clear the laſt, ſo it needs no Proof that theſe, with the other Feudal Laws, were all brought into *Europe* by the ancient *Goths*, and by them ſettled in all the Provinces which they conquered of the *Roman* Empire; and, among the reſt, by the *Saxons* in *England*, as well as by the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and the *Normans* in *Normandy*; where the Uſe of their States, or general Aſſemblies, were likewiſe of the ſame Original.

The laſt common Branch of the King's Revenue, conſiſted of Forfeitures, both of Lands and Goods, in Caſes of Treaſon; and Fines, or ſome known mulctary Puniſhments upon other Crimes, which were diſtinctly preſcribed in the *Saxon* Laws, even for Manſlaughter and Murder it ſelf; the Rigour of thoſe Times not extending to Blood, except in thoſe Caſes where the common Safety of the Kingdom was concerned, by the Danger of the King.

By all theſe Orders and Inſtitutions, and the Clemency, as well as Juſtice, wherewith they were adminiſtred, the King, how new ſoever his Reign, how diſputed his Title, and how diſagreeable his Perſon by a foreign Birth, yet ſo far gained the general Affections and Satisfaction of the Commoners of the Realm, who aſk nothing but Security in their Eſtates and Properties, that no Commotions afterwards raiſed by the Nobles and Clergy againſt his Government, though in Favour of a better Right and Title, were ever ſupported by the Commons, who compoſe the Maſs and Bulk of a Nation; and whoſe general good or ill Humour, Satisfaction or Diſcontent, will ever have the moſt forcible Influence for the Preſervation, or Ruin, of any State.

Beſides the good and profitable Inſtitutions and Orders of this King, already mentioned, ſo generally approved, and ſo grateful to the Commonalty of the Realm, there were others, of a different Nature, and which had a contrary Effect, by diſtaſting and diſobliging many of the chief Nobility, and moſt or all of the Clergy; though ſome were ſo cautious, as not to loſe their Dignities or Revenues, by expreſſing their Reſentments.

The Offences taken by theſe laſt, were, Firſt, The abrogating, or ſurceaſing the judiciary Power, exerciſed by the Biſhops, during the *Saxon* Times, in each County, where Juſtice was adminiſtred; and the Biſhop, with the Alderman, or Earl of each Shire, ſate as Judges in thoſe Courts; which encreaſed not only their Authority, but their Revenues too, by a Share they had with the King in all Fines rais'd from the Iſſue of Cauſes there determined: But all this was aboliſhed by the King's Inſtitution of Juſticiaries, to adminiſter Juſtice upon all Pleas of the Crown, and others among Subjects, at Four Terms of the Year.

This gave particular Offence to the Biſhops, but another to the whole Clergy; for whereas before they held all their Lands by *Franc Almonage*, and ſubject to no Duties or Impoſitions, but ſuch as they laid upon themſelves in their Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies. This Prince finding above a Third Part of the Lands of the Kingdom in Poſſeſſion of the Clergy, and the Forces of the Crown, which conſiſted in Knights Service, leſſened in Proportion by their Immunity; he reduced all their Lands to the Tenure of Knights Fees and Baronage; and thereby ſubjected them to the Attendance upon the King in his Wars, and to other Services anciently due; and ſometimes raiſed upon all Lands that held in Fee from the Crown. This Innovation touched not only the Biſhops, but all the Abbots throughout the Kingdom; many of whom were endowed with ſo great Lands and Revenues, that in Right thereof they were, upon the regular Conſtitutions of Parliaments, allowed Seſſion with the Biſhops, as Barons, in the Houſe of Lords.

The whole Clergy exclaimed againſt this new Inſtitution, not only as an Indignity and Injuſtice, but as an Impiety too, and Violation of the Sacred Rights of the Holy Church: But their Complaints were without Redreſs, though not without ill Conſequence.

The Diſcontents among many of the great Nobles, aroſe chiefly from Two Occaſions: The firſt was, The Rigour of the Foreſt-Laws, and of their Execution: And the other was, The King's too apparent Partiality to his *Normans*.

To know the Ground, or Pretence, of theſe Foreſt-Laws, it will be neceſſary to run up to their Original. In the firſt Seizures and Diſtributions made of the *Britiſh* Lands, by the conquering *Saxons*, beſides thoſe reſerved to the Kings, or divided among the People, and held by the Tenures, either of Knights Service, or of Book-land, as it was termed among the *Saxons*, and thereby diſtinguiſhed from that of Villenage, there were many great Tracts of barren, wild, or woody Lands, left undiſpoſed, and, in a manner, waſte; ſo great Numbers of *Britiſh* Inhabitants having been extinguiſhed by the Wars, or retired into *Wales*, *Cornwall*, *Britany*, and *Scotland*; and the new *Saxons* not content to ſhare among them any Lands, but ſuch as were fruitful, and fit to be cultivated: Theſe were incloſed, or improved as well as inhabited by the new Proprietors, and the others left waſte, as well as undiſpoſed to any certain Owners. The whole Country was, as has been obſerved, very full of all ſorts of wild Game in the Time of the *Britains*; who lived at large, without any Incloſures, little Property, and ſubſiſted much upon Hunting, Fiſhing and Fowling, which they had all in common. Upon the encloſing, or cultivating, of the fruitful Lands by the *Saxons*, the wild Beaſts, naturally afraid of Neighbours, whom they found to be all Enemies, fled, into the wild, woody, and deſolate Tracts of Land, where they found

Shelter, and fed, though hardly, yet out of common Sight and Noiſe: And hereby all thoſe Parts became repleniſh'd with all ſorts of Game, eſpecially with Red and Fallow Deer, and made all thoſe ſeveral Extents of Ground, which were afterwards called Foreſts.

The *Saxon* Kings eſteemed theſe to belong to the Crown, by their Right to all Poſſeſſions that have no certain Owner, and by their never having been diſpoſed upon the firſt Diviſions of Land in the *Saxon* Kingdoms, nor afterwards by any Grants of the Crown. This Right was not diſputed, nor any Uſe of it made, farther than for the King's Pleaſure, which yet was not by them reſtrained from the Nobles or Knights, that were Borderers upon the Foreſts, who were ſo moderate in thoſe more ſimple Ages, as to commit no Exceſſes, or deſtroy the Game, which it was their Intereſt to preſerve, both for their Sport and the Quarry; and for ſome Uſe made of it for common Paſturage, among all the bordering Neighbours.

William the Conqueror not only ſeized upon all theſe Foreſts, as part of his own Demeſnes, but made a very large one in *Hampſhire*, beſides thoſe he found, by laying waſte, and leaving uninhabited great Extents of Land, which he pretended to be fallen to the Crown, by ancient Succeſſion, or by new Forfeitures; and this he called, *The New Foreſt*, which Name, after ſo long a Courſe of Ages, it ſtill retains.

In all theſe Foreſts he pretended an abſolute Right and Dominion; and in purſuance thereof, inſtituted new and arbitrary Laws of his own, unuſed and unknown before in this Kingdom, and very different from the Moderation of the *Saxon* Government. He confined all Hunting or Fowling in theſe Foreſts to himſelf, or ſuch as ſhould have Right to it by his Conceſſions or Permiſſions. He impoſed Fines upon all Treſpaſſes committed in them, according to his own Pleaſure, and which ſeemed much to exceed the Fault or Value of the Thing. Theſe he cauſed to be levied with great Rigor and Exaction; and thereby debarred not only his Commoners, but his Nobles too, from a Liberty they had before always enjoy'd. Tho' he took Care not to provoke the Commoners, by leaving Paſturage free for ſuch of the Neighbours who lived moſt upon their Stock, and thereby took no great Offence at the Reſtraint from their Sport, which they had not Time from their Labour much to follow; yet the Nobles and Knights, who valued their Sports more than common Gains, and made uſe of their Riches but for Encreaſe of their Pleaſures, reſented this Reſtraint as a ſenſible Injury, as an Invaſion of their Liberties, and even as an Affectation of an Arbitrary Power in this Particular; and from the Exerciſe whereof he was only reſtrained by the Regards of his Safety and Intereſt, in others of more Moment and Conſequence: The great Nobles reſented it yet farther, as an Indignity, by levelling their Privileges with the Liberties of the Commoners; from whom they eſteemed themſelves diſtinguiſhed by the uſual Regards and Reſpects paid them from the Princes, in their Degree, as well as from the People. Nor does it appear, whether this violent Inſtitution of the Foreſt-Laws proceeded from his paſſionate Love of Hunting (the only Pleaſure to which this Prince was addicted) or from his Avarice, by ſo many Fines to increaſe his Treaſure, or from a Deſire of being Abſolute and Arbitrary in one Part of his Government, which he found he could not be with any Safety in the reſt.

For his Partiality to the *Normans*, though it was diſguiſed, or, at leaſt, not evident, in the common Forms of his Juſtice, which run a free and even Courſe, yet it was eaſily diſcover'd in that of his Graces and Favour; the Civil Offices, Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, Places of moſt Truſt about his Perſon, and in his Realm, were conferred generally upon his *Normans*; and beſides theſe Advantages, and thoſe of the Forfeitures that fell upon his Entrance, they appeared to have his Countenance, his Converſation, his Confidence; ſo that whatſoever the *Engliſh* poſſeſſed of the Kingdom, the *Normans* alone ſeemed to poſſeſs the King.

This might have been more excuſable, if the *Engliſh* had conſidered the King as much as themſelves, and many of his Circumſtances, as well as their own: They were Strangers to him, or but new Acquaintance; they differ'd in Language, in Manners, in Cuſtoms; they had very lately differ'd in Intereſt, and from Enemies in War, were, indeed, now become Subjects, but rather as to a Conqueror, than a lawful Prince: The *Normans* ſpoke his Native Tongue, were trained up in the ſame Cuſtoms, acquainted with his Perſon from his Youth, had attended him in his Court, followed him in his Wars, at Home and Abroad; and thought it but juſt they ſhould ſhare in his Fortunes, as they had in his Dangers.

However, many of the great aſpiring Spirits among the *Engliſh* Nobles, could not bear this Partiality of the King's: They thought the *Normans* ought to be provided of Rewards or Honours in *Normandy*, but thoſe of *England* ſhould be conferred upon *Engliſh*: Beſides, they reſented the common Teſtimonies of his Inclination to the *Normans*, as much as they could have done Injuries to themſelves; like generous Lovers, who are more jealous and ſpited to ſee their Rivals gain the Inclination of their Miſtreſs, than the Poſſeſſion; and had rather they ſhould have her Body, than her Heart.

Upon all theſe Cauſes, the Diſcontents of many chief *Engliſh* Nobles and Prelates, were grown to ſuch a Height, ſwelling more within, the more they were ſuppreſſed; that they wanted only a fair Occaſion to draw them to a Head, and make them break out with Violence, and much Pain and Danger to the State.

This was furniſh'd them, either by Fortune or Deſign, in the Third, Fourth, or Fifth Year of the Conqueror's Reign; for the Authors are neither diſtinct, nor agreed in aſſigning the Cauſes, or the Times of this King's Actions in War, or Inſtitutions in Peace; by which their true Nature, and that of the Prince, would have been beſt diſcover'd; whereas they content themſelves to diſplay their Eloquence, or vent their Paſſions, by relating general or particular Events, what was done, and what was ſuffered in his Reign; by which ſome of the *Norman* Writers endeavour to repreſent him as a God, and ſome of the *Engliſh* like a Devil, and both unjuſtly.

Edgar Atheling was Nephew to *Edward the Confeſſor*, and the undiſputed, as well as undoubted Heir of the Kingdom from the *Saxon* Race: It was generally thought, that he had likewiſe been deſigned by King *Edward*, a juſt and pious Prince, to ſucceed him in the Throne; and that his Declaration pretended by *Harold*, or Teſtament by the Duke of *Normandy*, were fictitious, or, at leaſt, neither of them evident from any clear and undoubted Writings, or Teſtimonies. *Edgar* was beſides, from the Bounty of his Nature, the Excellence of his Temper, the Prerogative of his Birth, and the Compaſſion of his unjuſt Fortunes, much and generally beloved and eſteemed among all the *Engliſh*, both Nobles and Commons; yet he neither oppoſed *Harold*'s Uſurpation, nor the *Normans* Conqueſt; whether for want of Spirit to attempt ſo great an Adventure, or upon Prudence, not to oppoſe ſuch Powers, as he found unreſiſtable, and in which ſo many Circumſtances had conſpired, chuſing rather to content himſelf with the Shades of a private Condition, out of Danger and Envy, or, at leaſt, to attend ſome future Occaſions, that might open a more probable Way to his Hopes and his Fortunes.

He was at *London*, among many other Nobles, when the famous and deciſive Battle was fought at *Haſtings*, and the News brought of the Duke's Victory, and of *Harold*'s Death: Thoſe of the Nobles who were for oppoſing the Conqueror, were for declaring *Edgar Atheling* King; the Citizens of *London* were at firſt diſpoſed to the ſame Reſolution; but the Biſhops and Clergy, who had the greateſt Sway among both thoſe Orders, prevailed in this general Council, for a general Submiſſion to the Fate of the Kingdom.

In purſuance of this Reſolution, *Edgar Atheling*, with *Stigand* and *Alred*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Two of the greateſt *Engliſh* Lords, the reſt of the Nobles and Biſhops, who had attended the Victorious Duke upon his Way to *London*, was well received by him, and treated with Bounty, as well as Humanity; ſo that the young Prince attended frequently at Court, accompanied the King into *Normandy*, returned with him into *England*, and lived there for ſome time, like one who had forgot his Birth and his Title, though they were by the *Engliſh* well remembred: But at length, either weary of Reſt, or rouzed by other Spirits more unquiet than his own, he reſolved, or, at leaſt, pretended, to make a Journey into *Hungary*, where he was born, during his Father's Exile, had lived long, and was much beloved: He embark'd for *Flanders*, with his two Siſters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtine*; but, forced by a Storm and contrary Winds, or allured by fairer Hopes, he was driven upon the Coaſts of *Scotland*; the firſt was given out, but the laſt ſuſpected, from the Event of this Voyage. He was received by *Malcolm* the King, with great Kindneſs, and Compaſſion of his Diſaſters both at Sea and Land; was reſorted to by all the Nobles and Gentlemen who had ſhelter'd themſelves in that Kingdom upon Hate or Fear of the Conqueſt in *England*; and was by them acknowledged and honoured as the true lawful Heir of that Crown. Soon after his Arrival, the King of *Scotland*, inflamed either with the Beauty of the young Lady, or with the Hopes of her Brother's Fortunes, or upon former Concert with the *Engliſh* Nobles reſiding in *Scotland*, and Intelligence with others diſcontented in *England*, married the Lady *Margaret*, eldeſt Siſter of *Edgar*; and thereby became newly engaged in the Intereſts and Family of this noble, but unfortunate Prince.

The Fame of this Adventure was no ſooner divulged in *England*, than it raiſed a great, though different Motion in the Minds of all Men there, who were either well or ill affected to the new King, filling one Party with new Hopes, and the other with new Fears, and reaſonably enough in both, from all common Appearances. Many Perſons of great Note and Authority in *England*, repaired immediately upon it into *Scotland*, ſome by eaſy Paſſages out of the Northern Counties, and others out of the remoter Parts of the Realm, by more difficult Eſcapes, either by Sea or Land. Among theſe were the Earls *Edwin*, *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Syward*, *Goſpatrick*, Men of great Eſtates and Power, as was believed, in *England*, with many other Nobles and Gentlemen. But that which ſeemed yet of greater Influence and Authority, was the Repair of *Stigand* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Alred* of *York*, with divers other Biſhops and Prelates, who having been the chief Inſtruments in making way for the eaſy Acceſſion of Duke *William* to the Crown, and for the general Submiſſion of the *Engliſh* to his Reign, were preſumed now likely to prove of as great Moment and Importance for the Reſtoration and Support of a juſt *Engliſh* Title in *Edgar*, as they had been for the Admiſſion and Eſtabliſhment of one diſputed and foreign, of the *Norman* Duke's: Beſides, the Clergy being accounted the wiſe and learned Men of that Age, were eſteemed moſt likely to judge beſt of the Rights, and beſt to foreſee the Events in Diſputes of the Crown, and unlikely to embark themſelves in a Bottom unſound, upon either the Regards of Juſtice or Succeſs.

Edgar, exalted with ſuch a Concourſe of Nobles out of *England*, and the Hopes they gave him of a greater from the People there, when he ſhould appear among them, reſolved to lay Claim to that Crown, and with ſtronger Arguments, than thoſe of a bare Title, or Right of Succeſſion, how juſt ſoever: For the *Scotch* King had now aſſiſted him with a great Army, being induced to engage openly in his Quarrel, not only by the Charms of his Wife, or Compaſſion of her Brother's hard Fortune, but by Reaſons of State, as well as of Juſtice and Affection: He feared the dangerous Neighbourhood of ſo powerful, aſpiring, and fortunate a Prince, and apprehended, his Ambition would not ceaſe with the Conqueſt of *England*, but extend it to that of *Scotland* too, and reducing the whole Iſland of *Britain* under one Dominion, for which it ſeemed by Nature to have been framed; he thought it both wiſe and neceſſary, to give ſome Stop to this growing Power, before it became too well ſettled at Home, and thereby prepared for new Enterprizes Abroad; and that it was better carrying a War into *England*, than expecting it in *Scotland*.

He was glad of ſo fair an Occaſion to juſtify his Quarrel, and by advancing the Fortunes of *Edgar*, to ſecure his own: He had taken Meaſures with *Swane* King of *Denmark*, to enter the *Humber* with a powerful Navy, whilſt he with his Army enter'd the Northern Provinces by Land; and with the Sons of *Harold*, at the ſame Time, to invade the Weſt, by the Aſſiſtance of Forces to be furniſh'd by *Drone* King of *Ireland*, to whom they had fled upon the *Norman* Victory. He preſumed upon great Inſurrections among the *Engliſh*, in favour of *Edgar*, and by the Authority of the Nobles his Aſſociates, who had repreſented the common Diſcontents in *England*, to be as great as their own.

Theſe Hopes were not ill grounded, nor the Deſigns ill laid; for the *Daniſh* Fleet was ready to ſail, and the Sons of *Harold*, with their *Iriſh* Forces, landed and raiſed a Commotion in the Weſt, at the ſame Time that *Edgar*, with thoſe out of *Scotland*, invaded the North, where he found at firſt no Oppoſition; but inſtead of Enemies, met with many Friends prepared to receive him, and increaſe his Strength: He made himſelf Maſter of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, by the Defeat of *Robert* Count of *Mortain*, who was there ſlain, with Seven Hundred *Normans*. From thence he marched, without Reſiſtance, as far as *York*, which was defended by a ſtrong Garriſon of *Norman* Soldiers: He beſieged this City, the Capital and Defence of all the Northern Counties, and aſſaulted it with that Fury, that he carried the Town by Storm, where all the *Normans* were put to the Sword by the Rage and Revenge of the *Engliſh* Nobles in his Army; many in the Heat of the Aſſault, and the reſt, after they were entred, and found no more Reſiſtance. After this Succeſs, *Edgar* remained ſome time at *York*, to refreſh his Army, after ſo long a March, and ſo warm an Action, which had coſt him the Lives of many brave Men, and the Wounds of many more. Beſides, he expected here to ſee his Army ſoon increaſed, by the Repair of many Friends and Diſcontents out of the Southern Provinces of *England*, and by the Arrival of the *Daniſh* Fleet in the *Humber*, according to the Concert before agreed, and for which he knew all had been prepared.

King *William* thus ſurrounded with Dangers from the Weſt and North, and with Jealouſies of his new Subjects, of whoſe Affections he had yet made no Tryal, farther than ſome few Years Submiſſion to his Government; was yet undaunted at the News of all theſe Attempts, nor any ways diſtracted by ſuch various either Dangers or Fears. He applied himſelf to thoſe which were neareſt, by ſending the Forces he had ready, immediately into the Weſt, under experienced Commanders; and prepared a greater Army both of *Engliſh* and *Normans*, to march himſelf into the North, after the Commotions in the Weſt ſhould be appeaſed: This happened to be eaſier and ſooner than he expected; for the Attempt of *Harold*'s Sons, with their *Iriſh* Forces, proved weak and faint, though ſucceſsful in the firſt Encounter; wherein *Eduoth*, a brave Commander on the King's ſide, was ſlain, with ſeveral of his Followers; but the Sons of *Harold* being defeated in a ſecond Engagement, and failing of any conſiderable Recourſe or Inſurrection of the *Engliſh* there (upon which they had grounded their chief Hopes) much diſappointed, and thereby diſcouraged, were eaſily broken by the brave *Norman* Troops, and forced to return, with the Remainder of their *Iriſh* Forces, into *Ireland*.

King *William*, upon the happy End of this Adventure, after the beſt Orders taken for the Security of the Southern Parts, in his Abſence, marched at the Head of a brave Army into the North, engaged the Forces of *Edgar* in a ſet Battel; and by the Valour of his Troops, the Diſcipline and Order of his Army, and his own excellent Conduct, defeated intirely the united Strength of his Enemies; beſieged and took again the City of *York*, defended by *Waltheof*, Son to the Earl *Syward*, a young Gentleman of great Valour, and much admired in this Action, being ſaid to have ſtood firm at a Breach made in the Wall, and with his Sword to have cut off the Heads of many *Normans*, as they preſſed to enter, and could do it but one by one, by the Narrowneſs of the Breach ſo bravely defended.

After this Defeat, and the Surrender of *York*, *Edgar* retired into *Scotland* with thoſe of his Dependents, who were moſt deſperate and impatient of the *Norman* Conqueſt. The reſt of the *Engliſh* Nobles, who had eſcaped the Battel, ſubmitted themſelves to the King, and came in upon publick Faith, took a new Oath of Allegiance, and were thereupon all pardoned, and many reſtored, not only to their Eſtates, but to Favour with the King; who had found *Erick the Foreſter*, that had firſt rebelled againſt him, after his Coronation, expreſs great Fidelity, after his Pardon obtained, and perform good Service in this Northern Expedition. He made *Goſpatrick* Earl of *Northumberland*, and employ'd him againſt the Dangers and Incurſions he apprehended from the *Scotch*. He was ſo charmed with the Valour and Conſtancy that *Waltheof* had ſhewed in the Defence of *York*, (though ſo much to his Coſt, and the Loſs of ſo many *Normans* by his Sword) that he reſolved to gain him at what Rate ſoever he valued himſelf, ſhewing the Nobleneſs of his own Courage and Virtue, by loving and honouring them in his Enemies. He married this young Gentleman to *Judith* his Niece, gave him great Poſſeſſions, beſides thoſe to which he was Heir, and uſed him with much Confidence; which was for ſome time returned with Service, and with Faith.

Moſt of the other Nobles that came in upon Pardon of their Lives, he deſpoiled of their Eſtates and Offices, and beſtowed them upon his *Norman* Friends and Followers: Some he kept Priſoners, whom he thought moſt dangerous; as the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and *Edwin*, a Man of the greateſt Power and Dependances, whoſe Earldom and great Poſſeſſions in *Yorkſhire*, were given to *Alain* Earl of *Britain*; as were thoſe of ſeveral others at the ſame Time, to others of his Kindred or Friends. In the Room of *Stigand*, he made *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, an *Italian* born, but an Abbot in *Normandy*, a Perſon of great Wiſdom and Temper, as well as Learning: *Thomas*, his Chaplain he made Archbiſhop of *York*, and obtained the Approbation of the Pope, for their Succeſſion in thoſe Sees (during the Lives of the other Two) upon Repreſentation of other Crimes, or, at leaſt, Vices, beſides their Rebellion againſt a King, whoſe Title had been confirmed by the Pope, as well as encouraged.

'Tis not agreed at what Time the *Daniſh* Fleet arrived upon the Coaſts, but 'tis certain, they enter'd *Humber* with about Two Hundred Sail: Some write, That they return'd again without making any Attempt upon the Shore; That their Commanders were inrich'd with great Preſents from the King, and their Soldiers ſupplied with Proviſions, and all treated rather like Friends than Enemies: Whether their Arrival out of Time, made them deſpair of any Succeſs; and whether that were occaſion'd by croſs Winds at Sea, or croſs Purpoſes in the *Daniſh* Court, is not well known: For *William the Conqueror*, after he was ſeated in the Throne, feared no Inſult from Abroad, but by *Daniſh* Powers, and Pretenſions they had ſtill upon *England*; and the Preparations (as was divulged Abroad) of *Swane* their King, for invading it with a Navy of a Thouſand Ships. Hereupon he endeavour'd to ward this Blow, by Slight rather than Force, thinking his Safety on that ſide, better purchaſed with Treaſure, than with Blood. He practis'd private Intelligences in the *Daniſh* Court, and by Force of Preſents and Penſions, gained to his Devotion ſome Perſons of Credit, and among the reſt, *Edelbert* Archbiſhop of *Hamburgh*, a Man of great Authority in thoſe Parts, and whoſe Advices were much uſed and eſteem'd by the *Daniſh* King. It was believed the Artifices and Practices of theſe Men, eluded the firſt great Deſign of a mighty Invaſion, changed it into an Aſſiſtance of the Diſcontented here with ſmaller Forces, delay'd them 'till the Time was paſs'd, and diſpoſed their Commanders to return without Action, and their Maſter to receive their Excuſes with Approbation, or, at leaſt, with Impunity.

Yet there are other Writers, who ſay, The *Danes* landed in *England*, made great Spoils, joyned Prince *Edgar*'s Forces, winter'd in this Kingdom, and return'd in the Spring, by the King's private Practices and Rewards among the Commanders, as well as Bounty to the Soldiers.

The King, after having eſtabliſh'd his Affairs in the North, return'd triumphant to *London*, where the firſt Action he perform'd, was, To take a new perſonal Oath before *Lanfranc* the new Archbiſhop, and all the Lords then preſent in that City, to obſerve the ancient Laws of the Realm, eſtabliſh'd by the Kings of *England*, his Predeceſſors, and particularly thoſe of *Edward the Confeſſor*.

This Action of the King's was the more applauded, and the better accepted by the *Engliſh*, becauſe it was unconſtrain'd by any Neceſſity of his Affairs, or Appearance of any new Dangers, againſt which he might have Reaſon to provide. And 'tis certain, his Oath taken at his Coronation, of preſerving the ancient Laws of the Realm, had been the chief Occaſion of his Safety in the late and dangerous Convulſion of the State; together with the ill choſen Time of the *Scotch* Invaſion, and the Revolt of the Lords in Favour of *Edgar*: For if ſuch Attempts had been made ſoon after the Conqueſt, while the Minds of the People were generally in Motion, and in Fear of what might ſucceed, to the Danger of their Properties, and their ancient Liberties, upon that new Revolution, his Throne had not been only ſhaken, but in evident Danger of being overthrown by ſuch a violent Concuſſion. But the People having lived quietly ſome Years under the Protection of their ancient Laws, and in an equal Courſe of known and common Juſtice, grew indifferent to the Change which had been made in the Rights or Succeſſion of the Crown, or to any new one that might ſucceed. Beſides, though they were well affected to *Edgar*, yet they diſliked the Company with which he came attended, and hated the Entrance of a *Scotch* Army into *England*, more than they loved *Edgar*. They thought, if he ſucceeded, the Dominion would fall under the *Scotch*, whilſt he only retained the Name; and if they muſt be governed by Strangers, the beſt was to have thoſe they were already uſed to, and ſo feared leaſt. The common Subjects of a Kingdom are not ſo apt to trouble themſelves about the Rights and Poſſeſſion of a Crown, as about their own; and ſeldom ingage in the Quarrels of the firſt, but upon ſome general and ſtrong Apprehenſions, that the laſt are in Danger. So the Diſcontents and Inſurrections of the Nobles in *England*, though encourag'd and ſupported by Foreign Forces, yet fail'd of Succeſs againſt this new King and his Government, becauſe they were not follow'd by any general Commotion or Sublevation of the People, which left all ſafe and quiet in the Southern Parts, and main Body of the Kingdom, whilſt he marched with his Army againſt his Enemies in the North. Nor is the Safety of a Prince ſo firm and well eſtabliſh'd upon any other Bottom, as the general Safety, and thereby Satisfaction of the common People, which make the Bulk and Strength of all great Kingdoms, whenever they conſpire and unite in any common Paſſion or Intereſt. For the Nobles, without them, are but like an Army of Officers without Soldiers, and make only a vain Show or weak Noiſe, unleſs raiſed and increaſed by the Voice of the People; which for this Reaſon is in a common *Latin* Proverb called, *The Voice of God*.

No Prince ever made greater or happier Experience of this Truth, than *William the Conqueror*, both in the Events of the laſt and formidable Dangers, which he ſo eaſily ſurmounted, and in the whole Courſe of his ſubſequent Reign, which was infeſted by many new Troubles, either in *England* or in *Normandy*, that would have proved fatal to him, if he had been diſtracted by the common Diſcontents, or Inſurrections of his *Engliſh* Subjects; for his preſent Calm was not of long Continuance; the Clouds ſoon gather'd again, and threatned another Storm, and from the ſame Winds by which the laſt had been raiſed.

Malcolm King of *Scotland*, ſtill perſiſted in the Envy and Fear of his neighbouring Power and Greatneſs, ſtill eſteemed it his own Intereſt to join with thoſe of *Edgar*, and his Dependants in *England*, and thereby weaken the Force, or diſturb the Quiet of the *Norman* Government in *England*, before it ſhould, by the Favour of Time and calm Seaſons, take too deep Root, to be afterwards ſhaken. He raiſed a greater Army than before, with which he threatned again to invade *England*, and led them himself, though still in Favour only of *Edgar*'s Title and Advancement to the Crown. He enter'd into new Practices with ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobles who had followed him, tho' unfortunately, in the laſt Expedition, and were reſolved to repair their former Loſſes, by venturing greater, rather than give over the Game. Nor could the Hopes of the diſcontented *Engliſh* ever die, while the Root was alive, and they were fomented by the Malice, and encouraged by the Forces of ſo powerful a Neighbour, join'd with ſo juſt Pretenſions, as thoſe of *Edgar* were generally eſteemed.

When the Preparations in *Scotland*, and Intelligences in *England*, were ripe for Execution, the Earl *Edwin* made his Eſcape, and fled towards the North; but was by the Way murder'd by ſome of his own Retinue. The Earls *Morcar* and *Hereward*, who were already upon the Wing for the ſame Flight, diſcouraged by this Miſadventure, durſt not purſue it; but yet already ingaged too far to make a Retreat, they made way to poſſeſs themſelves of the Iſle of *Ely*, fortified there the beſt they could, and hoped the *Scotch* Invaſion would divert the King's Forces from attempting them before Winter, and that the Seaſon and Situation together would there cover them for ſome Time.

On the contrary, the *Scotch* King was diſcouraged from beginning his March, by the News of theſe Diſaſters among his Confederates in *England*, and choſe rather to ſend the Biſhop of *Durham* and Earl *Syward* out of *Scotland*, to relieve and animate thoſe Lords, retired to the Iſle of *Ely*, than to enter *England*, without Hopes of their making ſome Diverſion. But the King, who never feared or ſlighted any Dangers, and knew they were like Diſeaſes, to be taken in Time, marched immediately with his Forces to the Iſle of *Ely*, beſet it upon one ſide with a great Number of flat-bottom Boats, and on another, made a Bridge of Two Miles long, with incredible Diligence and Labour, and with ſuch Speed, as both ſurprized and terrified his Enemies within. So as deſpairing of farther Reſiſtance, they all ſubmitted to the King's Mercy, except *Hereward*, who, with ſome few Followers, eſcaped thro' the Fens, and, thro' many Dangers, arrived ſafe in *Scotland*. The reſt of the Lords were ſent Priſoners to ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, where ſome remained during the King's Life, and others died before Him, with whom they could not be content to live.

The King, after this ſmall Adventure ſo happily atchieved, and the preſent Peace of his Kingdom reſtored, yet conſidering the Root of all his Dangers was in *Scotland*, and unwilling to take up preſent Quiet and Safety, at too great an Intereſt of Dangers to come, reſolved to march into *Scotland* with a powerful Army, and endeavour to ſecure himſelf on that ſide, either by a Peace or Victory. He firſt ſent *Roger* a *Norman*, then *Goſpatrick* Earl of *Northumberland*, with part of his Forces into the North, to oppoſe the *Scotch* Army that was already enter'd thoſe Provinces, with great Spoils and Ravages of the Country, and to keep them at a Bay, 'till the King came up with the reſt of his Army. In the mean Time, he aſſembled his Forces at *York*, with the beſt Choice of Men and Officers, and ſuch Numbers as he judged neceſſary for ſuch an Expedition, compoſed of *Engliſh* and *Normans*, whoſe Emulation he encouraged, with Promiſes of Reward, and Hopes of eſtabliſhing their common Safety by the Succeſs of this Enterprize. From *York* to *Durham*, he met with many Hardſhips and Difficulties, from the Wants of his Army, in a Country which had been ſo lately waſted by the *Scotch* Forces and his own, and with which he was then contented to prevent another Invaſion. But having ſurmounted all by his own Care, and the Patience of his Men, from the Example of their Leaders, he marched near the Borders without any Oppoſition, tho' common Fame had made him expect the *Scotch* would give him Battle in *England*, and not the Trouble of ſo long a March.

But *Malcolm* their King, now deſtitute of Hopes or Aſſiſtances from any Foreign Confederates, or any Inſurrections in *England*, after the laſt Diſaſters of the diſcontented Lords, began to cool the Heats of his Blood; and, inſtead of farther invading *England*, changed his Counſels, and reſolved only upon a defenſive War. At the News of King *William*'s Entrance into the Northern Provinces, he quitted *Northumberland*, and, with good Order, retreated back to the Borders, and there incamped his Army to the beſt Advantage, without making any farther Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Territories, either to ſecure his Proviſions, or not to provoke his Enemies, and render all Terms of Reconcilement deſperate, or not to indanger his Retreat, in caſe of any Diſaſter.

The King of *England* approaching the Borders, and thereby the *Scotch* Army, thought fit likewiſe to incamp his own, both to refreſh his Soldiers, haraſſed by ſo long and difficult a March, as alſo to diſcover the Forces of the Enemy, obſerve their Countenance, their Order, and their Motions, and thereby judge of their Deſigns, and direct his own to the beſt Advantage: So that for ſome Days the Two Armies ſtood at a Bay, ſeeming both prepared for a fierce Encounter, and yet both content to delay it, from a mutual Reſpect they had for one another's Forces and Diſpoſitions. They were, indeed, not much unequal in Numbers, nor in the Bravery and Order of their Troops; both Kings were valiant and wiſe, having been trained up in Arms, inur'd to Dangers, and much imbroil'd at Home in the Beginning of their Reigns. They were now animated to a Battle by their own Courage, as well as their Soldiers, but yet both conſider'd the Event, in the Uncertainty and the Conſequence; the Loſs of a Battle might prove the Loſs of a Crown, and the Fortune of one Day, determine the Fate of a Kingdom; and they knew very well, that whoever fights a Battle, with what Number and Forces, what Proviſions and Orders, or Appearances ſoever of Succeſs, yet, at the beſt, runs a Venture, and leaves much at the Mercy of Fortune, from Accidents not to be foreſeen by any Prudence, or governed by any Conduct or Skill. Theſe Reflections began to diſpoſe both Kings to the Thoughts of ending their Quarrel by a Peace rather than a Battle; and, though both had the ſame Inclination, yet each of them was unwilling firſt to diſcover it, leſt it might be interpreted to proceed from Apprehenſions of Weakneſs, or Fears, and thereby diſhearten their own Soldiers, or encourage their Enemies. The *Scotch*, at length, began the Overture, which was received by King *William* with a Show of Indifference, but with a concealed Joy; and the more reaſonable, as having the greater Stake, the leſs to win, and the more to loſe by the Iſſue of a Battle. The firſt Parley was follow'd by a Treaty, and this, after ſome Debate, by a Peace, concluded as between equal Forces, ſo upon equal Conditions; each King to content himſelf with the ancient Bounds of their ſeveral Kingdoms, whereof the Borders were agreed. Neither to invade one another's Dominions, nor to aſſiſt the Enemies, or receive and protect the Rebels of each other; Priſoners in the laſt, or this War, to be on both ſides releaſed, and Subjects, who deſired to return, to be on both ſides reſtor'd to their Country and Poſſeſſions.

Edgar, the principal, or moſt appearing Cauſe of the War, was included and provided for in this Treaty, to return into *England*, make his Submiſſion to the King, renounce any farther Claim to the Crown; and thereupon, not only to be reſtor'd to his own Poſſeſſions, with his Friends and Followers, but to be provided of a large and honourable Maintenance from the King during his Life. And thus this Storm, which threatned both Kingdoms with ſuch fatal Dangers, and long Conſequences, was of a ſudden blown over; a general Calm reſtor'd in the whole Iſland of *Britain*; and the Two Kings returned to enjoy the Fruits of a Peace, to which they had both contributed by their equal Temper and Prudence, as well as by their equal Preparations for a War.

Soon after the King's Return, *Edgar* repaired into *England*, where he was very favourably received, and all Conditions of the Treaty performed, and ever after obſerved with great Faith and Sincereneſs on both Parts. He had his Proviſions and Revenues (agreed by the Treaty) fairly eſtabliſhed; but being deſirous to go to the Wars of the *Holy Land*, which was the common

Humour of idle or devout Princes in that Age: He was furniſhed by the King with great Sums of Money, to prepare and maintain a noble Equipage for that Journey. He there gained much Honour and Eſteem; after which, returning into *England*, he paſſed the reſt of his whole Life in the Eaſe and Security of a large, but private Fortune; and, perhaps, happier than he might have done in the Conteſts and Dangers of Ambition, however they might have ſucceeded. A rare Example of Moderation in Prince *Edgar*, and of Magnanimity, as well as Juſtice and Clemency in this King; and very different from ſeveral of his Succeſſors, who defamed their Reigns by the Death of innocent Princes, for having only been born to juſt Rights of the Crown, without any appearing Means or Attempts to purſue them, or indanger the Poſſeſſors; thereby ſtaining their Memories with the Blots both of Cruelty and Fear. For as Clemency is produced by Magnanimity and Fearleſneſs of Dangers; ſo is Cruelty by Cowardice and Fear; and argues not only a Depravedneſs of Nature, but alſo a Meanneſs of Courage, and Imbecillity of Mind; for which Reaſon, it is both hated by all that are within its Reach and Danger, and deſpiſed by all that are without.

The King, upon his Return, began again to apply himſelf to the Arts of Peace, which conſiſt chiefly in the preventing of future, as thoſe of War, in the ſurmounting of preſent Dangers. And as nothing raiſes the Power of a Crown ſo much as weak and private Conſpiracies againſt it, raſhly undertaken by ſome few Diſcontents, unſupported by any general Defections of the People, faintly purſued, and ending without Succeſs; ſo this Prince found his Throne and Authority more firmly eſtabliſh'd, in all Appearance, by the happy Iſſue of the Two late Wars, and the unfortunate Events of his revolted Nobles; and now eſteemed himſelf more at Liberty from thoſe Regards of his *Engliſh* Subjects and their Laws, which his unſettled State had made neceſſary upon his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown. He was provoked by the Rebellions of ſo many of the greateſt *Engliſh* Nobles, after their Fealty ſworn to him: He was perſuaded of the general Diſaffection of the reſt, and that the late Inſurrections would have been found much deeper rooted, and farther ſpread, if they had been attended with any Succeſs. He thought the *Engliſh* Lords and Biſhops had too great Dependance of their Tenants and Vaſſals upon them, and had themſelves too little upon the Prince: ſince they eſteemed themſelves neither bound to attend him in the Wars, unleſs they pleaſed, nor to furniſh the Expences, unleſs by their own Conſent in their general Aſſemblies: Nor was he ſatisfy'd to have them judge of his Neceſſities, whom he thought unlikelieſt to increaſe them, or, at leaſt, to deſire them. He believed the *Engliſh* in general would, as long as they retained the *Saxon* Laws and Forms of Government, ever be affected to the Race of their *Saxon* Kings: and for this Reaſon, he was thought to have encouraged the Voyage of *Edgar* for the *Holy Land*, by ſo large Supplies of Treaſure, under Pretence of that Prince's Honour, but from true Intentions of his own Safety. Beſides, he found his Treaſures exhauſted by the great Charges of his Two laſt Expeditions, and the juſt Rewards he had promiſed both his *Normans*, and thoſe of the *Engliſh*, who had well and faithfully ſerved in them. Though he had once or twice (for 'tis left in doubt) levy'd the Tax of *Danegelt* upon the Threats of a *Daniſh* Invaſion, and by an ancient Prerogative of the *Saxon* Kings, pretended or exerciſed upon that Occaſion; yet he found it was not raiſed without great Murmur and Reluctancy of the People, as well as the Nobleſs who pretended to ancient Liberties, of paying no Taxes impoſed without the Conſent of their general Aſſemblies, which began in this King's, or his Son's Time, firſt to be ſtyled Parliaments, according to the *Norman* Phraſe; whereas they had by the *Saxons* been call'd *Gemoots*, and, by their *Latin* Writers, Common Councils, or General Aſſemblies of the Kingdom, tho' how compoſed, is left uncertain, and has raiſed much Argument and Diſpute.

All theſe Conſiderations either moved or augmented at this Time, a Deſign or Inclination of this King to change the whole Frame of the *Engliſh* Government, to aboliſh their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms, and introduce thoſe of

Normandy, by which he thought he ſhould be more abſolute, and too powerful to be again diſturbed by any Inſurrection at Home, or any Invaſions from his Enemies Abroad.

So ſoon as he had digeſted, and began to diſcover this Reſolution, 'tis not to be imagined what a univerſal Diſcontent, and, indeed, Conſternation, it raiſed among all his *Engliſh* Subjects, who under ſo great a King, attended by his victorious *Norman* Forces, reckon'd upon no other Safety, but from the Preſervation of their ancient Laws, whereof he had hitherto aſſured them. Whereupon the whole People, ſad and aggrieved, as well as the Nobles, in an humble manner, but with univerſal Agreement, tendred an earneſt Petition to the King: beſeeching him, in regard of his Oath made at the Coronation, and by the Soul of St. *Edward*, from whom he had the Crown and Kingdom, under whoſe Laws they were born and bred, that he would not change them, and deliver them up to new and ſtrange Laws, which they underſtood not.

Upon this humble, but earneſt Application of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, united in their Deſires upon this Occaſion, the King, before he reſolved, thought, at leaſt, it was of Weight to deſerve the beſt Deliberation, and thereupon fell into ſerious Conſultations upon it with his Council, whom he found much divided in their Debates. The *Normans*, among them, were for his executing with Vigor what he had determin'd, for aboliſhing wholly the *Engliſh* Laws, introducing the *Norman*, and maintaining his Crown and Government by the ſame Means he had gained them, which was by Force and Arms. They were encourag'd in this Opinion, by preſuming it agreed with the King's Inclination, and were confirm'd by the preſſing Arguments and Advices of his Brother *Odon* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, a Man of a violent Nature, arbitrary Humour and Will; who, in the Time of the King's Abſence, and his being left Vicegerent, had exerciſed many Oppreſſions and cruel Exactions upon the People, and had raiſed more Clamour and Hatred againſt the King's Government, than any Councils or Actions of his own.

This ambitious Prelate aſpiring at the Papacy upon the next Election, and deſpairing to obtain it by any other Means, than the Force of Money, neglected or refrained no Ways of heaping up Treaſure, though none ſo ſure of increaſing his own, as by advancing the King's, by an abſolute Power over the Perſons and Purſes of his Subjects.

The *Engliſh* of the King's Council were of a different Opinion, but being Parties in the Caſe, had been little conſider'd, without the Support of *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who being born an *Italian*, was impartial to *Engliſh* and *Normans*, eſteemed much by both, and more by the King. He was a Man of ſound natural Senſe, and univerſal Goodneſs, of general Knowledge, known Virtue, long Experience, and approved Wiſdom; free and diſintereſſed, and in all Counſels conſidering the King more than himſelf, and his true Service and Welfare of the Crown, more than his Humour, or his Inclination. The King ever adviſed with him in all the weighty Affairs of his Reign, allowed his Liberty, and encourag'd it, knowing him to be not only Wiſe and Good, but Faithful to his Intereſt, and Affectionate to his Perſon: Happy in the Choice or Fortune of ſuch a Counſellor, and more in the Diſpoſition of hearing and weighing ſuch Advices, as were never ſo different from his own Opinions or Inclinations. Nor is any thing more dangerous for a Prince, than to conſult only with Perſons that he thinks are of his own Mind, or will be ſo when they know it; nor more pernicious in a Counſellor, than to give only ſuch Advices, as he thinks moſt agreeable to him that asks or receives them.

Lanfranc, upon this great and weighty Occaſion, repreſented to the King, How much his Safety depended upon the general Satisfaction of his Subjects: That of theſe, the *Engliſh* were much the greater Part, both in Strength and Numbers; That no People could be eaſie under any Laws, but ſuch wherein they were born and bred: That all Innovations were odious; but none could be more ſo, than this, as appear'd by ſo univerſal Agreement of the

English, in their Petition; That the Humility and Calmneſs of it was more dangerous, than if any thing had been done in hot Blood, and the Refuſal would be the more reſented: That the Laws and Conſtitutions of this Realm had been digeſted by the wiſeſt Councils, and confirmed by a long Succeſſion of their Kings: That under them the *Saxons* had been good and loyal Subjects, and their Kings, who ruled by these Laws, never troubled with any Seditions or Inſurrections of their People: That, beſides Reaſon and Experience, Religion was concerned in this Reſolution, ſince the King had already twice ſworn ſolemnly, to obſerve them; ſo as a Change of them now, would be taxed not only of Injuſtice, but Impiety: That nothing was of ſo much Moment to a Prince, as Reputation; and none more, than that of being a Religious Obſerver of his Word and Promiſe; but eſpecially of his Oaths, without which, he could never be truſted by his Subjects, or his Neighbours.

The King heard and weigh'd all their Reaſons, and by them form'd his own Judgment, which he ever truſted in the laſt Reſort. Upon mature Deliberation, as the Caſe required, he at length reſolved, not only to continue the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realm, but to give the People new, and more evident Aſſurances of this Reſolution: In purſuance whereof, he granted and confirm'd them by a publick and open Charter, and thereby purchaſed the Hearts, as well as Satisfaction of his *Engliſh* Subjects, whereof he reaped the Fruits in his ſucceeding Troubles in *Normandy*, and his Wars with *France*.

Yet he could not refrain ſhewing the Kindneſs he retained for his own Country and Language, introducing, by Connivance, or by Countenance, ſeveral *Norman* Cuſtoms, and endeavouring to introduce that Language to be general in the Kingdom. To this End, he cauſed many Schools to be ſet up for teaching that Tongue, which was a *Baſtard French*, not well underſtood by the *French* themſelves, and not at all by the *Engliſh*. He cauſed the Laws of the Kingdom, which had been anciently written in *Saxon*, and by *Edward the Confeſſor* publiſhed alſo in *Latin*, to be now tranſlated into *Norman*. He ordered all Pleas in the ſeveral Courts to be made in the ſame Language, and all Petitions preſented the King, and all Buſineſs of Court, to be likewiſe in *Norman*. This introduced new Terms, new Forms of Pleading and of Proceſs, new Names of Offices and of Courts; and with them, all the litigious Cuſtoms and Subtilties of the *Norman* Pleas and Conveyances (who were a witty but contentious People) inſtead of the old *Engliſh* Simplicity, in their common Suits, Pleas, or Conveyances, which were plain, brief, without Perplexities, made with good Meaning, kept with good Faith, and ſo followed by little Contention, and that determined by ſpeedy Juſtice, and Deciſion of Monthly Courts, in every County.

Among the *Saxons*, it was uſual to grant Lands and Houſes by bare Words, and with the Delivery of ſome trivial Gift, as an Horn, a Sword, an Arrow, a Helmet, and yet the ſimple Honeſty of thoſe Times and People left ſuch Grants little ſubject to any Diſputes or Contentions. But the Conqueror reduced all Grants to Writing, to Signature, and to Witneſſes, which brought in Cavils, and Actions grounded upon punctilious Errors in Writing, Miſtakes in Expreſſion, which in much Writing muſt ſometimes happen, either by Haſte, Weakneſs, or, perhaps, by Fraud of Conveyancers, and with Deſign to leave Matter of Contentions, by which they ſubſiſt, as Phyſicians by Diſeaſes.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Arts of the Prince, and Induſtry of his Miniſters, to introduce the *Norman* Language in *England*, yet all was fruſtrated by the Over-balance of Numbers in the Nation, in proportion to the Strangers, and aſſiſted by a general Averſion in the *Engliſh* to change their Language, which they thought would be ſucceeded by that of their Laws and Liberties: So that in this very Reign, inſtead of the *Engliſh* ſpeaking *Norman*, the *Normans* began generally, by Force of Intermarriages, ordinary Commerce and Converſation, to uſe the *Engliſh* Tongue, which has ever ſince continued and compoſed the main Body of our Language, tho' chang'd, like others, by Mixture of many new Words and Phraſes, not only introduced by this great Revolution, but by the Uſes and Accidents of each ſucceeding Age.

It ſeems very remarkable, and very different, what happen'd in *Scotland* about this Time, and upon this Subject; for upon the great Recourſe of *Engliſh* Nobles and Gentlemen into *Scotland*, ſeeking Refuge from the firſt Dangers and Terrors of the *Norman* Conqueſt; and afterwards of many more who fled there in Purſuit of *Edgar*'s Pretenſions, and join'd with the *Scots* in Two Invaſions of *England*; but chiefly, upon *Malcolm*'s fond Affection of his *Engliſh* Wife, Siſter to Prince *Edgar*, his learning and commonly uſing or favouring her Language, the uſual Compliance and Conformity of Courtiers to the Cuſtoms of their Prince, and the general Humour of Kindneſs in the *Scots*, at that Time, to the Perſon or Rights of *Edgar*, and to all his Adherents, that loſt their own Country, to follow his Fortunes; the *Engliſh* Language grew in this King's Reign, to be generally ſpoken, not only in the Court of *Scotland*, but in ſeveral Counties thereunto adjacent, and among moſt of the Nobles in remoter Provinces; and ſo it has ever ſince remained, as have many *Engliſh* Families in thoſe Parts, habituated, and, with Time, naturalized among them: And the ancient barbarous *Scotch* Tongue has been left current only in the more Northern or North-Weſt and Mountainous Parts of that Kingdom, and in the Iſlands that ſeem to have been firſt and moſt intirely poſſeſſed by the *Scyths* or *Scots*, who ſo long ago invaded and conquer'd the Northern Parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*.

The contrary of this unuſual Change in Language, appears to have ſucceeded in *England*, ſince in a little Time nothing remained of the *Norman* Language in common Uſe, beſides the Tranſlation of our Common Law, which, though deduced from the ancient *Saxon* Streams, yet the Sound, and Forms, and Practice came to be *Norman*; like Rivers which ſtill run from their Original Sources, but yet often change their Taſte, from the Soils through which they take their Courſe, and ſometimes from Accidents of great Inundations, which for the preſent change them, but leave them to return to their natural Streams. A ſingular and inſtructive Example, how ſtrange a Difference there is in the Compliance of a Nation with the Humour of a Prince they love, or of one they fear.

Beſides theſe Changes in the Language of our Laws, and the Forms of Pleas, which were generally diſaffected by the *Engliſh* Subjects; this *Norman* King, either upon Pretence of Juſtice and Piety, or elſe of Neceſſity and Safety, aboliſhed ſeveral ancient *Saxon* Inſtitutions, and made ſeveral new; which, how reaſonable, or how uſeful ſoever, yet bred ill Blood among the Nobles and Clergy of *England*; tho' the People contented themſelves with the Continuance of their ancient Laws, and thought all they did or ſuffered for the King's Service, well rewarded, while they might preſerve what they call'd the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*: And the King was ſo wiſe, as often to renew his Oath to maintain them, for the general Satisfaction of the People.

For the reſt, he took all Juriſdiction and Judgment in Civil Cauſes wholly out of the Hands of the Biſhops, where it had been plac'd in the whole *Saxon* Succeſſion, after their Converſion to Chriſtianity. And reſtrain'd the Clergy to the Exerciſe and Adminiſtration of their Eccleſiaſtical Power. He endeavoured to aboliſh Two ancient Forms of Tryal uſed among the *Saxons* with great Reverence, even during their Chriſtian Worſhip, though they were but Remainders of their old Pagan Superſtition, but ſo rooted in the Opinion of the People, as not to be diſpoſſeſſed by new Reaſon or Religion: Theſe were the Tryals *Ordeal*, and of *Camp-fight*. The firſt was either by Fire or by Water, and uſed only in Criminal Caſes, where the Accuſation was ſtrong, the Suſpicions great, but no Proofs evident. In that of Fire, the Perſon accuſed was brought into an open Place, upon even Ground; ſeveral Plowſhares heated red hot were laid before them, at unequal Diſtances, over which they were to walk blindfold, and if they eſcaped any Harm, were adjudged innocent; if their Feet were burned by treading upon the hot Irons, they were condemn'd as guilty. In the other of Water, the Accuſed were thrown into the Water; if they ſunk immediately, they were eſteem'd innocent, and guilty if they ſwam; either becauſe it ſeem'd againſt the Nature of heavy Bodies, or that the clear Element would not receive them, but rejected them as polluted Perſons. The firſt Tryal was for thoſe of better Condition, and the other for thoſe of inferior; and both were chiefly us'd upon Accuſations of Unchaſtity, of Poyſoning, or of Sorcery.

Theſe Tryals, though grounded upon no Reaſon, yet were thought approved by long Experience; and the rather, I ſuppoſe, becauſe any ſucceeding Proofs of Innocence, were as difficult to find, as any precedent Evidence of Guilt. And they were commonly called, The Judgments of God, and performed with ſolemn Oraiſons, and other Ceremonies, that amuſed, or rather inchanted the ignorant People into an Opinion of their being ſacred, as well as Juſt.

The Tryals of *Camp-fight* were performed by ſingle Combat, in Liſts appointed for that purpoſe, between the Accuſer and Accuſed, and were uſual in Actions both real and criminal, where no evident Proof of Fact appear'd from Witneſſes, or other Circumſtances: The Victor was acquitted, and the Vanquiſh'd, if not kill'd upon the Field, was condemn'd. Theſe were perform'd with great Solemnities, and either in Preſence of the King, who granted the Combat, or of certain Judges by him appointed for that particular Caſe.

Both theſe ſorts of Tryals this King aboliſhed, as unchriſtian and unjuſt, and reduced all Cauſes to the Judgment of Equals, or of a Jury of Twelve Neighbours, and by legal Forms: Yet the laſt was ſome few times uſed in ſucceeding Reigns.

In the Beginnings of his Reign, the Kingdom had been much infeſted by Outlaws and by Robbers, and many *Normans* were ſecretly murther'd by the Hatred of the *Engliſh*, as they paſſed alone upon the Ways or the Fields, eſpecially in the Night. To remedy this laſt Miſchief, he impoſed a heavy Fine upon the Hundred, where the Body of any *Norman* ſhould be found ſlain, whether any Diſcovery were made or no of the Author or Complices of the Fact. For all Rapes and Robberies, he caus'd them to be puniſh'd ſo ſeverely, by cruel Mutilations of Members, and Hardſhips of Labour, as left them miſerable Spectacles, or Warnings of their Crimes, during the reſt of their Lives. By the Rigor of theſe Courſes, and cutting off the chief Cauſe of ſuch Offences, which grow from Idleneſs and Expences, he reduc'd the whole Realm to ſuch Security, that 'tis recorded in his Time, how a fair Maiden, with a Purſe of Gold in her Hand, might have travell'd through the Realm, without any Danger offer'd to her Honour, or her Money.

Beſides, to prevent any Crimes that might be committed by Favour or Encouragement of the Night, he order'd a Bell to be rung in each Pariſh, at Eight a Clock in the Winter, and Nine in the Summer; after which every Man was to cover his Fire, and ſtir no more abroad that Night: And this was for that Reaſon call'd, The *Corfew*, or *Couvrefew* Bell.

For the Safety of his State, he erected ſeveral Caſtles in many Places moſt convenient of the Kingdom; among which was the *Tower* of *London*, and *New-Caſtle* upon *Tyne* (either built, or by this King much inlarged) and gariſon'd them by *Norman* or *Engliſh* Soldiers; but all ſuch as he moſt truſted, and who were ready in Arms upon all Occaſions. Yet theſe Forts were look'd upon by the *Engliſh* as unneceſſary in the Times of Peace, and as Bridles upon the Liberties of the People, rather than Preventions of Dangers to the Crown.

After theſe Inſtitutions, he apply'd himſelf to the Increaſe, Order, and Eſtabliſhment of his Revenue; and having (as he believ'd) ſatisfy'd the People in general, by the Confirmation of the ancient and beloved Laws, he thought he might be bolder with the Clergy, whom he knew to be generally his Enemies, and whoſe Clamours he the leſs feared, from his own known Piety, in frequenting Divine Worſhip, in building and endowing ſeveral Monaſteries, in Preſents to many Churches, both in *England* and *Normandy*; but eſpecially, in great Treaſures which he ſent frequently to *Rome*. Therefore, upon Pretence of his Enemies in the Two laſt Revolts (and ſuch as were deſign'd to be their Complices) having convey'd their Plate, Money, and Jewels into the ſeveral Monaſteries thoughout the Kingdom; he cauſed all the rich Abbies to be ſearch'd, their Money, Plate, and Jewels, which were not neceſſary, or of common Uſe in Divine Service, to be ſeiz'd; and thereby brought at once a mighty Treaſure into his Coffers, but an inveterate Hatred of the Clergy upon his Perſon and Reign: And this was the laſt of thoſe Actions that by the envenom'd Pens of the Monkiſh Writers of that Age, left ſuch a Charge upon the Memory of this Prince, by the Imputation of Cruelty, Oppreſſion, Violence, Exaction, and the Breach or Change of Laws of the Kingdom, either Human or Divine; tho' the ſame Authors little conſider, how ill this agrees with the high Characters they themſelves give of his perſonal Qualities and Virtues. Nor is it probable, that ſo vicious Actions ſhould proceed from ſo virtuous Diſpoſitions, or that ſo noble and excellent Qualities of any Prince ſhould be eſteem'd by the preſent Age, or celebrated to Poſterity, which had been accompany'd by cruel, infamous, or deprav'd Actions during his Life.

Having with theſe Spoils of the Clergy, as well as by the many Forfeitures of the revolted Nobles, repleniſh'd his Coffers for the preſent, he extended the Care of his Revenue not only to what might arrive in his own Life, but alſo in the Times of ſucceeding Kings. To this End, he ſent Commiſſioners into all the ſeveral Counties of the whole Realm, who took an exact ſurvey, and deſcrib'd in a Cenſual Roll or Book, all the Lands, Titles, and Tenures throughout the whole Kingdom. In this were diſtinctly ſet down not only every Barony, each Knight's Fee, every Plow-land, but alſo what Owners, by what Tenures, at what Rents or Duties they held, and what Stock they were poſſeſs'd of, and how many *Villans* upon their reſpective Eſtates. All Lands that held anciently of the Crown, or were by this King diſpoſed upon Forfeitures, he ſubjected to the uſual Tenures of Baronies, or Knight's Fees, reſerving in All the Dominon in chief to himſelf, ſome Quit-Rents, or Fines upon Death and Alienation; and likewiſe the Cuſtody of all Heirs of ſuch Lands as were left under Age, and the Diſpoſal of their Fortunes, beſides what was aſſigned for their Maintenance, 'till they came to Years of diſpoſing their Eſtates and themſelves.

This Book was compos'd after Two old Examples of the ſame kind, in the Times of *Ethelbert* and *Alfred*, and was laid up as Sacred in the Church of *Wincheſter*; and for that Reaſon, as graver Authors ſay, was called *Liber Domus Dei*, and by Abbreviation, *Domeſday-Book*. The vulgar Account is, That the Name was derived from the Nature, and ſo called, becauſe every Man was to receive his Doom by that Book, upon any Diſpute about the Value, Tenure, Payments, or Services of his Lands, upon Collection of the King's ordinary Revenue, or the Raiſing of any extraordinary Taxes or Impoſitions. And to make a Precedent for the future, or to ſatisfy the great Expences the King had been at, for the compiling this great Roll of the Kingdom, Six Shillings was raiſed upon every Plow-land, which made the Deſign of it leſs agreeable to the People; though every Man's Right thereby received a new Evidence, and no Injuſtice was complained of, in the Digeſtion of ſo difficult a Work, and of ſo various a Nature. By this means, the King came to an eaſy and exact Knowledge of his whole conſtant Revenue, and ſo proportion'd it to his Expences, and the neceſſary Cares of having always a Fond or Reſerve of preſent Treaſure in his Coffers, that after this Time we never find him plunged in any Difficulties for want of Money to ſupply many great Occaſions that enſu'd in his Reign, nor tempted to impoſe any Taxes upon his Subjects, or other Duties, than what were common and known, and paid without Preſſure or Diſcontent among the Commonalty of the Realm: So as after all theſe Inſtitutions, he paſſed ſeveral Years in great Tranquillity at Home as well as Honour from all his Neighbour Princes.

About the Thirteenth Year of his Reign, he went into *Normandy*, leaving his Brother *Odon* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and created Earl of *Kent*, his Vicegerent in *England*; and little apprehending any Storm after ſo long a Fit of fair Weather, or that he had left any ill Blood behind him, that was like to gather to a Head, with ſuch an Inflammation, and ſo dangerous Symptoms, as ſoon after appeared. But no Condition of Humane Life is ever perfectly ſecure, nor any Force of Greatneſs, or of Prudence, beyond the Reach of Envy, and the Blows of Fortune. Princes, as well as private Men, are often in moſt Danger at thoſe Times, and in thoſe Parts, they think themſelves the ſafeſt; as ſtrong Towers are ſometimes taken on thoſe Sides that are thought impregnable, and ſo left undefended, or little regarded. This conquering King eſteem'd himſelf now at Eaſe for the Remainder of his Life, and not only ſafe in his own Strength, but the Satisfaction of his Subjects. The *Engliſh* he had pleaſed in general, by the Preſervation of their ancient Laws; the braveſt and warmeſt Blood of their Nobles was drawn in the Battle of *Haſtings*, or the Wars with *Scotland*; their Power was weaken'd by ſo many Confiſcations, and the Retreat of many more into *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The *Normans* were ſtrong and numerous in *England*, and were his own by Birth and by Intereſt; the Balance of theſe Two Parties ſeem'd the Defence of the Whole; and it was not to be imagin'd, that both ſhould combine in any Danger to the Crown. Beſides, there was left no Pretenſion of any better Right or Title than his own, ſince *Edgar* had laid down his, not only in Shew, but with firm Reſolutions never to reſume them.

But many of the *Engliſh* Nobles ſtill hated the Name of a Conqueſt, reſented the Change of Forms and Language in their Laws, the Introduction of any new Cuſtoms; but eſpecially the Rigor of the Foreſt Laws, which they knew to be arbitrary, aud eſteem'd not only a Reſtraint of their innocent Liberties, but an Indignity in particular to themſelves. Some of the chief *Norman* Lords, who had obtained great Poſſeſſions by the King's Bounty, and the Confiſcations of the *Engliſh*, being now inveſted in their Lands and their Titles, began to grow fond of their Laws, as the ſafeſt Tenure; and tho' they had gain'd their great Eſtates by the Favour of the King, yet they were not willing to hold them at his Pleaſure; and ſo joyn'd with the *Engliſh* Nobles in the Complaints of too great Power exercis'd by the King, and the Jealouſies of greater yet deſign'd, to the Prejudice of the ancient Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, and Diminution of the Authority or Dependances of the Nobles. Some of both Nations, and equally ambitious Spirits, who had been moſt favour'd and advanc'd by the King, yet valuing their own Merits too high, or their Rewards too low, thought they had nothing, becauſe they had not all they pretended, eſteem'd the Kings Favour or Bounty to any others, as Injury to themſelves, and were as unſatisfy'd with what they had gain'd, as others with what they had loſt.

Theſe Diſpoſitions floating at firſt in the Minds of ſeveral great Nobles, both *Engliſh* and *Norman*, and inflam'd by ſuch of the Eccleſiaſticks, who had Credit in the great Families of both Nations, grew at length to downright Conſpiracy of diſpoſſeſſing the King of his Crown, and introducing the *Danes*, who were ally'd to many great Lords in *England*, were eſteem'd by the *Normans* of the ſame Race with their Anceſtors. The chief of this Conſpiracy were the Earls of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, of greateſt Power among the *Engliſh* Nobility; *Fitz-Auber*, a *Norman*, of near Kindred to the King, and who had aſſiſted him with Forty Ships upon his *Engliſh* Expedition, and been recompenc'd with mighty Poſſeſſions in *England*, and created Earl of *Hereford*; the Earl *Walthcof*, who had been pardon'd his Revolt, upon the *Scotch* Invaſion, marry'd to the King's Niece, and ever ſince intimately truſted, as well as favour'd by the King. Theſe enter'd ſecretly into Intelligence with *Swane* King of *Denmark*, and with *Harold*'s Sons, who were ſtill refug'd in *Ireland*: The Firſt ingag'd to invade the Northern Parts with a Navy of Three hundred Sail; the Laſt, by the Aſſiſtance of *Drone* King of *Ireland*, to attempt the Weſtern Coaſts with Sixty Ships, and the diſcontented Lords, to make a ſtrong Inſurrection in ſome of the Northern Provinces, upon Approach of the *Daniſh* Fleet, which was concerted to be ſoon after the King's intended Journey into *Normandy*.

Theſe Meaſures were laid with ſuch Caution, and purſu'd with ſuch Secrecy, that all was ready to be executed, before the King in *Normandy*, or his Miniſters in *England*, had either Notice or Suſpicion of any ſuch Dangers, or Deſigns. *Fitz-Auber* had asked the King's Leave ſome Months before his *Norman* Journey, to marry his Siſter to the Earl of *Norfolk*, and pretended ſome ſmall Diſcontent at his Refuſal. Not long after his Departure, he declared the Marriage, and the Day appointed to conſummate it in *Norfolk* with great Solemnity, and the Recourſe of the neareſt Relations, and moſt intimate Friends on both ſides, among whom were the Earl *Waltheof*, and *Euſtace* Earl of *Bologne*, who came over on purpoſe to aſſiſt at the Conſultations here deſign'd. At this Meeting all was agreed; in what Parts of the Kingdom, under what Leaders the ſeveral Inſurrections ſhould be made, upon what Pretences, and the Time appointed to be when the *Daniſh* Fleet ſhould appear upon the Coaſt.

But ſome Delays intervening, which are fatal to all Conſpiracies that are truſted into many Hands, this was diſcover'd ſome Days before the *Danes* ariv'd, but by whom of the Accomplices is left uncertain; tho' ſome write, that it was by Earl *Waltheof*, upon the Conſcience of ſo great an Ingratitude to the King.

After the full and particular Diſcovery of the whole Plot, and all the chief Conſpirators, *Odon* the Vicegerent, with the Aſſiſtance and Advice of the King's Council, immediately diſpatch'd away ſeveral Parties of the King's beſt Troops, into the ſeveral Parts where the Inſurrections were intended to begin, ſeiz'd upon many of the Conſpirators before others had Notice of the Diſcovery, broke the reſt before they could draw to a Head; took Earl *Waltheof* and *Fitz-Auber* Priſoners, who were beheaded upon this Occaſion, and many others impriſon'd. Whether this Execution was by the King's Command out of *Normandy*, or by the Rigor of his Brother *Odon*, and upon Pretence of Neceſſity in ſo dangerous a Conjuncture, is not recorded; but 'tis agreed, That theſe Two were the only Nobles that were executed in *England* during the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, notwithſtanding ſo many Revolts, and ſo much Power to puniſh and revenge them; which ſerves to make up that Character of Clemency of Nature, that is allow'd this Prince, among his other Virtues, even by thoſe Writers who are ſevereſt upon his Memory.

Both the *Danes* and the *Iriſh* Fleets were upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, when they firſt receiv'd the News of their Confederates Diſcovery and Diſaſters, upon which they return'd to *Denmark* and to *Ireland*; and after this Time, the *Danes* never again attempted any Invaſion upon *England*, nor was this Conqueror any more infeſted or diſturbed by any of his *Engliſh* Subjects, during the reſt of his Reign; finding the Conſpiracy wholly ſuppreſſed, and the Kingdom in perfect Tranquillity upon his Return, which he had yet haſten'd out of *Normandy*, upon the Intelligence of his Danger in *England*, and Ignorance how deep it was rooted, or where it might end.

Nor was it eaſy to conjecture, ſince it was believ'd by wiſe Men in that Age, that the Weakneſs and ill Succeſs of this Conſpiracy proceeded chiefly from the Want of ſome popular Pretenſion, that might have raiſed a Commotion of the People in Favour of the Lords; and, that if this had been deſign'd in Defence of *Edgar*'s known Rights to the Crown, and ſpirited by that Prince at the Head of ſo many *Engliſh* and *Norman* Lords as were ingaged in it, the Throne had been endanger'd by this laſt Shake. But the unfortunate Prince *Edgar* had made his firſt Pretenſions too late, and his laſt Submiſſions too ſoon; and the *Daniſh* Title was hated by the Commons of *England*, though favour'd by many of the Nobles, and thereby wanted the Foundation proper and neceſſary to raiſe any firm Building. Thus the Infelicity of ſome Princes may be occaſion'd only by ill-timing their Councils, when to attempt, and when to deſiſt, in the juſteſt Endeavours; and the Greatneſs of others may be raiſed and preſerved by unforeſeen Accidents, where the greateſt Reach of Foreſight and Conduct might have fail'd. For had *Edgar* been at Liberty to purſue his Rights, upon this Conjunction of the *Engliſh* and *Norman* Nobility, he might probably have gain'd the Crown; and had not ſome of the chief Complices diſcover'd the Conſpiracy, the Conqueror might as probably have loſt it.

However theſe Fortunes came to attend him thus far of his Reign, yet here the Curtain may be drawn over the happy Scenes of this Prince's Life: For the next that muſt open, will repreſent him in the Decline of his Age, imbroil'd in Domeſtick Quarrels, which could neither end in Glory nor in Gains; aſſaulted by his own Children; oppoſed by his Native Subjects; forced to uſe Strangers to reduce them to Duty and Obedience, after Two dangerous Revolts; and when theſe Troubles were appeaſed, after much Anguiſh of Mind, and many Dangers, ingaged, by a trivial Accident, and without any Deſign, in a Foreign War, with a powerful Prince; which, tho' purſued with his uſual Vigour and Fortune, it firſt coſt him his Health, and at laſt his Life.

William the Conqueror had by his Wife *Matild*, Daughter to *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders*, Four Sons, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*, beſides ſeveral Daughters. *Richard* was a Prince of the greateſt Hopes, but unfortunately kill'd by a Stag, while he was hunting in the New Foreſt: His untimely Fall was much lamented by the King, but leſs by the People, who interpreted it as a Judgment upon him, for the mighty Waſtes he had made, to extend the Bounds of that Foreſt, and for the Rigour and Oppreſſion of the Foreſt Laws. The other Three ſurviv'd their Father; but with very different Fortunes, as well as Merits, and very unequally diſtributed.

The King, before his Expedition into *England*, had promis'd his eldeſt Son *Robert* the Dukedom of *Normandy*, in caſe he conquer'd the Kingdom he then pretended: This Promiſe was made before the King of *France*, and challeng'd by *Robert* after the King's firſt Eſtabliſhment upon the *Engliſh* Throne. But the King, though he deny'd not the Promiſe he had made, yet long delay'd the Performance, upon Pretence of his unſettled State in *England*, from the Diſcontents of his Nobles, and the *Scotch* Invaſions, which made it neceſſary for him to keep *Normandy* as a Retreat upon any great Miſfortune, or Revolution in *England*. Duke *Robert* ſeem'd content with theſe Reaſons, whilſt they were juſtify'd by the Appearances of any Dangers in *England*; but perceiving they were ceaſed, and yet the Delays continu'd, he grew at length impatient, and about the Fourteenth Year of the King's Reign, aſſum'd the Government of *Normandy*, as Sovereign; and, in his own Right, cauſed the Barons to ſwear Fealty to him, as to the Duke, and not as his Father's Lieutenant, and was received and obeyed by the *Normans*; who grew weary of a ſubordinate Government, and thought they deſerv'd the Preſence of their Prince among them, which they had enjoy'd ſince the firſt Eſtabliſhment of their Poſſeſſions in *France*.

Beſides, *Robert* was generally beloved, as a Prince courteous, generous, and brave, tho' withal, ambitious, unquiet, and uncertain: yet theſe Diſpoſitions, both of Prince and People, had not alone induc'd him to ingage in ſo bold a Reſolution, with ſuch a Breach of his Duty and his Truſt, without the Practices and Inſtigations of the King of *France*, who, grown jealous of King *William*'s Greatneſs, and envious of his Felicity, found no better Way of leſſening both, than to kindle this Fire in his own Houſe; and thereby the moſt ſenſibly to diſquiet his Mind, as well as to disjoynt his State, and divide his Power. He therefore not only encourag'd *Robert*, but combin'd with him in this Attempt, and ingag'd to ſupport him with his Forces, if his Father diſputed longer the Juſtice of his Claim.

The King, tho' at firſt diſcompoſed at the News of this Inſolence in his Son, yet believing it had no deeper Root, but what would ſoon wither or be cut off, by his Preſence in *Normandy*, gather'd immediately what Forces he could raiſe, and, with an Army of his *Engliſh* Subjects, ſail'd over now to invade

Normandy, as he had done before to invade *England* with his *Normans*. A ſtrange Revolution to befall one Prince, in ſo ſhort a Period of Time, and which made as great a change in his Diſpoſitions, as his Fortunes; for the great Alacrity and Faithfulneſs which the *Engliſh* expreſſed towards him in this Expedition, gain'd ſo far upon his Affections and Confidence, that in the reſt of his Reign, and his ſucceeding Wars, he ſeem'd to place his chief Truſt in the Courage and Loyalty of his *Engliſh* Subjects.

Duke *Robert*, inform'd of his Father's Preparations, neglected not his own, and though ſurpriz'd at the Suddenneſs of his Arrival, to which the Winds had conſpir'd, he could not oppoſe his Landing; yet ſoon after he was in the Field at the Head of a brave *Norman* Army, and of Two thouſand Men at Arms which the King of *France* had ſent to his Aſſiſtance. With theſe Forces he marched againſt the King, fell upon his Vanguard, and by the Succeſs of an Ambuſh he had laid in an advantageous Paſs, he broke them, kill'd ſome, and put the reſt to Flight; then he advanc'd againſt the main Body, where the King commanded, and by an unnatural Chance, he charged his old Father with ſuch Fury, that, by the Stroke of his Launce, he wounded him in the Arm, and overthrew him to the Ground. The King calling out upon his Fall, his Son immediately knew his Voice, and ſtung, upon the ſudden, with the Conſcience of his Crime and his Duty, he leap'd from his Horſe, rais'd his Father up from the Ground, fell down upon his Knees, begg'd Pardon of his Offence, with Offers, upon it, to return to his Duty and Obedience. The King, mov'd by the ſame Force of Nature, receiv'd his Submiſſions, forgave him, and embracing him, ended an Adventure in Tears of Joy, which had begun in Blood. The Armies were as eaſily reconcil'd as their Leaders, and all together march'd to *Rouen*, where the King was receiv'd with all Demonſtrations of Joy, and the Duke complimented upon his happy Reconcilement with his Father; nor were thoſe the laſt in this Croud of Rejoycers, who had been the chief in promoting the Quarrel between them.

The King made no long Stay in *Normandy*, diſſembling the Knowledge or Reſentment of what Part the *French* King had play'd in this Affair; but after having re-eſtabliſhed the Quiet and Order of the Province, return'd with his whole Forces into *England*, left his Son in the Government of *Normandy*, truſting to his Duty, and the Loyalty of his Subjects there, as if nothing had paſs'd to give him the leaſt Suſpicions of either. A true Strain of the noble and fearleſs Nature of this Prince, who was rather made to ſurmount all Dangers he encounter'd, by brave Actions and judicious Councils, than either to invite or anticipate his Misfortunes, by Diſtruſt and vain Apprehenſions, which are but the Diſtractions of weak and timorous Minds.

Yet this Sincereneſs and Confidence of the King, had not the Return they deſerved; for Duke *Robert* having once taſted the Sovereign Power, could not long digeſt any Dependance upon another Will, and lying ſtill open to the Practices of *France* upon his Levity and Ambition, relapſed the next Year into his former Diſtemper, and aſſum'd again the Sovereignty of *Normandy*, and as Duke thereof in his own Right; which was again acknowledg'd and obey'd by the *Normans*.

The King upon the News of this ſecond Defection in his Son and his Subjects, fell into great Paſſion, and in it is ſaid to have curſed his Son, and the Hour wherein he begat him: But ſoon returning to himſelf, with his uſual Judgment and Compoſure of Mind, gave preſent Orders for preparing a much greater Army and Navy, than he had uſed in laſt Year's Expedition; and though both were ſhatter'd by great Storms he met with at Sea, yet, upon his Arrival in *Normandy*, either the Fame of his Forces, or the Lightneſs of his Son's Diſpoſitions, or Remorſe of his Duty, prevail'd with Duke *Robert* to offer again his Submiſſions, and Obedience to his Commands. The King again receiv'd them, pardon'd both his Son and his revolted Subjects; but forced now to more Caution than he had uſed before, after having ſettled once more the Peace and Quiet of *Normandy*, and placed the Government in ſafer Hands, he took his Son with him into *England*, and imploy'd him in the hard rough Wars of *Scotland*, againſt *Malcolm*, who, upon the King's Abſence, and Confidence of being long detain'd by the *Norman* Revolt, and Diverſion of *France*, had taken Occaſion to paſs the Borders with an Army, and ravage the Northern Provinces of *England*.

Though Duke *Robert* gain'd no great Honour by this Expedition, yet the King gain'd his End: For the *Scots* diſheartned by his unexpected Return, and more by his perfect Reconcilement with his Son, return'd Home upon the Approach of the *Engliſh* Army, and renew'd the Peace, which laſted the reſt of the Two Kings Lives.

About the ſame Time, incenſed againſt the *Welſh* for many Inroads and Spoils upon the Frontier Counties; he ſent an Army againſt them, ſubdu'd the plain and acceſſible Parts of their Country, drove them to the faſt Holds of their Mountains, forc'd them to ſue for a Peace, which he granted upon Homage done him by their Prince, and upon Hoſtages given for Performance of the other Conditions.

This fortunate and victorious King ſeem'd now to have paſs'd all the tempeſtuous Seaſons of his Life, and ſecure of Repoſe for what remained; which was neceſſary or moſt agreeable to the great Decline of his Age. He was at Peace with all his Neighbours, obey'd and honour'd by his Subjects, fear'd by his Enemies, and the Troubles of his Family were wholly appeaſed; ſo that it was hard for any Man to conjecture from what Side any new Storm ſhould ariſe. But the Decrees of Heaven are wrapp'd up in the Clouds, and the Events of future Things hidden in the Dark, from the Eyes of mortal Men. The wiſeſt Councils may be diſcompoſed by the ſmalleſt Accidents, and the ſecureſt Peace of States and Kingdoms may be diſturbed by the lighteſt Paſſions, as well as the deep Deſigns of thoſe who govern them: For, though the wiſe Reflections of the beſt Hiſtorians, as well as the common Reaſonings of private Men, are apt to aſcribe the Actions and Councils of Princes to Intereſts or Reaſons of State; yet, whoever can trace them to their true Springs, will be often forced to derive them from the ſame Paſſions and perſonal Diſpoſitions, which govern the Affairs of private Lives; as will be evident in the Sequel of this King's Reign.

The *Normans* were deſirous to have a Prince of their Race reſide among them; the King was unwilling to venture again the ill Conſequences of his Son *Robert*'s Ambition or Inconſtancy, and therefore ſent him over into *Normandy*, but join'd in Commiſſion with his youngeſt Son *Henry*, whoſe Duty and Affection he moſt rely'd on, both to obſerve the Actions, and temper the Levity of his Eldeſt Brother.

Theſe Two Princes agreed better than is uſual to Aſſociates in Power, and governing the Province with Moderation and Prudence, reduced Affairs there to ſuch Order and Tranquillity, that having little Buſineſs at Home, they went to ſeek ſome Diverſion Abroad, and made a Viſit to the King of *France* then at *Conſtance*, who receiv'd them with great Honour and Kindneſs; and, as was thought, not without Deſign of renewing old Practices with Duke *Robert*, to his Father's Prejudice. Whatever Affairs might buſy the Thoughts of that King and the Duke, thoſe of *Lewis* the young *Dauphine*, and Prince *Henry*, were taken up with the common Entertainments of Youth and of Leiſure, Love, Hunting, Play, and other ſuch Divertiſements, wherein the Similitude of Age and of Cuſtoms, made them conſtant Companions. It happen'd one Evening, that the *Dauphine* playing at Cheſs, at the Prince's Lodging, loſt a great many Games, and much Money, to Prince *Henry*, and grew thereupon firſt into ill Humour, and at length into ill Language; which being return'd by the Prince, the *Dauphine* fell into Paſſion, call'd him Son of a Baſtard, and threw ſome of the Cheſs-Men at his Head: Upon which Prince *Henry*, inraged, took up the Cheſs-Board, and ſtruck the *Dauphine* with ſuch Fury on the Head, that he laid him bleeding on the Ground, and had kill'd him, if his Brother *Robert* had not retain'd him, and made him ſenſible how much more it concern'd him to make his Eſcape, than purſue his Revenge; and thereupon they went down immediately, took Horſe, and by the Help of their Speed, or their own good Fortune, got ſafe to *Pontoiſe* before they could be reach'd by the *French* that purſu'd them.

The King of *France*, exaſperated by this Accident and Indignity to his Son, which reviv'd an inveterate Malice or Envy he had againſt King *William*, firſt demanded Satisfaction, but at the ſame time prepared for Revenge, both by raiſing an Army to invade *Normandy*, and taking private Meaſures with Duke *Robert*, to diveſt his Brother *Henry* of his Share in the Government, and leave the Dominion of that Dutchy to the Duke, according to his former Pretenſions, grounded upon his Father's Promiſe; wherein the King of *France*, as a Witneſs, ſtill pretended to be concerned.

The King of *England* ſeeing the War inevitable, enters upon it with his uſual Vigour, and, with incredible Celerity, tranſporting a brave *Engliſh* Army, invades *France*, and takes ſeveral Towns in *Poictou*, whilſt the *French* took the City of *Vernon*. By which Hoſtilities on both ſides, the firſt War began between *England* and *France*, which ſeem'd afterwards to have been intail'd upon the Poſterity and Succeſſors of theſe Two Princes, for ſo many Generations, to have drawn more noble Blood, and been attended with more memorable Atchievements, than any other National Quarrel we read of in any ancient or modern Story.

King *William*, after taking of ſeveral Towns, and ſpoiling much Country in *Poictou* and *Xaintonge*, return'd to *Rouen*, where, by the Benignity of his own Nature, and Levity of his Son's, he was the Third Time reconcil'd to Duke *Robert*; and thereby diſappointed thoſe Hopes the King of *France* had conceived from his Practices with that Prince; (and, as ſome write, with his Brother *Henry* too) and defeated his Pretext of aſſiſting his Right in the Dominion of *Normandy*.

But *Philip* bent upon this War by other Incentives, than thoſe which appear'd from the Favour of Duke *Robert*'s Pretenſions, or Revenge of the *Dauphine*'s Injury, and moved both with the Jealouſy of the King's Greatneſs, and the Envy of his Glory and Felicity, reſolved to proſecute obſtinately the Quarrel he had raſhly begun: And not eſteeming the ſudden, tho' violent Motions of a youthful Heat between the Two Princes, a Ground ſufficient to bear the Weight of a formal and declared War; upon the News and Spight of Duke *Robert*'s Reconciliation with his Father, he ſent to the King to demand Homage of him both for *Normandy* and *England*: King *William* anſwer'd, That he was ready to do him the Homage accuſtomed for *Normandy*, but would do him none for *England*, which he held only of God and his Sword. The *French* King hereupon declar'd open War againſt him, which was begun and purſu'd with great Heats and Animoſities on both ſides, with equal Forces, but unequal Fortune; which favour'd either the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe, the Valour of his Troops, or the Conduct of their Leader, upon all Encounters.

He marched into *France*, took *Nantes*, and burnt it, with many Villages about it, ſaying, That to deſtroy the Waſps, their Neſts muſt be burnt. In the Heat of this Action, and by that of the Fires, which he too near approached, he fell into a Diſtemper, which forc'd him to retire his Army, and return to *Rouen*, where he lay ſick for ſome time, with ill Symptoms, that gave his Friends Apprehenſion, and Hopes to his Enemies. During the Expectation of this Event, both ſides were quiet, by a ſort of tacit and voluntary Truce between them. The King of *France* talking of his Sickneſs, and mocking at the Corpulency to which he was grown of late Years, ſaid, King *William* was gone only to lay his great Belly at *Rouen*, and that he doubted, he muſt be at Charge to ſet up Lights at his Up-riſing. The King of *England* being told this Scoff, ſent King *Philip* word, That he was ready to ſit up after his Lying-in, and that when he was Churched, he would ſave him the Charge of ſetting up Lights, and come himſelf, and light a Thouſand Fires in *France*.

No Injuries are ſo ſenſible to Mankind in general, as thoſe of Scorn, and no Quarrels purſu'd between Princes with ſo much Sharpneſs and Violence, as thoſe which ariſe from perſonal Animoſities or private Paſſions, to which they are ſubject, like other mortal Men. The King recover'd, gathers the greateſt Forces he could raiſe, both of *Engliſh* and *Normans*, marches into the Iſle of *France*, with Fire and Spoil where-ever he came, approaches within Sight of *Paris*, where that King was retir'd: There King *William* ſent him word, That he was Up, and Abroad, and would be glad to ſee him Abroad too.

But the *French* King reſolved to let this Fury paſs, and appear'd not in the Field, which was left to the Mercy and Ravage of his Enemies. The King riding about to obſerve his Advantages, and give his Orders, and ſtraining his Horſe to leap a Ditch in his Way, bruiſed the Bottom of his Belly againſt the Pommel of his Saddle, with ſuch a Weight, and ſo much Pain, as gave him a Relapſe of his Illneſs ſo lately recover'd, forc'd him to march his Army back into *Normandy*, and to go himſelf to *Rouen*. Here his Bruiſe turn'd to a Rupture, and his Sickneſs increaſing with the Anguiſh of his Wound, gave too ſoon and true Apprehenſions of his Danger: Yet he languiſhed for ſome time, which he made uſe of to do many Acts of great Charity, and give other Teſtimonies of Piety, and Reſignation to the Will of God, as well as to diſpoſe the Succeſſion and Affairs of his State; leaving by his Teſtament the Dutchy of *Normandy* to his Eldeſt Son *Robert*, the Kingdom of *England* to *William* his Second Son, and all his Treaſures, which were very great, to *Henry* his Third. After this he ended his Life in the full Career of Fortune and Victory, which attended him to his Grave, thro' the long Courſe of more than Threeſcore Years Reign. For he began that in *Normandy* about Ten Years old, and continued it above Forty Years before his *Engliſh* Expedition, after which he reigned above Twenty Years in *England*, and died in or about the Seventy ſecond Year of his Age, and the Year of our Lord 1087.

Several Writers ſhew their ill Talent to this Prince, in making particular Remarks, How his Corps was immediately forſaken by all his Friends and Followers, as ſoon as he expired; How the Monks of an Abbey he had founded, were thereby induced to come of Charity, and take the Care of his Body and his Burial, which he had ordered to be at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and in a Church he had there built; How the Ground that was open'd to receive him, was claim'd at that Inſtant by a Knight of the Country, who alledged it had belong'd to his Anceſtors and himſelf, and was violently or unjuſtly ſeized from them by the King, ſo that his Funeral was fain to be deferred 'till an Agreement was made, and the Value of the Ground paid to the Claimer: With other invidious Circumſtances, which may argue the Ingratitude, Avarice, or other Vices of his Servants or Subjects then living, but not defame the Memory, or obſcure the Glory of the Dead.

This ended all that was Mortal of this Noble King, and this Renowned Conqueror: for his Fame will never die, but remain for ever in the moſt laſting Records of Time, and Monuments of Glory, among the Princes moſt celebrated for their brave Atchievements in War, their wiſe Inſtitutions in Peace, the Length and Proſperity of their Lives and their Reigns. In all which he muſt with Juſtice be confeſſed, not to have been equall'd by many, if, indeed, by any we read of in Story.

I have made no mention of any great Councils or Aſſemblies held in this King's Reign, becauſe I find no clear Evidence of the Nature or Conſtitution, the Times or the Occaſions of them, whether like thoſe uſed in the *Saxon* Reigns, or like the Parliaments in *Normandy*; or whether that Style was introduc'd here in this King's Time, or that of his Son's, who ſucceeded him. It appears, that he often aſſembled the Nobles and Barons of the Realm, but whether upon the Solemnity of ſome great Feſtivals, or of ſome Occaſions of more Importance, either for the Honour of his Court, or Conſultation of his Affairs, I find not ſo well recorded, nor ſo eaſy to determine, as ſome will have it. It is agreed only, That there were Two General Aſſemblies of the

Clergy; one about the Sixth Year of his Reign, upon a Controverſy between the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, about the Primacy, which was therein determin'd in favour of the firſt: The other about erecting ſome new Biſhopricks, or tranſlating their Sees from ſome decay'd and ſmaller Towns, to others grown in that Age more populous and opulent. The *Litchfield* Chronicle alſo relates, How in the Fourth Year of his Reign, he ſummon'd out of every County the Nobles, the Wiſe Men, and ſuch as were Learned in their own Law, that he might from them learn what were their ancient Laws and Cuſtoms. After which the Laws of St. *Edward* were conſerved, and by him confirmed throughout the whole Kingdom.

I have not been ſo particular as other Writers, in the Names of Places, or of Perſons, or Diſtinction of Years; becauſe in ſuch Antiquity of Times and Variety of Authors, I find them very hard to be aſcertained. Beſides, the Diſagreement among Writers is ſo great, in aſſigning the Years to the ſeveral Actions of this Prince, that ſo important an Affair as that of framing the *Doomſday-Book*, is by ſome referred to the Eighth, by others to the Thirteenth, and by ſome to the Nineteenth Year of his Reign: And many others are left in the ſame Uncertainty.

I have likewiſe omitted the Accounts and Remarks, wherein ſome Writers have buſy'd their Pens, of ſtrange Comets, Inclemencies of Seaſons, raging Diſeaſes, or deplorable Fires, that are ſaid to have happen'd in this Age and Kingdom; and are repreſented by ſome as Judgments of God upon this King's Reign: Becauſe I rather eſteem them Accidents of Time or Chance, ſuch as happen in one Part or other of the World, perhaps every Age, at ſome Periods of Time, or from ſome Influence of Stars, or by the Conſpiring of ſome natural or caſual Circumſtances; and neither argue the Virtues or Vices of Princes, nor ſerve for Example or Inſtruction to Poſterity, which are the great Ends of Hiſtory, and ought to be the chief Care of all Hiſtorians.

For this Reaſon, as well as to comply with common Cuſtom, it may not be improper or unneceſſary to end the wiſe, politick, and proſperous Reign with the juſt Character of this renowned Prince. Since all great Actions in the World, and Revolutions of States, may be truly derived from the Genius of the Perſons that conduct and govern them; ſo as by comparing both together, and obſerving the Cauſes as well as Events, it may be eaſy to diſcern, by what perſonal Qualities and Diſpoſitions of Princes, the happy and glorious Succeſſes of their own Fortunes, with the Greatneſs and Felicity of their States, are generally atchieved; for, to attribute ſuch great Events to Time, or to Chance, were to deſtroy the Examples, and confound the Conſequences of all Virtues and Vices among Men.

William, ſurnamed *The Conqueror*, was of the talleſt Stature among thoſe common in his Age and Country; his Size large, and his Body ſtrong built, but well proportion'd: His Strength ſuch, as few of his Court could draw his Bow: His Health was great and conſtant, which made him very active in his Buſineſs and Pleaſures, 'till about the Decline of his Age he grew ſomething corpulent. From all which, I ſuppoſe, came the Story in ſome *Norman* Writers, that he was Eight Foot high, or the Size of *Hercules*.

As he was of goodly Perſonage, ſo his Face was lovely, but of a Maſculine Beauty, the Lines being ſtrong, rather than delicate: His Eyes were quick and lively, but when moved, ſomething fierce: His Complexion Sanguine: His Countenance very pleaſant, when he was gay and familiar; when he was ſerious, ſomething ſevere.

His Paſtimes were chiefly Hunting and Feaſting: In the firſt he ſpent much Time, uſed great Exerciſe, and yet much Moderation of Diet. In his Feaſts, which were deſign'd for Magnificence or Converſation, to know or to be known among his Nobles, and not for Luxury; he was courteous, affable, familiar, and often pleaſant, and which made him the more ſo to his Company, was eaſy at thoſe Times in granting Suits and Pardons.

It is by All agreed, that he was Chaſte and Temperate, which, with a happy Conſtitution, and much Exerciſe, preſerv'd not only his Health, but Vigor, to the laſt Decline of his Age.

He was of ſound natural Senſe, and ſhew'd it not only in his own Conduct and Reaſoning upon all great Occaſions, but alſo in the Choice of his Miniſters and Friends, where no Prince was happier or wiſer than he.

He talk'd little, never vaunted, obſerv'd much, was very ſecret, and us'd only *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with an univerſal Confidence, both as a Counſellor and a Friend; to whom he was ever meek and gentle, tho' to others ſomething auſtere; as if this Conqueror had been himſelf ſubdu'd by the Wiſdom and Virtue of that excellent Man.

In his Purpoſes he was ſteddy, but not obſtinate, and tho' conſtant to his Ends, yet appliable to Occaſions; as appear'd by his favouring and truſting the *Normans* in his Troubles of *England*, and the *Engliſh* in thoſe of *Normandy*; and was either very wiſe, or very happy, in the Arts of gaining Enemies, and retaining Friends, having never loſt but one, which was *Fitz-Auber*.

He was a Prince deep in his Deſigns, bold in his Enterprizes, firm in his Proſecution, excelling in the Order and Diſcipline of his Armies, and Choice in his Officers, both of his Army and his State: But admirable in Expedition and Diſpatch of Civil as well as Military Affairs, never deferring 'till to Morrow, what ſhould be done to Day.

Above all, he he was careful and prudent in the Management of his Treaſure, and finding a Temper between the Bounty of his own Nature, and the Neceſſity of his Affairs, proportioning always the Expences of his Gifts, his Buildings, his Enterprizes, to the Treaſure he was Maſter of, for defraying them, deſigning nothing out of his Compaſs, and thereby compaſſing all he ſeem'd to deſign.

He was Religious in frequenting Divine Service, giving much Alms, building Abbies, and endowing them, ſending Preſents of Croſſes of Gold, rich Veſtures and Plate to many other Churches, and much Treaſure to *Rome*.

He was a great Lover of Learning, and tho' he deſpiſed the looſe ignorant *Saxon* Clergy he found in *England*, yet he took Care and Pleaſure to fill Eccleſiaſtical Dignities here with Perſons of great Worth and Learning from Abroad, as *Lanfranc*, *Durand*, *Anſelm*, with many more.

He was a Lover of Virtue in others, and a Hater of Vice; for being naturally very kind to his Half-Brother *Odon* Biſhop of *Bayeux*, having made him Earl of *Kent*, given him great Revenues, intruſted him, in his Abſence, with the Government of the Realm; yet finding him a Man of incurable Ambition, Avarice, Cruelty, Oppreſſion, and Prophaneneſs, he at length wholly diſgrac'd him, and kept him in Priſon during all the reſt of his Reign; which ſeems to have been a juſt Puniſhment of his Crimes, and Sacrifice to the *Engliſh*, he had cruelly oppreſſed in the King's Abſence, rather than a Greedineſs of his Treaſures, as ſome envious Writers would make it appear.

Yet by the Conſent of them all, and the moſt partial or malicious to his Memory, as well as others; He is agreed to have been a Prince of great Strength, Wiſdom, Courage, Clemency, Magnificence, Wit, Courteſy, Charity, Temperance, and Piety. This ſhort Character, and by all agreed, is enough to vindicate the Memory of this noble Prince, and famous Conqueror, from the Aſperſions or Detractions of ſeveral malicious or partial Authors, who have more unfaithfully repreſented his Reign, than any other Period of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory.

Having taken a full View of this King in his Actions, and his Perſon, it remains only, that we conſider the Conſequences that both of them had upon the Condition of this Kingdom, which will be beſt diſcover'd by the Survey of what it loſt, what it preſerv'd, and what it gain'd by this famous Conqueſt.

England thereby muſt be confeſſed to have loſt; firſt, Very great Numbers of brave *Engliſh* Men, who fell in the Battle of *Haſtings*, and in Two

Wars afterwards, by the Revolt of the Nobles, and Invaſion of the *Scots* in Favour of *Edgar Atheling*. Likewiſe many Nobles and Gentlemen, who diſdaining all Subjection to a Foreign and Conquering Power, retir'd into *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Denmark*, and after the Extinction of their Hopes, by the Suppreſſion of all Endeavours in Favour of *Edgar*'s Right, never returned, but left their Families habituated in thoſe Countries, chooſing, if they muſt live under a Foreign Dominion, to do it rather Abroad, than at Home.

In the next place, *England* loſt the true Line of their ancient *Saxon* Kings, who were a Race of juſt, good, and pious Princes, govern'd by ſuch known Laws, and with ſuch Moderation, and were ſo beloved of their People, as makes it obſerved by Writers, That no popular Inſurrection ever happen'd in any of the *Saxon* Reigns.

Laſtly, *England* by the Conqueſt loſt, in a great meaſure, the old Plainneſs and Simplicity of the *Saxon* Times, and Cuſtoms of Life, who were generally a People of good Meaning, plain Dealing, contented with their own, little coveting or imitating their Neighbours, and living frugally upon the Product of their own fruitful Soil: For the Profuſion of Meats at our *Engliſh* Tables, came in with the *Danes*, and the Luxury of them was introduc'd firſt by the *Normans*, and after increaſed by the more frequent Uſe of Wines, upon the Acceſſion of *Guienne* to this Crown.

What we preſerv'd, is remarkable in Three Particulars, not uſual upon great Conqueſts; for, firſt, We preſerv'd our Name, which was loſt by the *Saxon* Invaſions, but that of *England* then (ſucceeding the other of *Britain*) has ever ſince continued.

Next, we preſerv'd our Language, or the Old *Engliſh* Tongue, which has made the Body and Subſtance of what ſtill remains, tho' much inlarg'd and poliſh'd ſince thoſe Times, by the tranſplanting many Words out of Foreign Languages, eſpecially *Latin* and *French*.

In the laſt place, We preſerv'd our Forms of Government, our Laws and Inſtitutions, which have been ſo much celebrated by ancient Writers, and have been ſo obſtinately defended by our Anceſtors; and are by Chancellor *Forteſcue*, who writ in the Time of *Henry* the Sixth, averr'd to have been preſerved thro' the Five ſeveral Governments in this Iſland, of *Normans*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, *Romans*, and *Britains*, and ſo to have continued for a longer Courſe of Time, than thoſe of *Rome* or *Venice*, or any other Nation known in Story. But this, I doubt, is not ſo eaſily proved, as affirmed, tho' it may be with more Certainty of the Three firſt, which is ſufficient to illuſtrate the Antiquity of our Conſtitutions, without recourſe to ſtrain'd or uncertain Allegations.

For what we gain'd by our Loſs in this Conqueſt, though it ſeems a Contradiction, yet it may be obſerved in many more Particulars than the other Two.

Firſt, *England* grew much greater, both in Dominion and Power, Abroad; and alſo in Dignity and State at Home, by the Acceſſion of ſo much Territory upon the Continent. For, tho' the *Normans* by the Conqueſt gain'd much of the *Engliſh* Lands and Riches, yet *England* gain'd *Normandy*, which by it became a Province to this Crown.

Next, It gain'd greater Strength by the great Numbers of *Normans* and *French*, that came over with the Conqueror, and after his Eſtabliſhment here; and incorporated with the *Engliſh* Nation, joining with them in the ſame Language, Laws, and Intereſts.

Then we gained much by the great Increaſe of our Naval Power, and Multitude of Ships, wherein *Normandy* then abounded, by the Advantage of more and better Havens, than in latter Ages. This, with the perpetual Intercourſe between *England* and *Normandy*, and other Parts of the Continent, gave us a mighty Increaſe of Trade and Commerce, and thereby of Treaſure to the Crown and Kingdom; which appear'd firſt in ſo great a Maſs, as was left by the Conqueror to Prince *Henry* his younger Son.

England, by the Conqueſt, gain'd likewiſe a natural Right to the Dominion of the Narrow Seas, which had been before acquir'd only by the great Naval Power of *Edgar*, and other *Saxon* Kings. But the Dominion of Narrow Seas, ſeems naturally to belong, like that of Rivers, to thoſe who poſſeſs the Banks or Coaſts on both Sides: And ſo to have ſtrengthen'd the former Title, by ſo long a Coaſt, as that of *Normandy* of one Side, and of *England* on the other Side of the Channel.

Beſides, By this Conqueſt we gain'd more Learning, more Civility, more Refinement of Language, Cuſtoms, and Manners, from the great Reſort of other Strangers, as well as Mixture of *French* and *Normans*.

And, Laſtly, We gain'd all our Conſideration Abroad, by carrying our Arms ſo often, and ſo glorioſly, as well as extending our Dominions, into Foreign Countries; ſo that whereas our *Saxon* Kings were little known Abroad, farther than by the Fame of their Devotion and Piety, or their Journies, Gifts and Oblations made to *Rome*. After the Conqueſt, the Crown of *England* grew firſt to be fear'd by our Neighbours, to have conſtant Intercourſe with other Foreign Princes, to take Part and be conſider'd in all the Affairs of *Chriſtendom*; and by the following Acceſſions of *Anjou* and *Guienne*, came, in a ſhort Time, to be eſteemed, without Controverſy, while they poſſeſſed thoſe Dominions, the greateſt Power of any Kingdom then in *Chriſtendom*; as appears by ſo many glorious Adventures and Succeſſes of their Arms in *France*, *Spain*, *Britany*, *Flanders*, *Sicily*, and the *Holy Land*.

From all theſe happy Circumſtances of this famous Conqueſt, all the ſucceeding Kings of *England* ſeem juſtly to have done this Conqueror the Honour of dating from Him the firſt great Period of their Reigns: By which thoſe of the *Saxons*, and other preceding Dominions or Governments here, are left us in Story, but like ſo many antique, broken, or defaced Pictures, which may ſtill repreſent ſomething of the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of thoſe Ages, tho' little of the true Lines, Proportions, or Reſemblance. But all that has ſucceeded ſince this King's Reign, though not drawn by any one skilful Hand, or by the Life, yet is repreſented in ſo clear a Light, as leaves very little either obſcure or uncertain in the Hiſtory of our Kingdom, or the Succeſſion of our Kings.

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